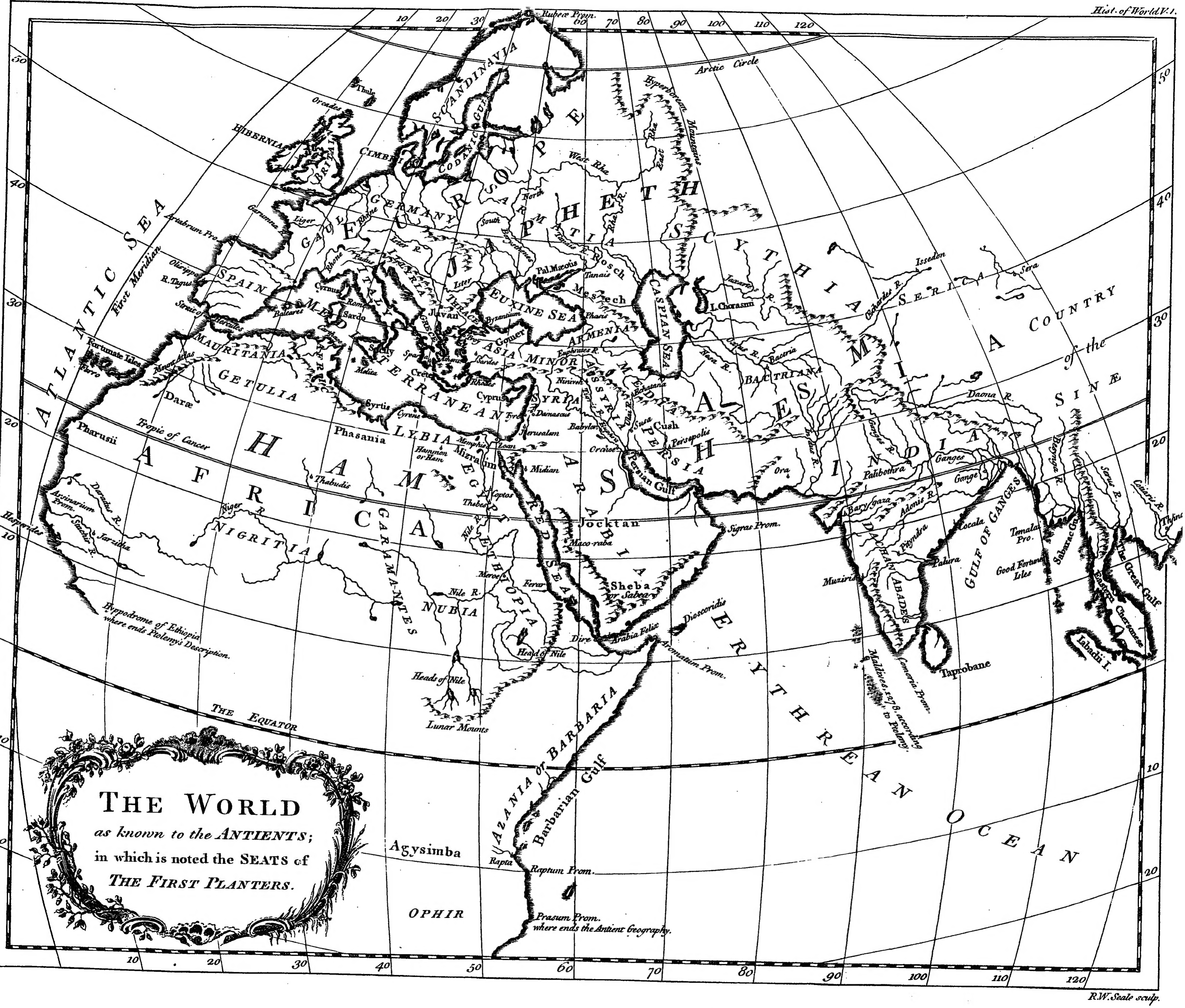

THE WORLD
as known to the ANTIENTS;
in which is noted the SEATS of
THE FIRST PLANTERS.
EUROPE
JAPHETH
SCYTHIA
SHEM
ASIA
HAM
AFRICA
ATLANTIC SEA
First Meridian
Arctic Circle
Tropic of Cancer
THE EQUATOR
Rubeæ Prom.
Thule
Orcades
HIBERNIA
BRITAIN
CIMBRI
SCANDINAVIA
CODANIC GULF
GERMANY
GAUL
Garumna R.
Liger
Rhine
Rhone
Artabrum Pro.
Olisippo
R. Tagus
SPAIN
Strait of Hercules
Baleares
Cyrnus
Rome
Sardo
Carthage
Sicily
Melita
ITALY
ILLYRIA
Padus
Ister R.
Ister
THRACE
GREECE
Javan
Sparta
Athens
Crete
MEDITERRANEAN
Fortunate Isles
Ferro
Mount Atlas
MAURITANIA
AFRICA
GETULIA
Daræ
Pharusii
Syrtis
Cyrene
Phasania
LYBIA
Hammon or Ham
Mizraim
Memphis
Zoan
EGYPT
Thebes
Coptos
Thabudis
Arsinarium Prom.
Daradus R.
Hesperides
Stachir R.
Jarzitha
Niger R.
NIGRITIA
GARAMANTES
Nile R.
NUBIA
Meroe
ETHIOPIA
Head of Nile
Heads of Nile
Lunar Mounts
Hyppodrome of Ethiopia where ends Ptolemy's Description.
Agysimba
OPHIR
Rapta
Raptum Prom.
Prasum Prom. where ends the Antient Geography.
AZANIA or BARBARIA
Barbarian Gulf
SARMATIA
North
South
West Rha
East Rha
Rha R.
Borysthenes
Tanais R.
Pal. Mæotis
Tanais
Rosch
Mesech
Hyperborean Mountains
EUXINE SEA
Byzantium
Phasis
Troy
Gomer
ARMENIA
ASIA MINOR
Sardes
Rhodes
Cyprus
SYRIA
Tyre
Damascus
Jerusalem
Euphrates R.
Niniveh
ASSYRIA
Tigris
Babylon
Ulai R.
Susa
Cush
Echatana
MEDIA
PERSIA
Persepolis
Crœsoe
Persian Gulf
ARABIA
Midian
RED SEA
Jocktan
Maco-raba
Sheba or Sabea
Ferar
Dire
Arabia Felix
Sigras Prom.
Aromatum Prom.
Dioscoridis
ERYTHREAN OCEAN
CASPIAN SEA
L. Chorasmi
Jaxartes R.
Oxus R.
Nesa R.
Bactria
BACTRIANA
Ora
Issedon
Oechardes R.
SERICA
Sera
A COUNTRY of the SINÆ
Daona R.
INDIA
Indus R.
Ganges R.
Ganges
Gange
Palibothra
Barygaza
Adonis R.
DACHANABADES
Pitynda
Cocala
Paliura
Muziris
Comoria Prom.
Taprobane
Maldives, 1378, according to Ptolemy.
GULF OF GANGES
Temala Pro.
Good Fortune Isles
Sabarac Gu.
Besynga R.
Serus R.
Cotiaris R.
Thinæ
The Great Gulf
Eastern Chersonese
Iabadii I.

A GENERAL

HISTORY of the WORLD,

FROM THE

CREATION to the preſent Time.

INCLUDING

All the EMPIRES, KINGDOMS, and STATES; their REVOLUTIONS, FORMS of GOVERNMENT, LAWS, RELIGIONS, CUSTOMS and MANNERS; the PROGRESS of their LEARNING, ARTS, SCIENCES, COMMERCE and TRADE;

Together with

Their CHRONOLOGY, ANTIQUITIES, PUBLIC BUILDINGS, and CURIOSITIES of NATURE and ART.

By WILLIAM GUTHRIE, Eſq;
JOHN GRAY, Eſq;
And others eminent in this Branch of Literature.

——— cui lecta potenter erit res
Nec facundia deſeret hunc, nec lucidus ordo. HOR.

VOLUME I.

LONDON:

Printed for J. NEWBERY, R. BALDWIN, S. CROWDER, J. COOTE, R. WITHY, J. WILKIE, J. WILSON and J. FELL, W. NICOLL, B. COLLINS, and R. RAIKES.

MDCCLXIV.

PREFACE.

EXPERIENCE every day convinces us, that no part of learning affords ſo much wiſdom upon ſuch eaſy terms as hiſtory. Our advances in moſt other ſtudies are ſlow and diſguſting, acquired with effort, and retained with difficulty; but in a well written hiſtory, every ſtep we proceed only ſerves to encreaſe our ardour: we profit by the experience of others without ſharing their toils or misfortunes; and in this part of knowlege in a more particular manner ſtudy is but relaxation.

Of all hiſtories however, that, which not confined to any particular reign or country, but which extends to the tranſactions of all mankind, is the moſt uſeful and entertaining. As in geography, we can have no juſt idea of the ſituation of one country without knowing that of others, ſo in hiſtory, it is in ſome meaſure neceſſary to be acquainted with the whole, thoroughly to comprehend a part. There is a conſtant, tho' ſometimes concealed, concatenation in events by which they produce each other, and without a knowlege of which they cannot be comprehended ſeparately. The riſe of one kingdom is often found owing to political defects in ſome other. The arts and learning of ſucceeding ſtates take a tincture from thoſe countries from whence they were originally derived. Some nations have been applauded for plans of government, which an acquaintance with general hiſtory would have ſhewn were not their own; while others have been reproached for barbarities which were not natural to them, but

the reſult of erroneous imitation. Thus no one part of the general picture can be thoroughly conceived alone; but by taking in the whole of hiſtory at one view, we can trace every cauſe to its remoteſt ſource, obſerve how far every nation was indebted to its own efforts for its riſe or decline, how far to accident or the particular circumſtances of the countries around it. We may here trace the gradations of its improvement or decay, mark in what degree conquerors introduced refinement among thoſe they ſubdued, or how far they conformed to the ſoil and put on barbarity. By ſuch reflections as theſe, and by applying the tranſactions of paſt times to our own, we may become more capable of regulating our private conduct, or directing that of others in ſociety.

A knowlege of univerſal hiſtory is therefore highly uſeful, nor is it leſs entertaining. *Tacitus* complains, that the tranſactions of a few reigns could not afford him a ſufficient ſtock of materials to pleaſe or intereſt the reader; but here that objection is entirely removed; an hiſtory of the world preſents the moſt ſtriking events, with the greateſt variety. In fact, what can be more entertaining than thus reviewing this vaſt theatre where we ourſelves are performers, to converſe with thoſe who have been great or famous, to condemn the vices of tyrants without fearing their reſentment, or praiſe the virtues of the good without conſcious adulation, to conſtitute ourſelves judges of the merit of even kings, and thus to anticipate what poſterity will ſay of ſuch as now hear only the voice of flattery. Theſe are a part of the many advantages which univerſal hiſtory has over all others, and which have encouraged ſo many writers to attempt compiling works of this kind, among the ancients as well as the moderns. Each of them ſeems to have been invited by the manifeſt utility of the deſign; yet it muſt be owned, that many of them have failed through the great and unforeſeen difficulties of the undertaking.

Nor

Nor will the reader be ſurprized if he conſiders how many obſtructions an hiſtorian, who embarks in a work of this nature, has to interrupt his progreſs. The barrenneſs of events in the early periods of hiſtory, and their fertility in modern times, equally ſerve to encreaſe his embarraſments. In recounting the tranſactions of remote antiquity, there is ſuch a defect of materials, that the willingneſs of mankind to ſupply the chaſm, has given birth to falſehood and invited conjecture. The farther we look back into thoſe diſtant periods, all the objects ſeem to become more obſcure, or are totally loſt by a ſort of perſpective diminution. In this caſe, therefore, when the eye of truth could no longer diſcern clearly, fancy undertook to form the picture, and fables were invented where truths were wanting. So that were an hiſtorian to relate all that has been conjectured concerning the tranſactions before the flood, it would be found to compoſe by no means the ſmalleſt part of univerſal hiſtory, a compoſition equally voluminous, obſcure, and diſguſting.

In the work, therefore, which is here preſented to the public, we have been very conciſe in relating theſe fictions and conjectures, which have been the reſult of idleneſs, fraud, or ſuperſtition. Nor yet would the taſk have been difficult to amaze the ignorant, as ſome have done before us, with obſcure erudition and ſcholaſtic conjecture. The regions of conjectural erudition are wide and extenſive; in them there is room for every new adventurer, and immenſe loads of neglected learning ſtill remain to be carried from thence into our own language. There, as in thoſe deſolate and remote countries that are colonized by ſickening ſtates, every ſtranger who thinks proper may enter and cultivate; there is much room; but after much labour he will moſt probably find it an ungrateful ſoil. Were we diſpoſed to enter upon ſuch a province, we might eaſily, for inſtance, with ſome Rabins, enquire whether *Adam* were an hundred cubits high or of the ordinary ſtature; we

might with *Hornius* examine whether he were a philoſopher or a ſavage, or with *Antonietta Bourignon*, whether a man or an hermaphrodite. In delivering the hiſtory of the deluge, after having compiled the ſyſtems of our own countrymen, we might have improved upon our predeceſſors with thoſe of *Steno*, *Scheuchzer*, and *La Pluche*; having mentioned the antiquities of *Egypt*, we might have made a digreſſion on the *Iſiac* table, ran round the circle of quotation, collected the opinions of *Rudbeck*, *Fabricius*, *Herwart*, *Kircher*, *Witſius*, and *Pignorius*, concerning this ſingular piece of antiquity, prove that they could make nothing of it; pathetically complain that the learned authors of a late Univerſal Hiſtory had taken none of theſe ſubjects under conſideration, and at laſt leave the reader in priſtine ignorance. But ſurely men of real knowledge cannot, without a degree of ſarcaſtic contempt, behold ſuch pretences to erudition, ſuch a quackery of learning, acquired by the eaſy arts of quoting from quotations, by conſulting books, but not from reading them. Pretenders in every ſcience are oſtentatious, but real learning, like real charity, chuſes to do good unſeen.

We have therefore declined enlarging on ſuch diſquiſitions, not for want of materials, which offered themſelves at every ſtep of our progreſs, but becauſe we thought them not worth diſcuſſing. Neither have we, for this reaſon, encumbred the beginning of our work with the various opinions of the heathen philoſophers concerning the creation, which may be found in moſt of our ſyſtems of theology, and belong more properly to the divine than the hiſtorian. In fact, we are not fond of building up an edifice merely for the ſake of pulling it down, or of arranging the opinions of men only to ſhew their incertainty; for in the preſent inſtance, to uſe the words of *Lactantius*, *horum omnium ſententia quamvis ſit incerta, eodem tamen ſpectat, ut providentiam unam eſſe conſentiant, ſive enim natura, ſive æther, ſive ratio, ſive mens, ſive fatalis neceſſitas, ſive divina lex, idem eſt quod a nobis dicitur deus*; ſo that

moſt philoſophers agree in the main, they allow one intelligent Creator; and are found to differ leſs in ſenſe than expreſſion.

Throughout this work, therefore, not to make any vain or unneceſſary diſplays of erudition, we acknowlege that the materials to which we have had recourſe, are the ſame with thoſe which other hiſtorians for ſeveral ages have employed before us, and which have been well known to the learned ſince the revival of letters. It would be unjuſt to make pretences to new diſcoveries of this kind, ſince neither we, nor our predeceſſors in univerſal hiſtory, whatever the ignorant may ſuppoſe, have diſcovered any hidden ſtores already unexplored for compiling ancient hiſtory. Neither they nor we have found way to the libraries of *Fez* or *Amara*; all the merit of the compiler of ancient hiſtory in the preſent age, lies not in his diſcoveries of new aſſiſtance, but in his uſe and arrangement of that already known.

To deal candidly with the reader, there is little known of early antiquity but what is contained in the Scriptures, thoſe ſacred books to which the ignorant may, or ought, to have recourſe as well as we. As for what remains of *Sanconiathon*, *Manetho*, *Beroſus*, and ſuch like, how well ſoever the names may ſound in the ear of ignorance, or come from the lips of vanity, the learned have, for ſeveral ages, forſaken them as ſources from whence little or no information can be derived. The little we have of them remaining, is not leſs uſeleſs by mutilation than abſurdity. *Sanconiathon* is without authority; and as for *Manetho*, what we have of his, according to *Euſebius*'s account of him, is but a tranſlation into the uſual *Greek* character of monuments written in ſacred characters, and preſerved by the *Egyptian* Hierophantes; which monuments were themſelves tranſlated from a ſacred language which was extracted from a different ſacred character which was engraven on columns before the flood. The truth is, that long before the time of *Manetho*, the old *Egyptian* ſacred character was unknown; for it is

probable that it continually ſuffered innovation. As early as the times of *Herodotus*, thoſe which were engraven on ſome of the pyramids, were utterly unintelligible to the prieſts themſelves; but long after, upon the invaſion of *Egypt* by *Alexander*, the *Grecians*, who had at firſt received their learning from the *Egyptians*, returned the obligation, and brought philoſophy back to *Egypt* very much improved, by which means the refined opinions of the conquerors began by degrees to mix themſelves with *Egyptian* theology. From this period therefore, the ancient ſyſtems began to be neglected, and their new mixture of ſuperſtition and philoſophy to be written in new characters; ſo that at the times *Manetho*, *Aſclepiades*, *Palephates*, *Cheremon*, and *Hecateus* publiſhed their works, it is moſt probable that the ancient *Egyptian* learning was even unintelligible among the *Egyptians*. What credit, therefore, can be given to ſuch forgeries, the moſt ordinary reader is left to judge; as for the learned, they have determined the point already.

All other monuments, therefore, of remote antiquity, except thoſe contained in the ſacred text, are obſcure, mutilated and trifling; nor is it perhaps any great loſs to the preſent world that ſuch uſeleſs materials are thus fallen in the wreck of time. Man, while yet unreduced by laws, and ſtruggling with the beaſts of the foreſt for divided dominion, while yet ſavage and ſolitary, was ſcarce an object whoſe actions were worth tranſmitting to poſterity. The value of hiſtory ariſes from the neceſſary diverſity of laws, arts, and cuſtoms among men, which inform the underſtanding, and produce an agreeable variety; but ſavage life is the ſame in every climate and every age, preſenting the obſerver only with one uniform picture, a life of ſuſpicion, indolence, improvidence, and rapacity. Beſides, the nearer hiſtory comes home to the preſent times, the more it is our intereſt to be acquainted with it, the accounts of ancient ages being only uſeful as introductory to our own; wherefore it

it happens well that thoſe parts of which we know the leaſt, are the leaſt neceſſary to be known.

Senſible, therefore, how liable we are to redundancy in this firſt part of our deſign, it has been our endeavour to unfold ancient hiſtory with all poſſible conciſeneſs; and ſolicitous to improve the reader's ſtock of knowlege, we have been indifferent as to the diſplay of our own. We have not ſtopt to diſcuſs or confute all the abſurd conjectures men of ſpeculation have thrown in our way. We at firſt had even determined not to embarraſs the page of truth with the names of thoſe whoſe labours had only been calculated to encumber it with falſehood and vain ſpeculation. However, we have thought proper, upon ſecond thoughts, ſlightly to mention them and their opinions, quoting the author at the bottom of the page, ſo that the reader who is curious about ſuch particularities, may know where to have recourſe for fuller information. But critical philology of this kind, is pretty much and juſtly exploded in the preſent age: at the revival of letters, indeed, when all the ſtores of antiquity were as yet unexplored, the learned, as might naturally be expected, made greater uſe of their memory than their judgment, and exhauſted their induſtry in examining opinions not yet well known. But all that could conduce to enlighten hiſtory, has been ſince often examined, and placed in every point of view; it now only remains to ſhew a ſkill rather in ſelecting than collecting, to diſcover a true veneration for the works of the ancients, not by compiling their ſentiments, but by imitating their elegant ſimplicity.

As in the early part of hiſtory a want of real facts hath induced many to ſpin out the little that was known with conjecture, ſo in the modern department the ſuperfluity of trifling anecdotes was equally apt to introduce confuſion. In one caſe hiſtory has been rendered tedious from our want of knowing the truth, in the other, from knowing too much of truths not worth our notice. Every year that is added to the

age

age of the world, ſerves to lengthen the page of its hiſtory; ſo that to give this branch of learning a juſt length in the circle of human purſuits, it is neceſſary to abridge ſeveral of the leaſt important facts. It is true we often at preſent ſee the annals of a ſingle reign, or even the tranſactions of a ſingle year, occupying folios: But can the writers of ſuch tedious journals ever hope to reach poſterity? Or do they think that our deſcendants, whoſe attention will naturally be turned to their own concerns, can exhauſt ſo much time in the examination of ours? Though a late elegant writer has ſaid much in favour of abridgments, we neither approve nor contend for them; but even ſuch mutilated accounts are better than to have that ſhort duration alloted us here below entirely taken up with minute details and unintereſting events. There are many other uſeful branches of knowlege as well as hiſtory to ſhare our induſtry; but from the extent of ſome late works of this kind, one would be led to ſuppoſe, that this ſtudy alone were recommended to fill up all the vacuities of life, and that to contemplate what others had done, was all we had to do.

A plan of general hiſtory rendered too extenſive, deters us from a ſtudy that is perhaps of all others the moſt uſeful, by rendering it too laborious; and inſtead of alluring our curioſity, excites our deſpair. A late work has appeared to us highly obnoxious in this reſpect. There have been already publiſhed of that performance not leſs than fifty four volumes, and it ſtill remains unfiniſhed, and perhaps may continue to go on *finiſhing* while it continues to find purchaſers, or till time itſelf can no longer furniſh new materials. Already, as *Livy* hath expreſt it upon a different occaſion, *eo crevit ut magnitudine laboret ſua*, it is grown to ſuch a ſize, as actually to ſeem ſinking under the weight of its own corpulence. In fact, where is the reader poſſeſt of ſufficient fortitude to undertake the painful taſk of travelling through ſuch an immenſe tract of compi-

lation;

lation, particularly if thro' the greateſt part of this journey he ſhould find no landſchapes to amuſe nor pleaſing regions to invite, but a continued uniformity of dreary proſpects, ſhapeleſs ruins, and fragments of mutilated antiquity. Writers are unpardonable who convert our amuſement into labour, and diveſt knowlege of one of its moſt pleaſing allurements. The ancients have repreſented hiſtory under the figure of a woman, eaſy, graceful, and inviting; but we have ſeen her in our days converted like the virgin of *Nabis* into an inſtrument of torture. But in truth, ſuch as read for profit, and not for oſtentation, ſeldom have any thing to do with ſuch voluminous productions, which are utterly unſuited to human talents and time; they are at firſt uſually caught up by vanity, and admired by ignorance; from their weight they naturally deſcend into the lower ſhelves of a large library, and ever after keep their ſtations there in unmoleſted obſcurity.

How far we have retrenched theſe exceſſes, and ſteered between the oppoſites of exuberance and abridgment, the judicious are left to determine. We here offer the public an hiſtory of mankind from the earlieſt accounts of time to the preſent age, in twelve volumes, which, upon mature deliberation, appeared to us the proper mean. For as ſome have lengthened ſimilar undertakings to ten times that ſize, ſo others have comprized the whole in one tenth of our compaſs. Thus, for inſtance, *Turſelinus*, *Puffendorf*, *Boſſuet*, and *Holberg*, have each reduced univerſal hiſtory into a ſingle volume. But as the former are found fatiguing from their prolixity, ſo the latter are unſatisfactory from the neceſſary brevity to which they are confined. It has been therefore our endeavour to give every fact its full ſcope; but at the ſame time to retrench all diſguſting ſuperfluity, to give every object the due proportion it ought to maintain in the general picture of mankind without crowding the canvas; ſuch an hiſtory ſhould, in one reſpect, reſemble a well formed dictionary

onary of arts and ſciences; both ſhould ſerve as a complete library of ſcience or hiſtory to every man, except in his own profeſſion, in which more particular tracts or explanations may be wanted. We flatter ourſelves, therefore, that this will be found both conciſe and perſpicuous, tho' it muſt be candidly confeſſed, that we ſate down leſs deſirous of making a ſuccinct hiſtory than a pleaſing one; we ſought after elegance alone, but accidentally found conciſeneſs in our purſuit.

But to attain a juſt elegance, order was requiſite; it was neceſſary, in ſo complex a ſubject, to be very careful both of the method and the connexion. This is a point in which all writers of general hiſtory have uſually vied with their predeceſſors, every laſt attempt diſcovering the defects in the former: and indeed to do each juſtice, every laſt attempt ſeems to have been the beſt in this reſpect. Method, in very complex ſubjects, is one of thoſe attainments which is gained only by the ſucceſſive application of different talents to the ſame purſuit; it is mended by repeated effort, and refines as it flows; ſo that from the times of the firſt writer of this kind among the moderns that we remember, down to that of the late Univerſal Hiſtory publiſhed in fifty four volumes, the diſtribution of the parts has gone on improving. It would therefore be the height of injuſtice not to acknowlege our obligations to thoſe writers laſt-mentioned for their aſſiſtance in this particular. We have, however, laid hold of every opportunity that offered of improvement, particularly by proſcribing all ſuch foreign matter as tended to lead the reader away from the principal ſubject. Uniformity in a work of this kind ſhould be principally attended to; in a ſubject like this, conſiſting of heterogeneous parts that are at beſt feebly held together, we ſhould never render the connexion ſtill more feeble by the inſinuation of new materials; or, to expreſs it in a different manner, where there is already danger of embarraſſment from multitude, the introduction of foreign members

bers would but neceſſarily encreaſe the tumult. We hope, therefore, that the reader will here ſee the revolutions of empires without confuſion, and trace arts and laws from one kingdom to another, without loſing his intereſt in the narrative of their other tranſactions.

To attain theſe ends with greater certainty of ſucceſs, we have taken care in ſome meaſure to baniſh that late, and we may add, gothic practice of uſing a multiplicity of notes; a thing as much unknown to the ancient hiſtorians as it is diſguſting in the moderns. *Balzac* ſomewhere calls vain erudition the baggage of antiquity; might we in turn be permitted to make an apothegm, we would call notes the baggage of a bad writer. Scarce any other reaſon has been aſſigned for this practice, but that if ſuch were inſerted into the body of the work, they might impede the rapidity of the narration. It is not eaſy, however, to conceive in what manner a reader is leſs interrupted whoſe eye is invited down to the note at the bottom of the page, which was certainly placed there in order to be read, than he would be by a proper inſertion of the ſame into the body of the work. Will they perſuade us that an animal will move with leſs eaſe and ſwiftneſs who carries its load upon its back, than if he dragg'd it along at the tail. It certainly argues a defect of method, or a want of perſpicuity, when an author is thus obliged to write notes upon his own works; and it may aſſuredly be ſaid, that whoever undertakes to write a comment upon himſelf, will for ever remain without a rival his own commentator. We have therefore lopt off ſuch excreſcencies, tho' not to any degree of affectation; as ſometimes an acknowleged blemiſh may be admitted into works of ſkill either to cover a greater defect, or to take a nearer courſe to beauty.

Having mentioned the danger of affectation, it may be proper to obſerve, that as this, of all defects, is moſt apt to inſinuate itſelf into ſuch a work, we

have therefore been upon our guard againſt it. From the natural biaſs which every hiſtorian has to ſome favourite profeſſion or ſcience, he is apt to introduce phraſes or topics drawn from thence upon every occaſion, and thus not unfrequently tinctures a work otherwiſe valuable with abſurdity. *Menage* tells us of a chymiſt, who writing an hiſtory, uſed upon every occaſion the language of an adept, and brought all his alluſions from the laboratory. *Polybius*, who was a ſoldier, has been reprehended for taking up too much time in the hiſtory of a ſiege, or the deſcription of a battle. *Guicciardin*, on the other hand, who was a ſecretary, has been tedious in diſſerting upon trifling treaties and dull negotiations. In like manner we have known writers, who being ſomewhat acquainted with oriental languages, have filled a long hiſtory with long *Arabic* names and uncouth ſpellings. Were we diſpoſed to the ſame affectations, it would have been eaſy enough through the courſe of our work to have written *Mohammed* for *Mahomet*, *Tatar* for *Tartar*, *Wazir* for *Viſier*, or *Timur* for *Tamerlane*; we might even have outgone our predeceſſors, and have written *Stamboul* for *Conſtantinople*, or *Ganga* for *Ganges*, with true exotic propriety. But tho' we have the proper reverence for *Arabic* and *Malayan* alſo, of which we profeſs our ignorance, we have thought it expedient to reject ſuch peculiarities. For which reaſon, when we meet the name of an *Arabian* general at full length, we make no ſcruple of abridging his titles, or turning them into *Engliſh*. Thus, for inſtance, when an *Arabian* hiſtorian, and his faithful copyiſts, in a late Univerſal Hiſtory, aſſures that *Hâreth Ebn Talâtula* led an army into the field, which by the temerity of *Al Howaireth Ebn Nokaid Ebn Wahab Ebn Abd Ebn Koſa* was utterly defeated, we thought leſs ceremony might be uſed with ſuch an indifferent general, and ſimply mention *Howaireth*'s folly and his defeat. To be ſerious, innovation in a work of this nature ſhould by no means be attempted; thoſe names and ſpellings which have been uſed in our language for

time

time immemorial, ought to continue unaltered; for like ſtates, they acquire a ſort of *jus diuturne poſſeſſionis*, as the civilians expreſs it, however unjuſt their original claims might have been. Yet how far we have reformed theſe defects of ſtyle, without ſubſtituting errors of our own, we leave the public to determine; for few writers are judges of themſelves in this particular.

With reſpect to chronology and geography, the one of which fixes actions to time, while the other aſſigns them to place, we have followed the moſt approved methods among the moderns. All that was requiſite in this, was to preſerve one ſyſtem of each invariably, and permit ſuch as choſe to adopt the plans of others, to rectify our deviations to their own ſtandard. If actions and things are made to preſerve their due diſtances of time and place mutually with reſpect to each other, it matters little as to the duration of them all with reſpect to eternity, or their ſituation with regard to the univerſe.

Thus much (perhaps ſome will think too much) we have thought proper to premiſe concerning a work which, however executed, has coſt much labour and great expence. Had we for our judges the unbiaſſed and the judicious alone, few words would have ſerved, or even ſilence would have been our beſt addreſs; but when it is conſidered that we have wrought for the public, that miſcellaneous being, at variance within itſelf from the differing influence of pride, prejudice, or incapacity, a public already ſated with attempts of this nature, and in a manner unwilling to find out merit till forced upon its notice, we hope to be pardoned for thus endeavouring to ſhew where it is preſumed we have had a ſuperiority. An Hiſtory of the World to the preſent time, at once ſatisfactory and ſuccinct, calculated rather for uſe than curioſity, to be read rather than conſulted, ſeeking applauſe from the reader's feelings, not from his ignorance of learning, or affectation of being thought learned; an hiſtory that may be purchaſed at an

eaſy

eaſy expence, yet that omits nothing material, delivered in a ſtyle correct yet familiar, was wanting in our language; and tho' ſenſible of our own inſufficiency, this defect we have attempted to ſupply. Whatever reception the preſent age or poſterity may give this work, we reſt ſatisfied with our own endeavours to deſerve a kind one. The completion of our deſign has for ſome years taken up all the time which we could ſpare from other occupations, of leſs importance indeed to the public, but probably more advantageous to ourſelves. We are unwilling therefore to diſmiſs this ſubject without obſerving, that the labour of ſo great a part of life ſhould at leaſt be examined with candour, and not careleſsly confounded in that multiplicity of daily publications which, being conceived without effort, are produced without praiſe, and ſink without cenſure. Were he who now particularly entreats the reader's candid examination to mention the part he has had in this work himſelf, he is well convinced, and that without any affected modeſty, that ſuch a diſcovery would only ſhew the ſuperiority of his aſſociates in this undertaking: but it is not from his friendſhip or his praiſe, but from their former labours in the learned world, that they are to expect their reward. Whatever be the fate of this hiſtory, their reputation is in no danger, but will ſtill continue riſing; for they have found by its gradual encreaſe already, that the approbation of folly is loud and tranſient; that of wiſdom, ſtill but laſting.

A GENE-

A

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD,

BOOK I.

Containing the Hiſtory from the CREATION to the Call of ABRAHAM.

CHAP. I.

The Creation and Fall of man, and an account of the antediluvian world.

AS we intend to write a general and ſuccinct hiſtory of the world, from the origin of mankind to the preſent age, we ſhall not amuſe our readers with the various and abſurd opinions of the ancient philoſophers, or with the different hypotheſes of ſeveral moderns, concerning the firſt formation of the earth; but ſhall only mention the authentic account of the creation, given us by the moſt ancient hiſtorian *Moſes*. This inſpired writer informs us, that in the beginning, God created the heaven and the earth, and that after the earth, by the immediate operation of God, was gradually fitted, in the ſpace of ſix days, for the habitation of man, *Adam* and *Eve*, the progenitors of all the human race, were then created, and placed by their divine maker, in a garden or paradiſe, ſituated in the land of *Eden*.

The world and man created by God.

The opinions of authors, concerning the ſituation of this paradiſe, have been very different. Several of the fathers imagined that the deſcription of the garden by *Moſes* was a meer allegory. Others allowing a local paradiſe, have placed it in the third heaven; within the orb of the moon; in the moon itſelf; in the middle region of the air; and others elſewhere; and of thoſe

Various opinions concerning the ſituation of *Eden*.

who admit a terreſtrial paradiſe, ſome have imagined it ſeated in *China*, others in *Tartary*, *Perſia*, *Armenia*, *Meſopotamia*, *Chaldea*, *Ethiopia*, and ſome even in *Sweden*, and in *America*. *Moſes* relates, that the garden of *Eden* was watered by a remarkable river, that divided itſelf into four ſtreams or branches, the firſt of which was named *Piſon*, and encompaſſed the whole land of *Havilah*; the ſecond was named *Gihon*, and encompaſſed the land of *Cuſh*; the third was *Hiddekel*, and ran into the eaſtern parts of *Aſſyria*; and the fourth was the noted river *Euphrates*.

From this deſcription, 'tis natural to ſearch for the country of *Eden*, in the neighbourhood of the courſe of the laſt mentioned river. Some however, from an expreſſion of the prophet *Amos*, who in his firſt chapter mentions the houſe of *Eden* as a part of *Syria*, have imagined that paradiſe was ſituated in that country, and to ſupport their opinion, have placed the four rivers according to their own fancy, contrary to all the authority of geography. *Eden*, or *Aden*, which ſignifies *pleaſure*, is a general name applicable to all places remarkable for their delightful ſituation. But the *Eden* in *Syria* cannot be the country deſcribed by *Moſes*, as it lies northward, and not eaſtward from *Egypt* or the land of *Midian*, where he is ſuppoſed to have written his book.

Another hypotheſis eſpouſed by *Calmet*, *Sanſon*, and *Reland*, places *Eden* in *Armenia*, between the ſources of the *Tigris*, the *Euphrates*, the *Araxes*, and the *Phaſis*, which are ſuppoſed to be the four rivers ſpecified by *Moſes*. This ſcheme however appears but badly founded; for it does not account for that river which watered paradiſe, and from whence the other four had their riſe; and the *Phaſis* inſtead of having its ſource in the mountains of *Armenia*, and running northwards according to the erroneous opinion of ancient geographers, is diſcovered by the modern travellers *Thevenot*, and Sir *John Chardin*, to riſe in mount *Caucaſus* and to flow ſouthwards.

Calvin in his commentaries on *Geneſis*, has propoſed another opinion, which, with ſome little variation, has been adopted by many learned men, and ſeems moſt agreeable to the deſcription of *Moſes*. The authors of this ſcheme agree in the main, that *Eden* was in *Chaldea*, and that the garden was ſomewhere near the rivers amongſt which *Babylon* was afterwards built. They prove by undeniable arguments, the land of *Havilah* to be the country adjacent to the *Euphrates*, and extending from thence weſtward to the deſarts of *Arabia*, which country is celebrated by *Pliny*, *Strabo*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and others, for the great abundance of fine gold, for bdellium, and for pearls, and precious ſtones of the greateſt value. A branch of the *Euphrates* is called by *Xenophon*, *Phyſcus*, which bears a ſtriking reſemblance to the name of *Phiſon*. The land of *Cuſh*, which our Engliſh tranſlation erroneouſly renders *Ethiopia*, they allege was that part of *Chaldea*, where *Cuſh* the ſon of *Ham* ſettled after the flood, which at this day is ſtill called *Chuzeſtan* by the inhabitants, and is waſhed by a branch of the

the *Tygris*. According to this diſpoſition, *Eden* was ſituated upon the united ſtream of the *Euphrates* and *Tygris*, which two rivers, before they enter the *Perſian* gulph, ſeparate into ſeveral branches, two of which are ſuppoſed to be *Piſon* and *Gihon*. *Hiddekel* is admitted by all interpreters to be the ſame with the *Tygris*. After all, it muſt be allowed that the moſaical deſcription does not ſtrictly agree with any account either ancient or modern which we have of that country: but as 'tis plain from the relations of modern travellers, that the preſent appearance of the country, does not correſpond with the accounts of prophane authors, written about 2000 years ago, 'tis probable great alterations might have naturally happened betwixt that period and the time of *Moſes*, who wrote his hiſtory upwards of a thouſand years before.

The happy ſtate of our firſt parents.

Our firſt parents, when placed in paradiſe by God, were perfectly innocent and happy; the faculties of their minds were pure and active, and their bodies healthful and beautiful. They were ſubject to none of thoſe irregular appetites, diſeaſes, wants, and ſorrows, which by their rebellion, they afterwards brought on themſelves and their unhappy poſterity. The garden was a moſt delightful habitation, richly adorned with all the rural beauties of nature. It was well watered, and planted with all ſorts of trees, that were either pleaſant to the ſight or good for food. In the midſt of the garden were two trees of a very peculiar and ſeemingly contrary nature. One was called the tree of life, the fruit of which rendered thoſe who ate of it, in ſome degree at leaſt, immortal; and the other was named the tree of knowledge of good and evil. *Adam* was appointed by God, to dreſs and keep the garden, and was allowed to eat freely of the fruit of every tree in it, excepting of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. This he was ſtrictly commanded not to taſte on pain of death.

How long they continued in their ſtate of innocence is very uncertain. It is probable they did not immediately tranſgreſs the divine command; tho' by the narration of *Moſes*, it appears that their fall was not long after the creation. The *Jews* and ſome *Chriſtian* fathers believe that it happened on the very day they were created. This, however, is next to impoſſible; for a day would be a great deal too ſhort for the ſeveral actions that muſt on that ſuppoſition have been compriſed in it. Beſides, God at the end of the ſixth day declared every thing to be very good, which is not reconcilable with truth, if ſin, the greateſt evil, had then entered into the world. Some have therefore conjectured, that our firſt parents fell on the tenth day of the world's age, in memory of which calamity, they think, *the great day of expiation*, being the tenth day of the year, was inſtituted in after ages. Others think they tranſgreſſed on the eighth day from their creation, and that as the firſt week of the world ended with the formation of man and woman, the ſecond was probably concluded with their fatal ſeduction.

An account of their fall.

Moſes relates that the ſerpent, which was more ſubtle than any beaſt of the field, tempted *Eve* to eat of the tree in the midſt of the garden, by aſſuring her that from eating the fruit, ſhe and her huſband ſhould not die; but that their eyes would be opened, and they would become like Gods, knowing good and evil. *Eve* likewiſe gave of the fruit to her huſband, and he did eat, when the eyes of both were immediately opened; and knowing themſelves to be naked, they ſewed fig-leaves together, and made themſelves aprons. Soon after hearing the voice of God walking in the garden, in the cool of the day, they hid themſelves; and being aſked, if they had tranſgreſſed his command, they confeſſed their guilt. God then curſed the ſerpent above all beaſts, and condemned him to go on his belly and eat the duſt; adding, that he would put enmity between him and the woman, and their ſeveral offspring, and that the ſeed of the woman ſhould bruiſe the head of the ſerpent, who ſhould bruiſe the heel of the other. The woman was puniſhed with the pain of child-birth, and put in ſubjection to her huſband; *Adam* was condemned to earn his bread by the ſweat of his brow, till he returned to the duſt from whence he was taken; and the earth, for his ſake, was curſed with barrenneſs. After this ſentence, God cloathed *Adam* and *Eve* with ſkins; and leſt they ſhould take of the tree of life, and eat and live for ever, he turned them out of the garden, to the eaſtward of which he placed Cherubims, and a flaming ſword which turned every way, to guard the paſſage to the tree of life.

This account, at firſt view, ſeeming to contain ſome improbabilities, ſeveral learned and pious men have been inclined to take the whole relation in a figurative and allegorical ſenſe, alledging that the antients, particularly in the eaſtern nations, frequently uſed to veil the truth of facts in allegory. They therefore imagine that the hiſtory of the fall exhibits the defection of the ſoul, the ſerpent repreſenting *Concupiſcence*; the man to whom he durſt not apply himſelf, expreſſing *Reaſon*, and the woman whom he ſo eaſily ſeduced being the emblem of *Senſe*.

The literal ſenſe of the account of *Moſes* defended.

But though many of the antient philoſophers affected an allegorical manner of writing, *Moſes* appears to have had no ſuch deſign; therefore the hiſtory of the fall, as well as the reſt of his writings, ought to be taken in a literal ſenſe. Several learned men have endeavoured to ſolve the difficulties occurring from his conciſe account. They think the ſerpent was actuated by ſome wicked and malicious ſpirit, (probably the chief of thoſe beings) who, envying the happineſs of mankind, reſolved to bring them into the ſame miſerable condition with himſelf, and his apoſtate companions. This opinion ſeems ſupported by ſeveral parts of ſcripture, where the devil is called the *Old Serpent*. By our Saviour he is ſaid to have been *a murderer from the beginning*, and the author of the book of *Wiſdom*, doubtleſs well acquainted

quainted with the doctrines of the Jewish Church, tells us, that, *by the envy of the devil death came into the world.*

The devil probably preferred the body of a serpent, as before the fall that creature seems to have been more familiar with man than any other animal, by the character given of it in scripture, that it was more subtle than any beast of the field; which word *subtle* may denote its gentle and insinuating disposition, as well as insidiousness or craft. Both Jewish and Christian writers imagine, that the serpent before the fall did not creep on the ground, but went erect; and that it had gained the good liking and esteem of our first parents, seems implied in part of the sentence against it, God declaring, *that for the future, there should be enmity between the serpent and the woman, and between his seed and her seed.* Its intimacy with the woman rendered it the more proper instrument for the purpose of the devil, who, sliding himself into it, might wantonly play before her till he led her insensibly to the forbidden tree. Then twisting round its branches he might take of the fruit, and eat, to shew her, by experience, that it contained no deadly quality. His speech might be less frightful or surprising to her, who, in the state of her innocence, not knowing what fear was, might probably think (as he might positively affirm) that this new acquired faculty proceeded from the virtue of the fruit.

This conjecture is still more probable, if we suppose the serpent, whose body the devil possessed, was not of a common ordinary species, but something like that fiery flying sort which we are told are bred in *Arabia* and *Egypt.* They are of a shining yellowish colour, like brass, and by the motion of their wings, and vibration of their tails reverberating the sun beams, make a glorious appearance. Now a serpent of this kind (though perhaps it was of a species far more glorious) was a proper creature for the devil's purpose; for these serpents are called in scripture *Seraphim*, or *Seraphs*, which name is also given to those bright angelical Beings, who are frequently employed by God to deliver his will to mankind. From the representations tolerated in the Jewish church, 'tis probable the angels generally appeared to our first parents in certain splendid forms, some of them assuming the shape of *Cherubim* or beautiful flying *Oxen*, others the form of *Seraphim* or winged and shining serpents. The devil might therefore impose upon *Eve*, by taking the appearance of a messenger from Heaven, under which disguise she might see him approach her without fear, hear him talk to her without surprise, and comply with his seduction with less reluctancy.

The sentence denounced on the serpent cannot seem strange, if we consider, that God probably intended the debasement of that once glorious creature, to serve as a monument of man's apostacy, and a testimony of his displeasure against sin. By the levitical law, if a man committed any *abomination* with a beast, the beast was to be slain, as well as the man; and

even by human laws the meer inſtrument of an enormous crime is often deſtroyed. Beſides, the great change which the ſerpent underwent was not, perhaps, felt by it as a miſfortune.

As to the tree of life, it is ſuppoſed to have been ſome way conſonant to a ſtate of innocence and immortality, the frail and mortal bodies of our firſt parents requiring to be invigorated by ſome ſpirituous nouriſhment to keep them in conſtant youth, till ſuch time as they ſhould be tranſlated from Earth to Heaven, according to the opinion of the beſt Jewiſh and Chriſtian writers. Some imagine the tree of knowledge of good and evil was ſo called, becauſe it really had a virtue to open man's underſtanding; or elſe, becauſe the eating of it would eventually teach him the difference between the *good* of obedience and the *evil* of tranſgreſſion. Others think it ſo called meerly from the devil's pretending it had a virtue to confer knowledge. What particular kind of tree it was, has been the ſubject of many idle conjectures. The vine, the apple, the common and the Indian fig-tree have all put in their claims, and ſome even ſuppoſe it to have been an ear of wheat; but what *Moſes* has ſo induſtriouſly concealed, is above the power of any to diſcover.

The reaſonableneſs of the prohibition.

That the trial of man's obedience ſhould be by ſuch a prohibition, as is mentioned by *Moſes*, appears perfectly rational, and adapted to the ſtate of innocence. No moral precept could have been at all proper for that purpoſe, as there was then ſcarce a poſſibility of their tranſgreſſing any ſuch. It muſt therefore have been ſome indifferent action, neither good nor evil in itſelf, but ſo far only as it was commanded or forbidden. And what ſo natural and agreeable to the ſtate of our firſt parents (conſidering they were to live all their lives in a garden) as the forbidding them to eat of the fruit of a certain tree in that garden, a tree near at hand, and which every moment might give them an opportunity of teſtifying their obedience to God by their abſtaining from it. This removes the objection againſt the puniſhment inflicted on man for his diſobedience as too ſevere, and no way proportionable to the offence; for we are deceived if we ſuppoſe that good and evil is only in the nature of the thing and not in the commands and prohibitions of God. Conſidering then this crime to have been a downright rebellion againſt God, and committed againſt the cleareſt conviction of conſcience, with other aggravating circumſtances, it will appear to have been a crime ſo heinous, that nothing now-a-days can be ſuppoſed to reſemble it.

Our firſt parents had no ſooner eaten the forbidden fruit, than they perceived the fatal effects of their tranſgreſſion. Their eyes were opened, but in a ſenſe quite different from what the tempter had promiſed them. They diſcovered their own nakedneſs, which expreſſion has been taken literally by ſome writers, who imagine, that, upon the fall, the air and other elements

clements immediately became intemperate and diſorderly, ſo that our firſt parents were obliged to uſe clothes againſt the inclemency of the ſeaſons. This opinion, however, ſeems groundleſs from the ſlightneſs of their covering. Others think that the expreſſion is figurative, and that by nakedneſs is meant a ſenſe of ſhame and guilt, as the ſame form of ſpeech is uſed in other parts of ſcripture. To conceal as much as poſſible the foul degradation of their nature, the criminals twiſted round their waiſts the leaves of the fig-tree; ſome ſpecies of which, modern travellers inform us, are ſo large in the eaſtern countries, that two of them are ſufficient to cover any man. The expreſſion of *Moſes* in the original, does not imply that the leaves were ſewed together, but means only to *join* or *apply*.

God having paſſed ſentence on our firſt parents, is ſaid, before he drove them from paradiſe, to have cloathed them with ſkins; that is, according to the idiom of the Hebrew tongue, they were inſtructed by God how to make themſelves coats. What theſe coats were has been the ſubject of conjecture. It is probable they were not the ſkins of ſlain animals, as there were yet no more than a male and female of each ſpecies. Some think, that as the word tranſlated *ſkins*, may alſo be rendered *bark* or *rind*, the coats mentioned were made of the bark of trees.

The cherubim and flaming ſword, what.

The opinions concerning the cherubim and flaming ſword are likewiſe various. Some, who place paradiſe in the ſouthern hemiſphere, think, that by the ſword is meant the torrid zone, ſuppoſed at that time to be intolerably hot, as the earth, according to them, was then placed in a direct poſition to the ſun. Others conſidering that the words rendered *flaming ſword*, are in the original *the flame of diviſion*, or *a dividing flame*, have from thence ſuppoſed the ſword to have been a wall or circle of fire encompaſſing paradiſe, nouriſhed by ſome inflammable matter in the earth. Some Rabbins from the expreſſion in the Pſalms, *God maketh his Angels ſpirits, and his miniſters a flaming fire*, are of opinion that the flaming ſword was an Angel, in the form of a fiery flying ſerpent, whoſe ſplendid vibrations in the air might be aptly deſcribed by the alluſion of a ſword.

The fatal effects of the fall on man,

We ſhall now mention ſome of the fatal effects of the fall on our firſt parents, and their poſterity, and alſo upon the ground which was curſed for their ſake. The unhappy pair, after they were expelled from Paradiſe, did not indeed immediately die, but they became ſubject to death, which hung continually over their heads. They had forfeited the favour of God, and in a great meaſure, loſt his image. The excellency of their knowledge, the ſubordination of their faculties, the tranquillity of their minds, and their full dominion over other creatures, was ſadly impaired. The neceſſaries of life were now to be gotten by hard labour of the man, and child-birth was to be attended with great pain in the woman.

As they could not by generation tranſmit any thing to their poſterity but what they had themſelves, their deſcendants were deſtined in like manner to undergo the troubles of life, and the pains and agonies of death. Theſe conſequences regarding the poſterity of *Adam* cannot be reckoned unjuſt; for we are thereby only deprived of what we had no title to. But that, by *Adam*'s ſin, we are become the objects of God's wrath, and deſerving eternal damnation, (according to the opinion of St. *Auſtin* and his diſciples) has ſeemed, to many, a very harſh doctrine, and to reflect on the goodneſs and juſtice of God.

and on the ground.

As to the earth, its fruits were at firſt ſpontaneous, and the ſoil, without being torn and tormented, ſatisfied the wants and deſires of man: but God, as a puniſhment for his diſobedience, having curſed the ground, it immediately loſt its original fertility. The earth was not only impoveriſhed, but the air and other elements became diſordered, in ſome meaſure unwholeſome, and ſometimes fatal. Hence proceeded famines, peſtilences, earthquakes, ſtorms, and all manner of natural calamities, which introduced variety of diſeaſes and diſtempers. The conſtitution of man's body likewiſe underwent a remarkable change. Some of the ancient fathers, from their high opinion of the merits and excellency of celibacy, have imagined, that in caſe man had perſevered in his ſtate of innocence, there would have been no matrimonial commerce, but that mankind would have been otherwiſe propagated. This opinion however is oppoſed by ſeveral arguments, ſuch as the benediction of God, and his command to encreaſe and multiply; the diſtinction of the ſexes preceding the fall; and the abſurdity of ſuppoſing ſin to have been neceſſary for the propagation of mankind. The condition of the woman was alſo conſiderably altered by the fall. Before their tranſgreſſion ſhe was in a ſtate of greater equality with the man, and little more ſubject to ſorrow in the propagation of poſterity than he. The very animals, according to *Whiſton*, ſeem to have, at that time, enjoyed larger capacities, approaching nearer to reaſon and diſcourſe; and to have been partakers of higher degrees of perfection and happineſs.

Adam, after his expulſion from Paradiſe, conſummated his marriage with *Eve*, which, as the words of *Moſes* ſeem to imply, he had not done before the fall. Without recounting the many wild, ridiculous, and abſurd fancies of the Mahometans and Jewiſh rabbies concerning our firſt parents and their offspring, we ſhall confine ourſelves to the account of the ſacred hiſtorian, and mention the moſt judicious explications of his text. When *Eve* was delivered of her firſt born *Cain*, which was probably in the firſt year of the world, ſhe cried out in a tranſport of joy, *I have gotten a man from the Lord*, or, according to the tranſlation of ſome, *I have gotten the man the Lord*, imagining ſhe had brought forth the *Meſſias*, or *promiſed ſeed*, who was to bruiſe the ſerpent's head,

Cain and *Abel* born.

or

or deſtroy *Satan*'s power and dominion. The year following ſhe had a ſecond ſon named *Abel*.

Cain and *Abel*, when they were grown up, betook themſelves to different employments; the former of them to huſbandry, and the latter to the keeping of ſheep. Their inward diſpoſitions were ſtill more different, *Cain* being wicked and avaricious, but *Abel* juſt and virtuous.

In proceſs of time the two brothers brought their reſpective offerings to God, *Cain* of the fruit of the ground, and *Abel* of the firſtlings of his flock, and the fat thereof, or, as ſome will have it, of the milk only. They met with very different ſucceſs; for God, who eſtimates the ſincerity of the heart more than the value of the oblation, had reſpect to, or accepted the offering of *Abel*, but *Cain*'s he did not accept. In what viſible manner he declared his acceptance, is not expreſſed by *Moſes*; but it is the general opinion, that it was by fire or lightning from heaven, which conſumed the ſacrifice, as there are many examples in ſcripture of ſuch a manifeſtation of favour. Their offerings.

The preference ſhewn by God to the ſacrifice of *Abel*, ſo enraged *Cain*, and tranſported him with envy againſt his brother, that he could not help diſcovering it by his countenance. God, however, condeſcended to expoſtulate the matter with him, and aſked him what reaſon he had to be angry, ſince, if he did well, he ſhould be accepted, and he could blame none but himſelf for the conſequences of his own ill behaviour. In particular, he could not juſtly be angry with *Abel*, who had no deſign to ſupplant him, and would always pay him the reſpect due to an elder brother.

After this admonition, *Cain*, according to the *Engliſh* tranſlation, *talked with* Abel *his brother*, which expreſſion is variouſly interpreted; but, perhaps, may mean no more, than that he feigned a reconciliation. His malice and reſentment however encreaſed, and at a convenient opportunity, when they were together in the field, he roſe up againſt his brother *Abel* and ſlew him; and buried his body, in hopes of concealing his murder. This was the firſt act of violence committed in the world. It proceeded from a principle from which many actions of the ſame ſort have ſince proceeded, a ſpirit of emulation, which being not duly managed, and made a ſpur to virtue, took an unhappy turn, and degenerated into malice and revenge. As this horrid fact happened in the 130th year of the world, *Abel* is generally ſuppoſed to have been married, and to have left many deſcendants, tho' *Moſes* makes no mention of his offſpring. *Abel* murdered.

After the commiſſion of the murder, *Cain* was queſtioned by God about his brother; but, inſtead of penitently confeſſing his guilt, he returned an evaſive and churliſh anſwer. God, after convincing him, that what he had done was not hid from him, as a puniſhment condemned him to be a fugitive and a vagabond on the earth, and to till an ungrateful *Cain*'s puniſhment.

ſoil, which ſhould not reward his labour with the plenty and increaſe he had before experienced. This ſentence at length ſtruck *Cain* with a ſenſe of his guilt. He aſked, according to the *Hebrew* expoſitors, *if his ſin was too great to be forgiven*, which interpretation is generally preferred to the common *Engliſh* verſion, that *his puniſhment was greater than he could bear*.

Upon his humiliation, God was pleaſed, in ſome meaſure, to pardon his tranſgreſſion; and, as he was apprehenſive of being killed by the next that ſhould meet him, he declared that whoever ſlew him, vengeance ſhould be taken on him ſeven fold; and, the more effectually to ſecure him from the apprehenſion of outward violence, he vouchſafed to give him a ſign (probably by ſome ſenſible miracle) that no creature ſhould be permitted to take away his life. The ridiculous conjectures and gueſſes of many writers concerning the mark ſet upon him, are without any foundation, and proceed from a wrong interpretation of the original text.

He builds a city.

Cain being now baniſhed from that ſacred place where God vouchſafed frequent manifeſtations of his glorious preſence, wandered about for ſome time, and at length ſettled with his wife and family in the land of *Nod*, where he built a city, and called it after the name of his ſon, *Enoch*. Where the land of *Nod* (which word ſignifies *wandering*) was ſituated is uncertain. It is placed by *Moſes*, according to our tranſlation, on the eaſt of *Eden*; and the learned *Huet* believed that the city *Anuchtha*, mentioned by *Ptolomy*, in *Suſiana* or *Chuzeſtan*, was the ſame with that built by *Cain*, ſuppoſing the laſt ſyllable *tha* was only a *Chaldee* termination. It ſeems however improbable, that the city of *Enoch* ſhould withſtand the general deluge, or retain its ancient name after ſo great an alteration of the face of things. Beſides, as *Suſiana* is a very fertile and pleaſant country, it is therefore unlikely that *Cain* ſhould be baniſhed thither. For theſe reaſons *Grotius* and *Junius* are of opinion, that the country into which *Cain* retired was the deſert of *Arabia*, alledging that the words commonly tranſlated on the eaſt of *Eden*, ſignify *no more than before*, or *over againſt*, *Eden*, as the Septuagint have rendered them.

Becomes more wicked.

According to *Joſephus*, *Cain*, inſtead of being amended by his puniſhment, became more profligate. He abandoned himſelf to his luſts, enriched himſelf by violence and rapine, and without any regard to juſtice, committed all manner of outrages. He firſt corrupted the plain dealing and upright ſimplicity of mankind by the invention of weights and meaſures, introduced fraud and cunning, inſtead of the primitive generoſity and innocence of life. He alſo firſt ſet bounds to fields and poſſeſſions, and walled the city which he had built, obliging his dependants to live in a community, the better, it is probable, to ſecure their ill-gotten wealth. *Moſes* acquaints us with a very few particulars relating to the deſcendants of *Cain*.

Cain. He mentions a few of his poſterity to the ſeventh generation, perhaps to ſhew, according to *Le Clerc*, who were the real authors and inventors of certain arts and handicrafts, the invention of which the *Egyptians* too vainly aſſumed to themſelves.

Lamech, the fifth in deſcent from *Cain*, married two wives, *Adah* and *Zillah*, which is the firſt recorded inſtance of polygamy. By the former he had two ſons, *Jabal*, who was the firſt that dwelt in tents and fed cattle; and *Jubal*, the inventor of muſic. By *Zillah* he had *Tubal-Cain*, who found out the art of forging and working of metals; and a daughter named *Naamah*, who is ſuppoſed by ſome Rabbins to have invented ſpinning and weaving, and by others to have been the wife of *Noah*. *Lamech*, on ſome occaſion or other, made a ſpeech to his wives, the explication of which has greatly puzzled interpreters. According to our tranſlation his words are, *Adah and Zillah, hear my voice, ye wives of* Lamech, *hearken unto my ſpeech; for I have ſlain a man to my wounding, and a young man to my hurt. If* Cain *ſhall be avenged ſeven fold, truly* Lamech *ſeventy ſeven fold.* Many Rabbins think this ſpeech refers to a murder committed by *Lamech*, and relate that when he was old and blind he killed *Cain* by accident, taking him for a wild beaſt, upon the falſe information of *Tubal-Cain*, whom he therefore beat to death. Others, however, read the paſſage interrogatively or negatively, *Have I ſlain a man?* that is, *I have not ſlain a man that I ſhould be wounded for it; nor have I killed a young man that my ſeed ſhould be deſtroyed for it.* They think that *Lamech* addreſſed his wives and deſcendants to remove their apprehenſions, leſt the murder of *Abel* ſhould be revenged upon them, ſhewing that their fears were groundleſs, as they had no concern in that murder. His deſcendants.

The poſterity of *Cain*, according to *Joſephus*, and other hiſtorians, were enormouſly wicked, every ſucceeding generation growing worſe than the former, and becoming wholly addicted to rapine and brutiſh luſts. *Moſes* gives us no further account of them, unleſs, as is generally ſuppoſed, under the deſignation of *men* and the *daughters of men*.

Adam, ſoon after the baniſhment of *Cain*, probably the next year, had another ſon, who was named *Seth*, which ſignifies *Subſtitute*, becauſe God had ſent him in room of his brother *Abel*. We follow the chronology of the *Hebrew* copy, approved by the famous *Uſher*, according to which *Seth* was born when *Adam* was 130 years of age; whereas the Septuagint places his birth 100 years later. What other children *Adam* had, we are not certain. We are told he had ſeveral, both ſons and daughters, probably a number of both ſuitable to the many years of his life, and to the increaſe neceſſary to people the world. *Moſes* has given us only the lineal deſcendants of *Seth*, who, in the 105th year of his age, had a ſon named *Enos*; in whoſe days, according to our tranſlation, *men began to call upon the name of the Lord*, that is, that the public worſhip *Seth* born. *Enos* born.

ſhip of God was then firſt ſet up. Others however tranſlate the words, *then men began to be called by*, or *after the name of the Lord*, that is, *the ſons of God*. But a third ſort of writers, particularly the *Jews*, either adhering to the former verſion, or tranſlating the paſſage thus, *Then men profaned in calling upon the name of the Lord*, ſuppoſe that idolatry, or the deifying of men had its riſe about this time.

Enoch tranſlated.

It is uncertain how long the deſcendants of *Seth* were eminent for their virtue. *Enoch*, one of them, and the ſixth in a direct line from *Seth*, was a perſon of ſingular piety; and, as a reward for his exemplary behaviour, in ſo corrupt an age, was taken up by God into heaven without taſting death. That *Enoch* was a prophet, and that ſome prophecy of his was preſerved, either in writing or (as is moſt probable) by tradition, even to our Saviour's time, appears from the paſſage quoted thence by St. *Jude*. However, the piece under the title of the ſcripture, or the prophecy of *Enoch*, of which ſome fragments are extant, is now allowed to be a manifeſt forgery.

Adam's death.

Before the tranſlation of *Enoch*, *Adam*, who, according to his ſentence, was to return to his native duſt, departed this life in the 930th year of his age; having, according to tradition, a little before his death, ordered his ſon *Seth*, and other branches of his family, to have no intercourſe with the poſterity of the murtherer *Cain*. Various and idle conjectures have been formed concerning the place of his burial. St. *Jerom* approves of the opinion of thoſe, who imagine he was buried in the cave of *Machpelah* at *Hebron*. Others ſay, that by his own deſire his body was embalmed, and buried in the top of a mountain, to prevent his poſterity from worſhipping his relicks. Several of the primitive fathers believed that he was interred in mount *Calvary*, in the very ſpot where *Chriſt* was crucified; and ſome have imagined the corps was not interred till after the flood, *Noah* having taken it with him into the ark, and ordered it to be carried to *Calvary* by *Melchizedec*.

Various opinions concerning *Seth*.

The poſterity of *Seth*, according to *Joſephus*, lived ſeparate from the reſt of the deſcendants of *Adam*, removing to the mountains over-againſt *Paradiſe*, where they led a paſtoral life, and for ſome time adhered to the ſtricteſt rules of piety and virtue. They are ſaid, by contemplation of the heavenly bodies, to have laid the foundation of the ſcience of aſtronomy; and, to perpetuate the memory of their inventions, to have engraved them on two pillars, one of brick, and the other of ſtone, as they underſtood, from a prediction of *Adam*, that there would be two general devaſtations of the earth, one by fire, and the other by water. The pillar of ſtone, *Joſephus* tells us, was to be ſeen in his time in the land of *Siriad*; but where to fix this country, authors are not agreed. Some place it in *Syria*; others take it to be the ſame with *Seirath*, mentioned in the third chapter of the *Judges*, and think that the ſtone

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quarries in *Gilgal* were the ruins of *Seth*'s pillar. The *Siriadic* land, according to others, was in *Egypt*, where *Manetho* is ſaid to have extracted his hiſtory from certain pillars, whereon inſcriptions had been made by *Thoth*, or the firſt *Mercury*. Thoſe pillars were in the ſubterraneous caverns near *Thebes*, and beyond the *Nile*, built and contrived with vaſt labour in ſeveral places, birds and beaſts, with many kinds of hieroglyphic letters, being engraved on the walls, by thoſe ſkilled in ancient rites, who foreſaw the coming of the deluge. *Joſephus* probably aſcribed theſe *Egyptian* pillars to the ſons of *Adam*, as the name *Seth* was not unknown to the *Egyptians*; and, *Plutarch* tells us, it was the ſame with the *Greek* name *Typhon*.

The deſcendants of *Seth*, who are ſuppoſed to be diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *the ſons of God*, were at length infected with the general wickedneſs that had overſpread the earth. They took wives out of the other families, by which means their manners were ſoon debauched, and at length degenerated ſo far, *that the wickedneſs of man was very great in the earth, and every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually*. From theſe unhappy marriages iſſued a generation, which ſeem to have been no leſs extraordinary for their great ſtature and ſtrength, than for their monſtrous impiety and injuſtice. *In thoſe days*, according to the ſacred hiſtorian, *there were giants in the earth*, ſome of which appear to have been of the poſterity of *Cain*, and others to have been the iſſue of the ſons of *Seth* by *Cain*'s daughters. The *Hebrew* word *Nephilim*, which has commonly been tranſlated giants, ſome think means only men of ordinary ſtature, who were called *Nephilim* on account of their enormous impiety, rapaciouſneſs, and inſolence. Others with greater reaſon believe they were alſo of extraordinary ſtature and ſtrength, the ſame word being elſewhere uſed in ſcripture to denote the men above the common ſize. The word may alſo ſignify *thoſe who fall away, apoſtates*. Tho' the accounts both of ancient and modern hiſtorians, render it very credible, that in thoſe remote times, there were men of a gigantic ſize and ſtrength; we muſt not from thence conclude, as ſome have done, that in the firſt ages, mankind were in general of a much larger ſtature than they are at preſent. Giants are manifeſtly ſpoken of as rarities and the wonders of their times; tho' their number ſeems to have been much greater before the flood.

The deſcendants of *Seth* infected with his deſcendants.

Giants born.

The depravity and wickedneſs of mankind continually increaſing, it pleaſed God to determine to deſtroy the inhabitants of the earth by a flood. Tho' the divine vengeance might with juſtice have been immediately executed on ſo corrupt a race, yet God out of his great mercy, was pleaſed to grant them 120 years for repentance; during which ſpace, but no longer, his ſpirit *ſhould ſtrive with man*, or endeavour to awaken and reclaim them from their wicked courſe of life. This ſeems to be the juſteſt interpretation of the paſſage, and

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is ſupported by the obſervation of St. *Peter*, that *the long ſuf ferings of God waited in the days of* Noah, *while the ark wa preparing*. Thoſe who imagine the ſtandard of man's life wa now reduced to 120 years, are manifeſtly miſtaken, for that re duction did not happen till the days of *Moſes*.

Noah preaches repentance in vain.

Amidſt this general corruption, one man, however, wa found to be juſt and perfect in his generation, walking witl God. This extraordinary perſon was *Noah*, the ſon of *La mech*, who, zealous for the reformation of the world, becam a preacher of righteouſneſs to the abandoned race amon whom he lived, employing both his counſel and authority t reſtore the true religion among them. All his endeavours t reclaim them proving ineffectual, he departed, ſays *Joſephus* from among them, with his wife and children, to avoid th violence with which they threatned him. *Noah* having foun favour with God, was inſtructed by him how to ſave himſel and family in an ark, with a few creatures of every ſort, fron the general deluge of waters which he intended to bring upo the earth. The time of forbearance being then elapſed, Go executed vengeance upon the wicked inhabitants by a flood o water, which deſtroyed all mankind, excepting *Noah* and hi family.

The Antediluvian hiſtory of the profane writers.

Before we proceed to give a particular account of the deluge we ſhall take notice of ſome hints of the Antediluvian times which are tranſmitted to us in the remains of ſome heathen writers. Thoſe that are eſteemed of the beſt credit and reput are only three, namely, *Beroſus*, a *Chaldean* by birth, wh lived in the time of *Alexander* the great, and wrote the hiſtor of the *Chaldeans* and *Babylonians*, in three books; *Sanchoniatho* who is ſuppoſed to be cotemporary with king *David*, an compiled the hiſtory of the *Phœnicians*; and *Manetho*, who in the reign of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, collected the antiquitie of *Egypt*.

Some fragments of *Beroſus* have been preſerved by *Joſephus Euſebius*, *Aby denus*, *Apollodorus*, and others. After a deſcrip tion of *Babylonia*, he gives us a ſtrange ſtory of an anima named *Oannes*, which, in the firſt year of the world, cam out of the red ſea, and taught men letters, and the knowledg of ſeveral arts and ſciences. He then proceeds to give us a ſeries of ten kings, who, he ſays, reigned in *Chaldea* befor the flood. The reigns of theſe kings he computes by *Sari*, o decads of years, the ſum of all their reigns amounting to abou 120o years. The laſt of theſe ten kings was *Xiſuthrus*, i whoſe reign happened the great deluge. He, according to th directions of *Chronus*, or *Saturn*, who appeared to him in a dream, wrote down the original, intermediate ſtate, and en of all things, and buried the writings under ground in *Sippara* the city of the *Sun*. He alſo built a ſhip, five furlongs lon and two furlongs broad, and having furniſhed it with provi ſions, and taken into it fowls and four-footed beaſts, wen into it himſelf, with his friends and relations. When th

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flood began to abate, he let out ſome birds, which, finding no food, nor place to reſt on, returned again to the ſhip. A few days after he let out the birds again, but they again returned with their feet daubed with mud. As they did not come back to the ſhip when they were let go a third time, he conjectured that the earth appeared again, and, taking down ſome boards of the ſhip, found that his veſſel reſted on a mountain. He then came out, with his wife, his daughter, and his pilot, who all ſoon diſappeared, after offering ſacrifice to the gods. Thoſe who remained in the ſhip were informed, by a voice out of the air, that, for his piety, he was gone to dwell with the gods. Being alſo directed to publiſh the writings buried at *Sippara*, and to return to *Babylon*, they accordingly dug up the writings, and rebuilt *Babylon* again.

Sanchoniatho is laviſhly commended by *Porphyry*, the adverſary of Chriſtianity, and by his tranſlator into *Greek*, *Philo Biblius*. He pretends to have extracted his hiſtory from the writings of *Thaut*, the inventor of letters, and from the ſacred inſcriptions and records of cities. As his deſign was to apologize for idolatry, inſtead of deducing his hiſtory from *Adam*, in the line of *Seth*, he has, according to the moſt probable opinion of biſhop *Cumberland*, given us that of the idolatrous line of *Cain*, and has omitted to mention the deluge, that deſtruction being a judgment on the idolatrous world, with which the profeſſors of the true religion probably reproached the heathens.

According to him the firſt mortals were *Protogonus* and *Æon*, (as his tranſlator *Philo* calls them) the latter of whom found out the food which is gathered from trees. The firſt iſſue were *Genus* and *Genea*, who dwelt in *Phenicia*, and, on account of a great drought, they made their adorations to the ſun, calling him *Beelſamen*; that is, in *Phenician*, *Lord of heaven*. The children of *Genus* and *Genea* were *Phos*, *Pur*, and *Phlox*, that is, Light, Fire, and Flame, who firſt found out the way of generating fire by rubbing pieces of dry wood againſt each other. Their children were *Caſſius*, *Libanus*, *Antilibanus*, and *Brathys*, of a gigantic ſtature, whoſe names were given to the mountains on which they ſeized. Of theſe giants were begotten *Memrumus* and *Hypſuranius*, the latter of whom was the inventor of huts made of reeds and ruſhes, and had a brother called *Uſous*, the firſt worſhipper of fire and wind, in whoſe time women became very abandoned and debauched. Many years after this generation came *Agreus* and *Halieus*, the inventors of the arts of hunting and fiſhing. Of theſe were begotten two brothers, the firſt forgers and workers in iron: the name of one is loſt, but *Chryſor*, the other, (who is the ſame with *Vulcan*) found out all fiſhing tackle, and, in a ſmall boat, was the firſt that ventured to ſea; for which he was afterwards deify'd. From this generation came two brothers, namely, *Technites* or the *Artiſt*, and *Geinus Autochton*, that is, *the earth-born man*. By theſe were begotten others,

of whom one was called *Agrus* or *field*, and another *Agroles*, that is, *husbandman*, who had a statue much worshiped, and a temple, carried about in *Phenicia* by one or more oxen. *Amynus* and *Magus*, who shewed men how to constitute villages, and regulate their flocks, were their children.

This being the tenth generation, from *Adam* inclusive, was that which was entirely destroyed at the flood, the rising generation at the same time being also swept away, and none left but *Noah* and his family. Those idolators, however, from whom *Sanchoniatho* took his history, suppressing all mention of the flood, pretend that the line, in which their idolatry began, continued on to succeeding ages: they proceed, therefore, to carry on the genealogy with *Misor* and *Sydyc*, who, they pretend, were descended from *Amynus* and *Magus*; but 'tis more than probable, that those two persons were of the line of *Noah*, and annexed, as sons, to the last men of the idolatrous family, which, in truth, was wholly extinguished in the flood.

The accounts of the *Egyptian* antiquities, as they are extant in the fragments of *Manetho*, are most extravagant, and exceed all bounds of credibility. That author wrote his history by order of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, some time after the septuagint translation was made. When the *Jewish* antiquities were published to the world, the *Egyptians* grew jealous of the honour of their nation, and were willing to shew that they could trace up their memoirs much higher than *Moses* had carried those of the *Israelites*. *Manetho*, therefore, being resolved to make the *Egyptian* antiquities reach as far backward as he could, without considering that *Egypt* was at first divided into three, and afterwards into four sovereignties, so that three or four kings were many times reigning together, mentioned the kings whose names he found in their records, not as cotemporaries, but as successors to each other. Several learned men, particularly our countryman Sir *John Marsham*, have, upon this consideration, undertaken an examination of his accounts with some success.

The substance of the relation, as it stands unexplained in *Manetho*, and others, who have quoted him, is, that in *Egypt* there reigned 30 dynasties of gods, consisting of 113 generations, which took up the space of 36,525 years; that, when this period was out, then there reigned eight demi-gods for the space of 217 years; that after them succeeded a race of heroes, in number 15, whose reigns took up 443 years; that all this was before the flood, and then began the reign of their kings, the first of whom was *Menes*.

According to the explication of *Marsham* and *Shuckford*, this account may, in some measure, be made to agree with the chronology of *Moses*. It is supposed *Egypt* was peopled no more than 660 years before the flood, by some of the children of *Adam*, who might remove thither at the head of a numerous colony. The eight demi-gods, and fifteen heroes, cannot

cannot be ſucceſſors to each other, as 23 generations at that period would have comprehended almoſt three times the number of years from the creation to the flood. Therefore, to bring the whole ſerics within 660 years, the time allotted to them, it is ſuppoſed the eight demi-gods were cotemporaries, and were all ſons of *Adam*, who certainly had enow to ſpare to people the ſeveral parts of the world. The heroes are alſo ſuppoſed cotemporaries; and as to the accounts they give of the reigns of their gods, it is thought they can be only their theological ſpeculations, put into ſuch order as they judged moſt truly philoſophical. The moſt ancient gods of the *Egyptians*, and of all other nations, after they had departed from the worſhip of the true God, were the luminaries of Heaven; and 'tis probable, that the period of time taken by any ſtar which they worſhiped, to finiſh a perfect and intire revolution, was termed by them the reign of that ſtar. Now they imagined, that an intire mundane revolution, when all the heavenly bodies come round to the point from which all their courſes began, comprehended a period of 36,525 years; which is exactly the number of years aſcribed by them to all their gods.

Even the Jewiſh computation is not a little ambiguous, by reaſon of the different methods which men find themſelves inclined to purſue; there being conſiderable variations in the *Hebrew*, *Samaritan*, and *Greek* copies of *Moſes*'s writings. Archbiſhop *Uſher*, and the authors of the greateſt reputation, have adopted the *Hebrew* chronology, as there is a conſtant agreement among all the *Hebrew* copies; whereas the *Samaritan* and *Septuagint* manuſcripts admit of many various readings, which renders them all uncertain; it being next to impoſſible to diſcover the genuine reading from the miſtakes of tranſcribers. The endeavours to reconcile the different accounts have been fruitleſs; we ſhall therefore only obſerve, that according to the *Samaritan* copies, the flood happened in the 1307th year of the world, and according to the *Septuagint*, in the 2262d year; but by the *Hebrew* account, in the 1656th year after the creation; as will appear from the following table, according to which *Noah* was born in the 1056th year of the world; and in the 600th year of his life he entered the ark.

The chronology from the creation to the deluge doubtful.

	Began his life in the year of the world	Had his ſon in the year of his life	Lived after his ſon's birth, years	Lived in all, years	Died in the year of the world
Adam - - - - -	1	130	800	930	930
Seth - - - - -	130	105	807	912	1042
Enos - - - - -	235	90	815	905	1140
Cainan - - - -	325	70	840	910	1235
Mahalaleel - -	395	65	830	895	1290
Jared - - - -	460	162	800	962	1422
Enoch - - - -	622	65	300	365	987
Methuſelah - -	687	187	782	969	1656
Lamech - - - -	874	182	595	777	1651
Noah - - - - -	1056	500	—	—	—

Thoſe who incline to ſee this ſubject diſcuſſed at large, may conſult the *Chronologia Sacra of Capellus, or the connection of the ſacred and profane Hiſtory*, by the learned Dr. *Shuckford*.

Of the ſtate of the antediluvian world.

The ſtate of the antediluvian world ſeems to have been exceedingly different from what it is at preſent. The earth, in all probability, was then ſtocked with a much greater number of inhabitants than it now either actually contains, or perhaps is capable of ſupporting. As mankind then lived ten times longer than now, they muſt conſequently have doubled themſelves ten times ſooner; for they began to beget children as early, and left off as late in proportion as men do now, and the births ſeem to have followed as quickly one after another as they uſually do at this day: ſo that many generations, which with us are ſucceſſive, had then been contemporary. Thoſe who have formed calculations of the immenſe numbers of the Antediluvians, have ſuppoſed, upon a moderate computation, that there were in the world before the flood at leaſt one million of millions of ſouls. To ſuſtain ſuch a prodigious number of inhabitants

bitants (beſides the brute animals, which probably were as numerous in proportion) the earth muſt have been much more fruitful before that deſolation than it has been ſince; though it was then barren in compariſon of its primitive fertility before the fall.

Of all the ſtrange matters that occur in that period, there is nothing which looks ſo like a prodigy as the longevity of thoſe men who firſt inhabited the earth; nor is any event ſo apt to affect us with wonder as the diſproportion between their lives and ours. Few now arrive at 80 or 100 years; whereas, from the joint teſtimony of ſacred and profane writers, men before the flood frequently lived to near 1000. Some perſons thinking it incredible that the human frame ſhould ever have endured to ſo great a period, ſuppoſe that the years mentioned by *Moſes* are only lunar, conſiſting of about 30 days; but this ſcheme is full of abſurdities. The lives of the Antediluvians are thereby ſuppoſed ſhorter than our own: the ſpace betwixt the creation and the flood would not amount to 130 years, and children would have been born to perſons only ſix years of age. It is therefore evident the years mentioned by *Moſes* were ſolar years, of much the ſame length with thoſe we now compute by.

The longevity of the Antediluvians.

The cauſes of this longevity are variouſly aſſigned. Some think it owing to their ſobriety and the ſimplicity of their diet; both excellent means to ſupport nature, but not ſufficient to account for the vaſt difference we are ſpeaking of. Others attribute it to the excellency of their fruits, herbs, and plants, and to their abſtinence from fleſh. A learned phyſician, however, has advanced a contrary opinion, and thinks their longevity was owing to their eating raw fleſh, the moſt nouriſhing parts of which are loſt by cooking. Some think the ſtrength of their *ſtamina*, or original principles, was the cauſe of their longevity; but the ſons of *Noah*, who had all the ſtrength of an Antediluvian conſtitution, fell far ſhort of the age of their forefathers. The ingenious Dr. *Burnet* has therefore ſuppoſed, that the chief cauſe of this longevity was the wholeſome conſtitution of the antediluvian air, and the undiſturbed tranquillity of the atmoſphere, which, after the flood, becoming unſalutary and turbulent, introduced an irregular variety of ſeaſons, that gradually undermined the human frame, till it fixed at length, before *David*'s time, in the common ſtandard, which has continued ever ſince.

Various cauſes of it aſſigned.

It would be very entertaining if we could have a view of the religion, politics, arts and ſciences of the Antediluvian people: but we can only make a few conjectures about them. As to their religious rites, they offered ſacrifices very early, probably according to a divine precept. They had a divine promiſe concerning the *bleſſed ſeed*; and *Adam* was preſent among them for 900 years, to inſtruct them in all he knew of the creation of the world. The diſtinction of *clean* and *unclean* animals was another divine injunction under this diſpenſation, God referring *Noah* to it, as a thing well known. Though, in reſpect of man's

The religion of the Antediluvians.

food, this diſtinction was not before the law of *Moſes*, yet, from the beginning, ſome beaſts were accounted fit, and others unfit, for ſacrifices.

Their policy. There is not the leaſt mention of their politics and civil conſtitutions. Probably the patriarchal form of government was ſet aſide when tyranny and oppreſſion began to take place. It would ſeem that their communities were but few, and conſiſted of vaſtly larger numbers of people than any formed ſince the flood. After the union of the two great families of *Seth* and *Cain*, it is likely there was ſcarce any diſtinction of civil ſocieties, all mankind making but one great nation, divided into ſeveral diſorderly aſſociations, and living in a kind of anarchy, which probably contributed to their general corruption, as they uſed, in all probability, but one common language. For this reaſon chiefly a plurality of tongues ſeems afterwards to have been miraculouſly introduced, to divide mankind into diſtinct ſocieties, and thereby prevent any ſuch total depravation for the future.

Their arts and ſciences. What proficiency they made in literature, or any of the arts, is very uncertain. They ſeem rather to have ſpent their time in luxury and wantonneſs, to which the abundant fertility of the firſt earth invited them, than in diſcoverics or improvements. It is even doubtful whether letters were known before the flood: and the books attributed to *Adam*, *Seth*, or *Enoch*, are forgeries too groſs to deſerve any conſideration. Muſic, and the art of working metals, ſeem only to have been found out by the ſeventh generation of *Cain*'s line: but it muſt be owned the inventors of arts, not being limited by a ſhort life, had time enough before them to carry things to perfection.

CHAP. II.

Of the Deluge.

An account of the flood. WHILE the profligate Antediluvians were living in ſecurity and ſenſuality, they were ſuddenly deſtroyed by an immenſe deluge of water, which, in the 600th year of *Noah*'s life, and the 1656th year of the world, overſpread the face of the whole earth, and covered the tops of all the higheſt mountains. This deluge began about the end of *October*; when the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and rains deſcended after an unuſual manner, and continued for forty days and forty nights. Every living creature on the face of the earth was deſtroyed, excepting *Noah* and thoſe that were with him in the ark. After the waters had continued ſeveral months upon the earth, they began to abate, great part of them being exhaled by a drying wind, and another part retiring into channels and caverns within the earth. When they totally retired, the earth appeared

appeared again in that form and ſhape wherein we now ſee it; and from that little remnant preſerved in the ark, the preſent race of mankind and of animals were propagated.

Prophane teſtimonies concerning it.

This moſt amazing cataſtrophe is confirmed by the concurrent teſtimonies of ſeveral of the moſt ancient writers and nations. The *Americans* are ſaid to ſpeak of it in their continent. We are alſo told there is a tradition of it among the *Chineſe*, the *Indians*, and *Perſians*. It was known to the *Egyptians*, and, as we have already mentioned, to the *Chaldeans*. What is ſtill more remarkable, every one of theſe people have a tale to tell concerning the reſtoration of mankind; which is a proof that they thought the human race were deſtroyed by the deluge.

Whether national only.

Some have indeed imagined, from the difficulties that occur in the *Moſaic* account, that *Noah*'s flood was not univerſal, but national only, and confined to *Judea* and the regions thereabouts, or at moſt to the continent of *Aſia*. They think that a ſmall part only of the primitive earth was inhabited by mankind; therefore it would be ſufficient if that part only were overflowed: and ſuppoſe that though many animals might be preſerved, yet it would be neceſſary to ſave ſome in the ark. They have even gone ſo far as to endeavour to prove that part of *Cain*'s poſterity ſurvived, and that the *Africans* and *Indians* are deſcended from them.

The Scripture, however, expreſly tells us, that *all the high hills under the whole Heaven were covered, and all fleſh died that moved upon the earth.* Beſides, if the deluge was not univerſal, there was no need of the ark, as *Noah* and his family, and the beaſts likewiſe, might remove to another country. We have alſo already ſhewn, that the number of mankind before the flood was vaſtly ſuperior to what the preſent earth is perhaps capable of ſuſtaining; and through the whole earth there are ſtrong evidences of an univerſal devaſtation by water. Shells and ſkeletons of ſea-fiſh are found on the higheſt mountains. *Mouſe-deer*, natives of *America*, are found buried in *Ireland*; *Crocodiles*, natives of the *Nile*, in the heart of *Germany*; and the ſkeletons of *Elephants* in the midſt of *England*.

How it was effected.

The quantity of water required to overflow the whole earth to the height mentioned by *Moſes* is ſo immenſe, that it has generally been thought extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, to ſay whence it came, or whither it went. *Burnet* has computed that it would require eight oceans to cauſe ſuch an inundation; but, according to *Keil*, it would have required, at the loweſt computation, twenty-two oceans. All the ſtores for furniſhing water, mentioned by *Moſes*, are *the fountains of the great deep, and the windows of heaven.* By *the great deep* ſome underſtand the ocean; but others, with more reaſon, a ſubterranean abyſs, or vaſt collection of waters, ſuppoſed by Dr. *Burnet*, and other naturaliſts, to be placed in the bowels of the earth ever ſince the creation, when God ſeparated the waters from the dry land. But even this internal abyſs, added to the rains, is ſuppoſed by ſome to be inſufficient. According to the obſervations made of

the quantity of water that falls in rain, the rains could not afford one ocean, nor half an ocean; ſo that it has been ſaid, that if the deluge had been made by rains only, there would have needed not 40 days but 40 years to have effected it. Some have therefore thought it beſt to have recourſe to the arm of omnipotence at once, ſaying God created waters on purpoſe to make the deluge, and annihilated them again when the deluge was to ceaſe. But our buſineſs is not here to enquire what God could work by his almighty power, but to endeavour to account for the event from natural cauſes. *Moſes* plainly aſſigns natural cauſes of the deluge, 40 days rain and the diſruption of the abyſs: and St. *Peter* has aſſigned a cauſe alſo, the natural conſtitution of the world. Neither of them mention a word of a new creation of waters. Some abſurdly think the air was changed into water; but the condenſation of the whole atmoſphere would have increaſed the waters only to the height of 32 feet. Others think the ſea and rain were rarified; but if they were 15 times rarer than in their natural ſtate, which muſt have been requiſite for the purpoſe intended, it does not appear how they could either drown man or beaſt, keep alive the fiſh, or ſuſtain the ark. Others have imagined, that the earth to a great depth was quite diſſolved by the waters, and floated in them, which might increaſe their bulk; but, unleſs the mountains were alſo broken and diminiſhed, they would ſtill overtop ſuch a deluge. Some think the center of the earth was changed and placed nearer to our continent, ſo that the ſubterranean abyſs would be thereby forced out from the bowels of the earth by the preſſure of the *Atlantic* and *Pacific* oceans, and would then cover all our hemiſphere. When the earth returned to its old center, theſe waters would alſo return to their former receptacles. *Ray*, in ſome meaſure, approves of this hypotheſis; yet thinks that the ſurface of the ocean might be depreſſed by ſome natural agent to us unknown, ſo as to occaſion the diſruption of the abyſs.

Dr. Burnet's theory.

Dr. *Burnet*, in his theory, conceives the antediluvian earth to have been of a ſmooth and even ſurface, without mountains and without a ſea, and that the waters belonging to it were wholly incloſed under its upper cruſt, which formed a ſtupendous vault around them. That this upper cruſt, by the continual heat of the ſun for ſeveral centuries, without any alleviation by a diverſity of ſeaſons, became dry and full of chinks, ſo that the ſun's rays penetrating to the internal abyſs, rarified the waters, which, by their dilatation, at length burſt the upper ſurface. The frame of the earth being thus broke in pieces, thoſe great portions or fragments into which it was divided fell down into the abyſs, ſome in one poſture, ſome in another. The old world, at one ſhock, being thus diſſolved, a new one was formed out of its ruins, which we now inhabit, being divided into ſea and land, with iſlands, mountains, and hills, the greateſt part of the abyſs conſtituting our preſent ocean, and the reſt filling up the cavities of the earth.

Dr.

Dr. *Keil*, however, has ſhewn, that this hypotheſis is liable to many objections. It ſeems difficult to conceive how the ſun's heat could be ſo intenſe as to cauſe great cracks in the earth, even allowing its direct poſition to the ſun, and that there were no viciſſitudes of ſeaſons; or how the waters, were it poſſible they could be rarified, ſhould have ſufficient force to break thro' an arch of ſolid matter, lying upon them, ſeveral hundred miles thick. This account alſo ſeems not very conſonant to the *Moſaic* hiſtory, which deſcribes a gradual riſe and abatement, and a long continuance of the flood, and not ſuch a ſudden ſhock and convulſion of nature, in which, without the divine intervention, it was impoſſible for the ark to be ſaved.

According to the theory of the learned *Whiſton*, the deluge was owing to the near approach of a comet, which, in its deſcent towards the ſun, involved the earth in its tail and atmoſphere for a conſiderable time. By attraction he ſuppoſes it would raiſe immenſe tides in the ſea, and make the internal waters force their way through the earth, which, with the great quantity of its watery atmoſphere, intercepted by the earth, he thinks would be ſufficient to raiſe the water the perpendicular height of three miles, which would exceed the higheſt mountains. The greateſt part of the waters, he ſuppoſes, afterwards deſcended by the breaches and fiſſures made in the earth at the eruption of the abyſs, and that another part of them formed the great ocean, there being only ſmall ſeas and lakes before the flood. Mr. *Whiſton*'s theory.

Objections have been alſo made to this theory. There are ſome ſurprizing incidents which make it indeed probable, that a comet did really come very near, and paſſed by the earth, when the deluge began. According to *Pliny*, a comet appeared in the reign of *Typhon*, that is, at the flood; and many other authors, mentioned by *Hevelius*, in his *Cometographia*, atteſt the ſame thing. Yet it has been thought ſomewhat ſtrange, that the ſwelling of the abyſs ſhould make convenient fiſſures in the earth without ſhattering the whole frame. The account of draining off the waters from the ſurface of the earth has likewiſe been judged unſatisfactory: but the greateſt objection of all is, that it is far from being clear whether the atmoſphere of a comet be a watry ſubſtance or not. The obſervations of the moſt curious enquirers make it very probable, that the circle about the body of a comet is nothing but the curling and winding round of the ſmoke, which, after ariſing to a determinate height from all parts of the comet, forms a tail, by making off to that ſide oppoſite the ſun. The earth therefore, if this opinion be true, by paſſing thro' the atmoſphere of a comet, ran a greater riſk of a conflagration than a deluge.

After all, it ſeems neceſſary, on this occaſion, to have recourſe to the divine aſſiſtance: for though the waters that covered the earth at the creation might be ſufficient to cover it again, yet how this ſhould be effected by mere natural means cannot be conceived. The ſubterraneous abyſs, which is alluded to in

The deluge effected in a miraculous manner.

many places of Scripture, may be eaſily ſuppoſed to contain water much more than ſufficient to complete the deluge: but as no natural cauſe can be aſſigned to draw it from thence, the effect may not unphiloſophically be attributed to the divine power. And we may obſerve, that though *Moſes* makes mention of two natural cauſes, yet he introduces God as ſuperintending them, and aſſuming indeed the whole performance to himſelf, in theſe words; *Behold I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth.*

Of the ark.

Having thus conſidered the efficient cauſes of the deluge, we ſhall next take a view of the ark, whereby *Noah* and his family were delivered from this deſtruction.

Its ſize and figure.

We might preſume, if *Moſes* had not told us ſo, that a veſſel proportionable, and adapted to the uſe deſigned, muſt have been of more than human contrivance, and built by the direction of God himſelf. The length of it was 300 cubits, the breadth 50, and the height 30; but what was the exact meaſure of the cubits here mentioned is diſputed. *Origen* and St. *Auſtin*, fearing that the capacity of the ark would be otherwiſe too ſmall, have ſuppoſed *Moſes* meant the geometrical cubit, which contains about ſix ordinary cubits.

The general opinion of learned men is, that they were but common cubits, one of which, though formerly ſuppoſed equal to 18 of our inches, is now allowed to contain 21.888 inches; according to which meaſure, the ark muſt have been 547.2 *Engliſh* feet long, 91.2 broad, and 54.72 high, and its ſolid contents 2,730,781.9 feet, almoſt double to what they would be by the ſmaller computation. Its form was an oblong ſquare, with a flat bottom and a ſloped roof, raiſed a cubit in the middle; but, from the ſhort account of *Moſes*, it cannot be inferred that it had none of the contrivances uſual in ſhips, as even our firſt-rate ſhips are ſometimes deſcribed by their bare length, breadth, and depth *. It conſiſted of three ſtories, each of which, abating the thickneſs of the floors, might be about 18 feet high. Though the particular conſtruction of the windows be not mentioned, the veſſel, without doubt, was ſo contrived as to have the air and light on all ſides.

That the ſpace in the ark was abundantly ſufficient to contain both *Noah* and his family, and the animals, and all neceſſary proviſions for them, does evidently appear from the geometrical

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(A) About the beginning of the laſt century, *Peter Janſen*, a *Dutch* merchant, cauſed a ſhip to be built for him 120 feet long, 20 feet broad, and 12 feet deep, according to the proportions of *Noah*'s ark. As he was by profeſſion a *Menoniſt*, while his ſhip was building he was made the ſubject of ridicule: but it was afterwards found that ſhips of this faſhion were, in time of peace, moſt commodious for commerce, becauſe they would hold a third part more, without requiring any more hands, and were found far better *runners* than any made before. *Bibliotheca Biblica*, vol. i.

calcu-

calculations of learned men, who have yet generally ſuppoſed the length of the cubit to be but 18 inches. According to *Buteo*, all the animals contained in the ark could not equal the bulk of 500 horſes. *Heidegger*, from *Temporarius*, makes them equal to 400 oxen. *Wilkins*, and from him *Wells*, have both treated largely of the proportion of the ark and its capacity; and a late anonymous writer, comparing it with our modern ſhips, ſuppoſes it bigger than 40 veſſels of 1000 tons each *. So that it appears more difficult to aſſign a ſufficient number and bulk of neceſſary things to anſwer the capacity of the ark, than to find ſufficient room in it for the convenient reception of them.

It has been queſtioned how the unknown kinds of ſerpents in *Brazil*, the ſlow-bellied creature of the *Indies*, and all the different ſpecies of animals in the *American* iſlands and continent, could either come into the ark, or be conveyed out of it to theſe diſtant countries. To this it is anſwered, that theſe animals might be found before the deluge in thoſe parts of *Aſia* where *Noah* built the ark; but how they, as well as mankind, found their way to *America* after the flood, is what we muſt confeſs ourſelves ignorant of.

Its materials.

The timber of which the ark was framed, *Moſes* calls *Gopher* wood; but as this word *Gopher* is never again mentioned in the ſacred text, its true meaning is controverted. Some tranſlate it pine-tree, others the cedar, ſome the box, and the *Mahometans* make it the *Indian* plane-tree. It is now generally ſuppoſed to be the cypreſs, which is not ſubject to rot, is good for building of ſhips, and grows in great plenty in the neighbourhood of *Babylon*. To preſerve it from leaking, *Noah* was directed to ſmear it with pitch, both within and without. This pitchy ſubſtance is generally thought to have been bitumen, of the ſame kind with that uſed in building the tower of *Babel*, which melts not with the ſun's heat, but by the fire only. It was probably built in the territories of *Babylon*, not far from Mount *Ararat*, where it afterwards reſted.

In what time built.

What time *Noah* conſumed in building it has been alſo a ſubject of conjecture. Some, from the words of St. *Peter*, *that the long-ſuffering of God waited while the ark was preparing*, ſuppoſe *Noah* was employed therein 120 years, the whole time of forbearance. Others think the time much ſhorter; becauſe when *Noah* was directed to build the ark, he was alſo ordered to take into it his ſons, with their wives. Now he was 500 years old before they were born, and would probably be 50 years older before they were married.

Noah enters the ark.

Seven days before the coming of the deluge, *Noah* entered the ark with his wife, his four ſons and their wives, and took in to him, according to the divine direction, of all kinds of beaſts, and of fowls, and of every thing that creepeth upon the earth;

* Wilkins's Eſſay. Wells's Geogr. Journal de Paris, Janv. 1712. Eccl. Syn. Crit.

of

of the *unclean* one pair only, but of the *clean* ſeven pair. After they had floated upon the waters 150 days, the ark reſted upon the mountains of *Ararat*, about the beginning of *April*. On the 1ſt day of the tenth month, or about the middle of *June*, the tops of the neighbouring mountains appeared. Forty days after *Noah*, deſirous to know whether the waters continued to decreaſe, let a raven fly from the ark, which bird he is ſuppoſed to have choſen from a perſuaſion that the ſmell of the carcaſſes would tempt it to fly to ſome diſtance. The raven giving him no ſatisfactory information, but flying to and fro till the earth was dry, *Noah* ſoon after ſent out a dove; which *Bochart* thinks was pitched upon becauſe of its tameneſs, its flying far, feeding on the ground, and returning to its neſt from the greateſt diſtance. The dove was ſent out three ſeveral times. The firſt time, finding the place not dry enough to reſt on, it quickly returned. The ſecond time, which was ſeven days after, it returned in the evening, and in its mouth was an olive leaf plucked off; from whence it might be inferred, that the vegetables were not totally deſtroyed, and that the lower hills, where the olive trees chiefly grow, began to appear. Seven days after, when the dove was let go a third time, it returned no more. About the 20th of *September* the ſurface of the lower grounds was dry: *Noah*, however, ſtill continued for ſome time in the ark. At length, by the command of God, about the middle of *November*, he came out with his wife, his ſons, and their wives, and all the creatures that were with him, having remained in the ark a year and ten days, according to the Antediluvian computation.

The waters aſſuage.

Noah comes out of the ark.

We ſhall now give ſome account of the mountains of *Ararat*, whereon the ark is ſaid to have reſted. The author of the verſes which go under the name of the *Sibylline Oracles*, places Mount *Ararat* in *Aſia Minor*, on the borders of *Black Phrygia*, near *Celenæ*, at the ſprings of the two rivers *Marſyas* and *Meander*. But it appears from good authorities, that there is only a ſmall hill or eminence in that place. There is, indeed, a city called *Apamea*, near *Celenæ*, ſurnamed *Cibotos*, or the Ark, from being encompaſſed and ſhut up by three rivers, which is ſuppoſed to have given riſe to the miſtake about *Noah*'s ark. The name *Cibotos* was alſo applied to the port of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, by reaſon of the bay which incloſed the ſhips; and ſeems not to have been known in the eaſtern parts till given to *Apamea*, built by *Seleucus* or *Antiochus Soter*.

Ararat ſuppoſed by ſome to lie in *Phrygia*.

The moſt prevailing opinion is, that the Scriptures, by the word *Ararat*, denote that country which the *Greeks* and other weſtern nations call *Armenia*. So the word is explained by the *Septuagint*, by the *Chaldee* paraphraſt, by the *Vulgate*, by *Theodoret*, and divers others. The learned *Bochart* has alſo brought together a multitude of arguments, all tending to the ſame concluſion. Others again, particularly Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and the later writers, *Heylin* and *Shuckford*, think that by the mountains of *Ararat* are meant thoſe of *Caucaſus*, towards *Bactria* and

and *Saga Scythia*. The firſt opinion is chiefly ſupported by tradition, and the latter by arguments drawn from facts and reaſon.

Thoſe who place *Ararat* in *Armenia* differ as to the particular ſituation of the mountain. Some think it was one of thoſe mountains which divide *Armenia* on the ſouth from *Meſopotamia*, and that part of *Aſſyria* inhabited by the *Curds*, from whom they took the name of *Curdu*, which the *Greeks* and *Latins* have changed into *Gordiæi*, *Gordi*, *Carduchi*, and other names. This opinion concerning the ſituation of *Ararat* is very ancient, being the tradition of the *Chaldæans* themſelves; and formerly it was generally embraced. But when men began to enquire into the particular part of theſe mountains whereon the ark reſted, authors then ſeemed to place it out of *Armenia*: *Epiphanius* on the mount *Lubar*, between the country of the *Armenians* and *Gordiæans*; and all the eaſtern authors, both Chriſtian and *Mahometan*, on mount *Themanin* or *Al-Judi*, which overlooks the country of *Diarrbabia* or *Mouſſal* in *Meſopotamia*. On this mountain there was formerly a famous monaſtery, called *the Monaſtery of the Ark*, where the *Neſtorians* uſed to celebrate a feaſt-day, on the ſpot whereon they ſuppoſe the ark reſted; but towards the end of the eighth century, the monaſtery was deſtroyed by lightning, with the church, and a numerous congregation in it. By others in *Armenia*.

Beroſus, *Abydenus*, and *Epiphanius*, declare, that there was a report in their time that the relics of the ark were then to be ſeen on thoſe mountains. But even modern authors, from the accounts of the *Armenian* monks, relate that part of the ark ſtill remains; though at the ſame time they affirm none ever was at the place where it lies, or can get there *. Aſſertions of this kind are trifling and abſurd; and the ancient opinion about the remains of the ark, has probably no better foundation than the modern.

St. *Jerom*, and ſeveral others, place *Ararat* about the middle of *Armenia*, near the river *Arexes* or *Aras*, above 280 miles diſtant from *Al-Judi* to the north-eaſt, in the neighbourhood of a province of that country, named *Ararat*, from one of the *Armenian* kings, who was there ſlain in battle; *Arayi arat* ſignifying *the ſlain of* Arai. All travellers into thoſe parts now agree with St. *Jerom*, and make mention of no other mount of *Ararat* than the mountain called *Maſis* by the *Armenians*, who are firmly of opinion that the ark reſted there, without however ſupporting their ſentiments with any ſolid arguments. A third opinion concerning it.

This mountain is named by the *Turks Agri dagh*, that is, *the heavy or great mountain*, and ſometimes *Parmak dagh*, *the finger mountain*, in alluſion to its appearance. It ſtands about twelve leagues to the ſouth-eaſt of *Erivan*, a ſmall city of *Upper Armenia*, four leagues from the *Aras*, and ten to the north-weſt of

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* La Boulaye's Voyages. Cartwright's Travels. Chardin. Tournefort.

Nakſcivan;

Nakſcivan; which, becauſe *Nak* in *Armenian* ſignifies a *ſhip*, and *Scivan reſted*, is ſuppoſed to have its name from the ſame occaſion. It appears very high, and riſes in the form of a ſugar-loaf, in the midſt of a moſt extenſive plain. From the middle upwards it is perpetually covered with ſnow, which even lies upon the loweſt mountains in thoſe countries in the hotteſt ſummer. Its ſurface is almoſt intirely covered with bare rocks, looſe ſand, and broken flints and chalk, with here and there ſome *juniper buſhes and goats-thorn*. *Tournefort* tells us, that he attempted to climb the mountain; but, after an infinite fatigue, he was obliged, by the ſnow and intenſe cold, to return without accompliſhing his deſign, though it was then the middle of ſummer.

Others think it ſeated towards *Bactria*.

Thoſe who think *Ararat* ought to be looked for towards *Bactria*, juſtify their opinion by the words of *Moſes*, who relates, that the deſcendants of *Noah* came from the eaſt to the *Land of Shinaar*; whereas if the ark had reſted in *Armenia*, they muſt have come from the north or north-weſt. As *Noah* is not once mentioned in all the following part of *Moſes*'s hiſtory, and yet ſurvived a great while after the confuſion of *Babel*, they from thence reaſonably conclude, that he did not come to *Shinaar*, but ſpent the reſt of his days in the eaſt, with many of his deſcendants. This accounts for the early populouſneſs of that part of the world; for in the third generation after the diſperſion at *Babel*, when *Semiramis*, who is ſuppoſed to be the wife of *Nimrod*'s grandſon, invaded *Bactria* with an immenſe army, ſhe was oppoſed by more numerous forces. Old heathen teſtimonies likewiſe favour this account. "Two hundred and fifty years before *Ninus* (ſays *Portius Cato*) the "earth was overflowed with waters, and mankind began again "in *Saga Scythia*." *Juſtin* informs us, that the *Scythians* accounted themſelves the moſt ancient of all nations *; and, according to the *Chaldean* tradition, *Xithurus*, after the flood, was ſeparated from his ſons, who by themſelves travelled towards *Babylon*. The language, learning, and hiſtory of the *Chineſe*, do alſo all favour this account. Their language ſeems not to have been altered in the confuſion of *Babel*: their learning is reported to have been full as ancient as the learning of the more weſtern nations: their polity and government are quite different from that of all others; and their hiſtory indiſputably reaches up to the times of *Noah*. On theſe accounts, therefore, they think the ark reſted on the hills beyond *Bactria*, near *Saga Scythia*, and that the name *Ararat* was common to the immenſe ridge of mountains running from *Taurus* to *Bactria*; in the neighbourhood of which, according to *Strabo* and *Curtius*, the moſt excellent vines of the world are found †.

* Juſtin, l. ii. c. 1. † Vide Raleigh's Hiſt. of the World, b. i. c. 7. Shuckford's Connections, b. ii. Whiſton's Chron. Bedford's Script. Chron.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The history of Noah *and his descendants till the confusion of tongues.*

NOAH upon leaving the ark, immediately built an altar, upon which he offered burnt sacrifices of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl. God having accepted the sacrifice, blessed *Noah*, and gave him power over all living creatures, with a permission to eat of them as freely as of the produce of the ground: however, he forbad him to eat the blood of animals, or to shed that of man, ordering him to punish manslaughter with death, and to people the world as fast as he could. It is not to be supposed that these three injunctions were all that was obligatory on *Noah* and his posterity, till the promulgation of the law at *Sinai*. We are rather to consider them as an addition or supplement to the laws, which *Noah* had received in common with the rest of the Antediluvians. The permission to eat flesh, now first explicitly given, seems to intimate that before the flood it was not allowed to be eaten. Year of the flood 1. before Christ, 2347. *Noah* quits the ark, and offers a burnt sacrifice to God.

According to the Rabbins, *Noah* received from God certain general precepts, containing the law of nature common to all men universally; for the nonobservance of which, even the Gentiles have been punished by God. These precepts enjoined, 1. To abstain from idolatry. 2. From blasphemy. 3. From murder. 4. From adultery. 5. From theft. 6. To institute judges to maintain those laws. 7. To abstain from eating the flesh of any animal cut off while the animal was living. From the time of *Moses*, the *Jews* would not suffer a stranger to live among them, unless he observed these precepts, and never gave quarter in battle to any that were ignorant of them. God farther made a covenant with *Noah*, never to destroy the earth again by a general deluge, but to preserve the seasons of the year in their regular vicissitudes. In confirmation of this promise, he appointed the rainbow for a *token*, which, whether it ever appeared before the flood or not, was now to be the ratification of the truth of his promise †.

Noah

(B) Whether *Noah* had ever seen a rainbow before, or whether any had appeared before the flood, is greatly disputed. As the rainbow is only an appearance occasioned by the reflection of the sun's rays by watery vapours, or rain, it might have been seen from the beginning of the world, if the antediluvian atmosphere was of the same nature with the present. Some imagine, that as God generally gives a sign by something *new*, or by some change wrought

He becomes a husbandman.

Noah being come down from the mountain, applied himself to husbandry, and planted a vineyard. Having afterwards drank a little too freely of the wine, he became intoxicated, and lay carelesly uncovered in his tent. *Ham*, his youngest son, perceiving him in this condition, called in his brothers, *Shem* and *Japhet*, to behold the posture their father was in: but they, out of a sense of duty and modesty, took a garment, and going backwards, covered the nakedness of their father. *Noah* awaking, and being informed of what had passed, blessed his two pious sons, and cursed *Ham* in his posterity, who were to be servants to their brethren. All that *Moses* relates farther of this patriarch, is, that he lived after the flood 350 years, and

His death.

died in the 950th year of his age. The *Armenians* have several traditions concerning the cities which he built in their country; and in *Mesopotamia* travellers are shewn a large sepulchre, in which he is said to have been buried.

All mankind being the issue of the three sons of *Noah*, who were saved with him in the ark, we shall give a genealogical table of their descendants, mentioned by *Moses* down to *Abraham*, and shall be more particular concerning them, when we come to treat of the dispersion of mankind from *Babel*.

Noah's descendants remove to *Shinaar*.

Some authors, contrary to the authority of *Moses*, suppose that *Noah*'s descendants did not remove from *Ararat* to *Shinaar* till after his death*. This opinion is not only contrary to historical truth, but big with absurdity. The dispersion, according to *Moses*, happened in the days, that is, according to the interpretation of *Usher*, about the birth of *Peleg*, who was born in the 101st year after the flood; whereas had mankind not come to *Shinaar* before the 350th year after the flood, the number of travellers must have exceeded several millions.

Moses indeed does not inform us what time *Noah*'s descendants travelled to *Shinaar*. Seventy years, perhaps, might pass before they had any thought of leaving their great ancestor. By that time they might be multiplied to hundreds, a number of whom might have a mind to form a separate society, and to journey and settle in some distant country. If we suppose *Ararat* a part of mount *Caucasus*, to the north of *India*, from thence to *Shinaar* is about 1000 miles. We must not therefore suppose them to have got thither in an instant, especially as the earth would then be over-run with thick and pathless woods, and the travellers, instead of journeying continually, would only remove as they began to meet with inconveniencies. If their movements then were such as *Abraham* made afterwards, short

* Universal Hist. Vol. I. b. i. c. 2.

in nature, this was the first rainbow, and consequently that before the flood it never rained. Others think, that this rainbow was a preternatural appearance, and much more magnificent than any that had ever been seen before. *Burnet's Theory*, l. ii. c. 5. *Bibliotb. Biblica.*

journeys

journeys and abodes here and there, in ten or twelve years they might arrive at the plain of *Shinaar*, a place likely to afford them an open and convenient country for their encreasing families.

By the land of *Shinaar* is meant that plain betwixt the *Euphrates* and the *Tygris*, extending also to the east side of the *Tygris*, whither, the scripture informs us, *Nebuchadnezzar* carried the vessels of *Solomon*'s temple into the house of his God. The name of *Shinaar*, in those parts, may be traced both in ancient and modern authors. *Sennaar* of *Babylon*, is mention by *Hestiæus* the *Milesian* *, and the city of *Singara* in *Mesopotamia*, by *Pliny* and others. *Ptolomy* also places both the city and mountain of *Singara* in the above-mentioned country; all which names seem to refer to the city, mountain, and territory, which still bear the name of *Senjar* in the east †. The situation of *Shinaar*.

The descendants of *Noah* upon their arrival in this plain, began to think of building a city and tower. The learned are divided in their opinions about the sense of the passage which gives an account of this enterprize. *And they said, go to, let us build us a city and tower, whose top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the whole earth.* Some think that they were apprehensive of a second deluge, and therefore resolved to raise a structure of sufficient height to fly to in case of danger. This to others appears a groundless fancy, as the mountains, upon that supposition, would have been a more natural and proper situation. They therefore think they were prompted by their ambition, *to make themselves a name, lest they should be scattered*, or, as it is rendered in the Vulgate, perhaps to serve the purpose, *before they should be scattered abroad.* According to *Perizonius*, the passage ought to be rendered, *let us make a sign, lest we be scattered*; that is, the tower was to serve them as a beacon, by the sight of which they might avoid straying in the open plains with their flocks. Others think that they had already degenerated into idolatry, and that the words, *let us build a tower whose top may reach unto heaven*, ought to have been rendered, *let us build a tower whose top shall be sacred to the heavens.* The building of *Babel* begun.

Whatever were the motives of their undertaking, the enterprize seems to have been displeasing to God, who wholly frustrated their design, by confounding their language, so that they could not understand each others speech, and were therefore obliged to separate. The time when this great event happened is very uncertain. *Moses* tells us, that it was in the days of *Peleg*, who was born in the 101st year after the flood, and lived 239 years. As *Peleg* received his name on account of the dispersion, the learned *Usher* thinks that it happened about the time of his birth. The *Jews*, St. *Jerom*, and many Christian chronologers, place it in the last year of *Peleg*'s life. Others The language of the builders being confounded, they desist.

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* Joseph. Antiq. l. i. c. 5. † Thevenot's Voyages, part ii. c. 10.

think,

think, that *Peleg* was not ſo called at his birth, but changed his name afterwards on account of the extraordinary event, which they place in different periods of his middle age. It happened, according to *Petau*, in his 52d year; according to *Cumberland*, about his 79th: but according to *Salianus* and *Kercher*, in his 174th year. *Moſes*, however, ſeems to denote, that the diſperſion was ſomething ſingular that happened at *Peleg*'s birth, and not during his middle age, for then all his cotemporaries had a right to the ſame name. Tho' mankind was not then very numerous, yet their numbers will be found ſufficient for that great undertaking, and alſo for planting of nations. According to *Uſher*, mankind, in the 102d year after the flood, might have encreaſed to the number of 388,605 males, and as many females. But tho' we have cauſe to believe, that there was a more than ordinary multiplication in *Noah*'s poſterity after the flood, yet we cannot imagine them near ſo numerous. A much leſs number would have been ſufficient. According to the calculation of *Petau*, the males in the 100th year after the flood might have been 32,768. Others again think that the number of mankind at that time did not much exceed 3 or 4000.

A deſcription of the building.

The building, which was now interrupted by the miraculous interpoſition of God, according to ſome had been carried on 22 years, and according to others 40. It was built with burnt bricks, cemented with ſlime or bitumen, a pitchy ſubſtance, which *Strabo* informs us iſſues from the earth in great abundance in the plains of *Babylon*, and is of two kinds, liquid and ſolid *. According to the eaſtern writers, the ſons of *Noah* employed themſelves three years in making and burning the bricks, each of which was thirteen cubits long, ten broad, and five thick. The ſame authors likewiſe give us the following abſurd dimenſions of the city and tower. The city, they ſay, was 313 fathoms in length, and 151 in breadth. The walls of it were 5533 fathoms high, and 33 broad; and the tower roſe in height 10,000 fathoms, or 12 miles. Even *Jerom* affirms, from the teſtimony of thoſe who examined its remains, that the tower was four miles high. Rejecting theſe ſhameful extravagancies, we ſhall take notice of the accounts of other authors. *Bochart* ſuppoſes, that the tower of *Babel* is the ſame with the tower that ſtood in the midſt of the temple of *Belus*, which *Herodotus* relates was ſolid, and a furlong in length, and as much in breadth, conſiſting of eight ſquare towers one above another, gradually decreaſing in breadth. His deſcription indeed leaves it doubtful, whether a furlong was the height of each tower ſingly, or of the whole eight together, or what was the height of it. *Strabo* determines the height to have been a furlong, that is, the eighth part of a mile, or 660 feet, which is itſelf prodigious; for thereby it appears to have exceeded the greateſt of the *Egyptian* pyramids in height 179 feet, tho' it fell ſhort of it at the

* Strabo, l. xvi. See alſo Juſtin, l. i. and Vitruv. l. viii.

baſis

baſis by 33. It benched in from the bottom to the top in a ſpiral form, and the platform occaſioned by the benching, ſerved for a ſtair-caſe, which was ſo broad, that horſes and carts might meet and turn upon it. The ſpace between each benching was 75 feet high, and contained many ſtately rooms, with arched roofs ſupported by pillars, as it was afterwards finiſhed by *Nebuchadnezzar*, who built the temple of *Belus* round it, in a ſquare of two furlongs on every ſide, encloſing the whole with a wall of two miles and a half in compaſs. In this wall were ſeveral gates leading to the temple, all of ſolid braſs, probably formed of the braſs carried from the temple of *Jeruſalem* to *Babylon*. Little more than 100 years after, *Xerxes* returning from his unfortunate *Grecian* expedition, plundered and demoliſhed the temple from a principle of religion, as he pretended, being by profeſſion a *Magian*, and conſequently an enemy to idol worſhip. This great monument of antiquity being thus demoliſhed, was never after repaired. *Alexander* the great, indeed, after his *Indian* expedition, expreſſed an intention of rebuilding it, and ordered 10,000 men to remove the rubbiſh; but before they had made any great progreſs, he died ſuddenly at *Babylon*.

Whether any remains of it are to be ſeen at this day, is very uncertain. Modern travellers even differ as to the ſituation of *Babylon*, ſo compleatly has that immenſe city been deſtroyed. There are ſeveral large and remarkable ruins ſtill to be ſeen in the neighbourhood of the *Euphrates*, and at many miles diſtance from each other; but which of them, or if any of them, may be ſuppoſed the ruins of *Babel*, is ſtill very doubtful.

Tavernier, and ſeveral other travellers, have viſited a maſs of ruins about eight or nine miles to the north-weſt of *Bagdad*, called by the preſent inhabitants *the tower of Nimrod*. This tower appears now a ſhapeleſs hill, and ſtands by itſelf in a wide plain. Towards the middle there is an opening that paſſes quite thro' the building, and towards the top there is a great window. Authors give very different accounts of the heighth of the tower, and of the bulk and form of the bricks, and of the manner how they are ranged. Some ſuppoſe it to be the ſame with the tower mentioned by *Moſes*; and others thinking it cannot agree with his account, embrace the opinion of the *Arabs*, who ſay, that it was built by one of their princes for a beacon.

The accounts of modern travellers concerning it.

Rawwolf, a *German* phyſician, who in the year 1574, paſſed down the *Euphrates*, ſuppoſes he found the ruins of *Babylon* on that river, 36 miles to the ſouth-weſt of *Bagdad*, where the village *Elugo*, or *Felujia*, now ſtands. He ſays the country is dry and barren, and that it might be doubted whether that potent city ever ſtood there, if it were not for ſome delicate antiquities ſtill remaining. Some pieces and arches of the old bridge over *Euphrates* are ſtill to be ſeen; and at a ſmall diſtance the ruins of the tower of *Babel*, half a league in diameter; but ſo low and ſo full of venemous beaſts, that it is dangerous

to approach within half a mile of it; except in two months of the year, when thoſe animals do not ſtir out. On his journey from thence to *Bagdad*, he obſerved many large and ſtately buildings, arches, and turrets ſtanding in the ſand, ſome decayed and in ruins, others pretty entire, and adorned with curious artificial work.

Pietro de la Valle, however, who was at *Bagdad* in the year 1616, thinks he diſcovered the ruins of *Babel* two days journey farther down the *Euphrates*, within a quarter of a league of the river, in a level and extenſive plain. The heap of ruins, he ſays, riſe in the form of a pyramid with four fronts, which anſwers to the four quarters of the compaſs. It ſeems longer from north to ſouth, than from eaſt to weſt, and exceeds in height the higheſt palace in *Naples*. He did not diſcover the leaſt veſtiges of the city of *Babylon*. The tower, he found, was chiefly built of large bricks dried in the ſun, and cemented with bitumen mixed with hard ſtraw or bruiſed reeds. We have a more particular deſcription of this ſtructure by Mr. *M'Gregory*, a late traveller; but whether it or the others mentioned be the remains of the original tower, or only ſome later buildings of the *Arabs*, may ſtill be doubted.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Confuſion of Tongues.

WE ſhall now give ſome account of the nature and original of language in general, and of the confuſion of it mentioned by *Moſes*.

Of the original of ſpeech.

Speech is one of the moſt diſtinguiſhing differences between us and the animal creation; for the relations of ſome ancient writers concerning the languages of beaſts and birds, which the Rabbins report *Solomon* underſtood, are merely fabulous. Some Heathens, particularly *Horace*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Vitruvius* *, being unacquainted with the moſaical writings, have imagined that men at firſt lived like beaſts in woods and caves, forming only confuſed ſounds of no ſignification, or expreſſing their thoughts by dumb ſigns and geſticulations. That upon a longer intercourſe with each other, they agreed upon diſtinct names for things, and gradually, after a long courſe of time, framed and perfected a language. That as different companies of men aſſociated together, ſo the languages of the world were thereby rendered different, i. not being likely that

* Horat. Serm. l. i. Sat. 3. Diod. Hiſt. l. i. Vitruv. Archit. l. ii. c. 1.

diſtinct

diſtinct ſocieties would unite in the ſame ſounds or names for things.

This conjecture is natural and probable; but we are aſſured by *Moſes*, that the beginning both of mankind and converſation were in fact otherwiſe. According to his account it appears, that ſpeech was the immediate gift of God to the firſt man; that is, God made him ſenſible of the power he enjoyed of uttering articulate ſounds, and excited in him a deſire to uſe them as ſigns of his ideas, leaving however the arbitrary impoſition of them to *Adam* himſelf. The *Jews* indeed, and ſome Chriſtian writers, without any reaſon, have ſuppoſed, that God inſpired *Adam* with a compleat language, which he had previouſly formed. This they imagine was the *Hebrew*; and ſome have gone ſo far as to think, that this firſt language was as innate to mankind as the faculty of reaſoning, and would be equally univerſal, if children were not put out of it in their infancy by being taught another. But as it is evident that *Adam*, by being indued with the faculty of uttering articulate ſounds, as the ſigns of his ideas, might gradually of himſelf form a language, there is no neceſſity to ſuppoſe that he was taught the names of things by God; for according to the account of *Moſes*, God brought the beaſts and birds to him, *to ſee what he would call them*.

The nature of the firſt language.

Conſidering the very few things *Adam* needed at his firſt creation, that he was unacquainted with the ſciences and various arts afterwards invented, and had no extenſive knowlege of natural objects, his language at firſt muſt not have been very copious; for if all words relating to the ſciences and arts, to the conveniencies of civil life, and to the various operation of the mind, were to be expunged from dictionaries, the remainder would not be very numerous. His language would chiefly conſiſt of a few names for the creatures and things he had to do with. Thoſe names would probably be expreſſed in monoſyllables; for the repetition and variation of ſounds ſeem to have been the effects of meditation and improvement. It is alſo ſuppoſed, that his language had but one part of ſpeech, the names being made to anſwer both for the adjectives and verbs. Thus a fierce man might be called a *lion-man*, and *Cain*'s ſeeking an opportunity to kill *Abel*, might be expreſſed by *Cain*, *dog Abel*; the action of curiouſly obſerving and following a perſon in *Engliſh* being called *dogging*.

What languages claim to be the primitive.

What was the particular language that *Adam* and his poſterity uſed, till the confuſion of the tongues at *Babel*, has been greatly diſputed. The *Hebrew*, the *Chaldean*, the *Syrian*, the *Arabian*, the *Armenian*, the *Celtic*, the *Coptic*, the *Greek*, the *Teutonic*, and the *Chineſe*, have all aſpired to the preference in this reſpect. The *Armenian*, *Celtic*, and *Coptic* have little evidence to produce beſides the antiquity of their nations. The chief argument uſed in favour of the *Greek* is its copiouſneſs. The *Teutonic* is ſtrenuouſly ſupported by *Goropius Becanus*, who has even endeavoured to derive the *Hebrew* from it. And the

pretenſions of the *Chineſe* are founded on the antiquity of that people, their early acquaintance with arts and ſciences, and their almoſt entire ſeparation from other nations for ſo many ages. The preſumption alſo that *Noah*, or ſome of his deſcendants, who never went to *Shinaar*, firſt planted *China*, pleads for the antiquity of that language, which conſiſts of few words, almoſt all monoſyllables, and is moſt ſimple in its conſtruction, having no variety of declenſions and conjugations. The arguments in favour of the *Arabians* are but few, and even rejected by the beſt *Arabian* writers themſelves. The *Hebrew* and the *Chaldean* are ſuppoſed to have been originally the ſame; and it is urged as a proof of their antiquity, that *Moſes* derives the primitive names from the *Hebrew* words; but all the etymology is loſt if they are ſo compared in any other language, in which they may be tranſlated. This argument however is found very inconcluſive; for in *Latin*, *homo*, which ſignifies *man*, bears as good a relation to *humus*, the *ground*, as *Adam* in *Hebrew* to *Admah*. Beſides, it would rather prove the antiquity of the *Syriac*, in which language the etymologies of many of the names mentioned by *Moſes* are eaſier found than in the *Hebrew*. After all, no certain concluſion can be drawn from the arguments in favour of any language, what was the primitive tongue, or if it be now in being.

Various opinions concerning the manner in which the ſpeech was confounded.

In what manner, and to what degree the primitive language was confounded at *Babel*, *Moſes* has not acquainted us. The opinions of learned men concerning theſe two points are very different. Some imagining all the different languages now extant are derived from the ſame original, think that at *Babel* the opinions of the builders were only confounded, which forcing them to ſeparate, their language conſequently gradually altered. They allege, that the *Hebrew* word which ſignifies *lip*, and is commonly tranſlated *language* or *ſpeech*, ought to be rendered *unanimity* or *agreement*.

Others ſuppoſe, that a variety of inflexions was introduced, and perhaps ſome new words, which diſturbed and perverted the former manner of expreſſion, ſo that they would be forced to ſeparate. Theſe explications, however, ſeem not fully to anſwer the deſign of *Moſes*, who plainly wants to account for the diverſity of languages in the world; a thing very difficult if not impoſſible to do, without having recourſe to ſome extraordinary interpoſition of the divine power; and conſidering that there are many tongues, which, when compared with others have not the leaſt affinity, it would be moſt abſurd to imagine them the offspring of the ſame parent. It may therefore reaſonably be concluded, that, at the confuſion of *Babel*, there were new languages framed by the immediate act of God, in a way and manner that cannot be accounted for.

The learned are alſo divided in their opinions about the number of different languages formed at *Babel*. Some think *Moſes* has determined the queſtion by giving us the names of the leaders of the diſperſion, and adding, that *by them was the earth divided*

divided after their families, lands, tongues, and nations. But it is not certain, if all the perſons there mentioned headed companies from *Babel.* Other writers have reduced the number to ſeventy, and ſupport their opinion by the words of *Moſes* in the thirty-ſecond chapter of *Deuteronomy, when the moſt high divided to the nations their inheritance, when he ſeparated the ſons of* Adam, *he ſet the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of* Iſrael. Some refer this text to the number of *Jacob*'s deſcendants when they went to *Egypt*; others to the diviſion of the *Iſraelites* into twelve tribes: but others think it relates ſolely to the *Canaanites*, whoſe bounds were ſet according to the number of the children of *Iſrael*, that is, their country would be a ſufficient inheritance for the *Jews*.

One thing may be obſerved, that how few or how many ſoever the languages were now become, yet many of them for ſome time did not differ much from one another. For *Abraham*, an *Hebrew*, lived among the *Chaldeans*, travelled among the *Canaanites*, ſojourned with the *Philiſtines*, and lived ſome time in *Egypt*; yet we do not find he had any remarkable difficulty in converſing with them. In a few ages, however, the languages of neighbouring nations became ſo different, that they could not be underſtood by each other. Thus in the time of *Joſeph*, when his brethren came to buy corn in *Egypt*, we find the *Hebrew* and *Egyptian* tongues ſo diſſimilar, that they uſed an interpreter in their converſation.

CHAP. V.

Of the Diſperſion of Mankind.

Of the planting of the nations.

THE people at *Shinaar*, upon the confuſion of their language, found it neceſſary to ſeparate, and accordingly divided themſelves under the conduct of the leading men amongſt them. The primitive fathers, and ſeveral others, have ſuppoſed that the diſperſion of mankind did not immediately follow the confuſion of tongues, but happened near a century afterwards, about the middle of *Peleg*'s life. Others again have embraced an opinion in another extreme, and think that all the countries mentioned by *Moſes* were immediately poſſeſſed, and peopled by the ſeveral companies, under their diſtinct leaders, that travelled thither from *Babel.*

The moſt received opinion is, that the diſperſion happened at the ſame time with the confuſion of languages, that is about the birth of *Peleg.* What might be the number of mankind about this time, has been already obſerved; and even allowing the ſmalleſt computation, it will be found ſufficient to account for the firſt planting of nations. It appears from *Moſes*'s account, that ſome of thoſe that afterwards gave names to na-

tions, were at this time but children; therefore at the diſper-ſion from *Babylon*, they could not be leaders of companies; nor could the nations called after their names be then planted. The ſeparate colonies, tho' at firſt but few, and conſiſting of ſmall numbers, might afterwards ſubdivide, as they became more populous, and removed farther from the centre of their migration; and at length, the chiefs finally ſettling in different countries, might diſtinguiſh them by their names. Perhaps at firſt the three chief families only parted, each of which, from time to time, continued to divide and ſubdivide as their numbers increaſed, and new occaſions and opportunities offered. If we conſider the ſituation of the nations diſtinguiſhed by their founders names, we ſhall find, that notwithſtanding all the confuſion of tongues, and diverſity of languages, it ſo happened that (three or four inſtances only excepted) the ſons of *Japhet* peopled one part of the world, the ſons of *Shem* another, and the ſons of *Ham* a third. With regard to the ſons of *Japhet*, *Moſes* tells us, *by theſe were the iſles of the Gentiles divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations.* He concludes his account of the ſons of *Ham* with theſe words: *Theſe are the ſons of* Ham *after their families, after their tongues, in their countries, in their nations*; and the account of the deſcendants of *Shem* ends thus: *Theſe are the ſons of* Shem *after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their nations.* Thus the land or peculiar lot of each family did lie within the general lot of each nation.

The authors that have treated upon the ſubject of the Diſperſion, have endeavoured to determine what particular countries were planted by the different leaders. The ſubſtance of what they offer is as follows.

What countries were ſeveral-ly planted by the poſterity of *Japhet*.

Of *Noah*'s three ſons, *Japhet*, the eldeſt, is ſuppoſed by ſome not to have been preſent at the confuſion of *Babel*, *Moſes* giving no account of his life and death. His deſcendants that were at *Shinaar*, and were afterwards heads of nations, were his ſeven ſons *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Javan*, *Tubal*, *Meſhech*, and *Tiras*; and his ſeven grandſons, *Aſhkenaz*, *Riphath*, *Togarmah*, the ſons of *Gomer*, and *Eliſha*, *Tarſhiſh*, *Kittim*, and *Dodanim*, the ſons of *Javan* *.

Gomer.

Gomer, according to *Joſephus* and *Bochart*, was the father of the *Gomerites*, called by the Greeks *Galatians*, who were the *Gauls* of *Aſia Minor*, and afterwards peopled the northern parts of *Europe*, under the names of *Celtes* and *Cimbri*; which laſt appellation is in ſome meaſure ſtill preſerved by the *Welch*, deſcendants of the *Gauls*, who call themſelves *Cumro* and *Cumeri*, and their language *Gomarag*.

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* The *Septuagint* verſion mentions a 8th ſon of *Japhet*, named *Elisa*. The *Tartarian* authors likewiſe give him eight ſons, and the *Perſian* hiſtorians eleven. *D'Herbelot* Bibl. Orient. Art. *Japhet*.

The

The ſons of *Gomer*, are ſuppoſed to have ſettled not far from their father. *Jeremiah*, in ſpeaking of the nations that ſhould aſſiſt *Cyrus* in taking *Babylon*, mentions *Ararat*, *Minni*, and *Aſhkenaz*. As *Minni* is *Armenia* the leſs, called *Aram-Minni*, the country of *Aſhkenaz* is therefore ſuppoſed to border upon it. Others however think that the *Aſhkenaz* mentioned by *Jeremiah* were a people near *Troas*, in Leſſer *Phrygia*; from whence, according to *Xenophon*, *Cyrus* brought conſiderable reinforcements to *Babylon*. In leſſer *Phrygia* there was anciently a city called *Aſcania*, and *Homer* mentions a king of the name of *Aſcanius* at the ſiege of Troy. *Aſhkenaz.*

1. *Riphath*, the brother of *Aſhkenaz*, is ſuppoſed by *Joſephus* to be the founder of the *Paphlagonians*, who, he ſays, were originally called *Riphathæans*. *Stephanus* mentions a country near *Paphlagonia* whoſe inhabitants were called *Rhebæi*, and *Pliny* places here a people called *Riphæi*. 2. *Togarmah* is ſuppoſed by ſome to have ſettled in *Cappadocia*, conformable to that expreſſion of the prophet, *Gomer and all his bands, the houſe of Togarmah of the north quarters and all his bands.* The ſituation ſeems to be remarked with regard to *Judea*. The houſe of *Togarmah*, according to *Ezekiel*, traded in the fairs of *Tyre* with horſes, horſemen, and mules; and the *Cappadocians* were famous for their good horſemen and breed of horſes. In the borders of *Cappadocia* mention is made of a people called *Trogmi*, and in the council of *Chalcedon* called *Trogmades*. The *Armenians*, however, claim to be deſcended from *Togarmah*; and from *Xenophon* it appears, that they bred excellent horſes, which they paid to *Cyrus* inſtead of a tribute in money. *Riphath.* *Togarmah.*

Magog, the ſecond ſon of *Japhet*, is ſuppoſed by *Joſephus*, *Jerom*, *Bochart*, and others, to have fixed in *Scythia*. His two brothers, *Meſhech* and *Tubal*, ſeem to have ſettled in his neighbourhood; for *Ezekiel* makes the ſame prince to govern all the three countries. According to the *Septuagint*, indeed there is a fourth country added, which, if admitted, would ſerve to diſcover the ſituation of the other three. *Gog*, the king of *Magog*, is there ſaid to be the prince of *Roſh*, *Meſhec*, and *Tubal*. *Roſh*, according to *Joſeph Ben Gorion*, was a country ſituated between the *Euxine* and the *Caſpian* ſeas; or rather on the *Ros*, *Ras*, or *Aras*, called by the *Greeks Araxes*. In the neighbourhood of the *Rhoſſi*, lived the *Moſchi*, who may be ſuppoſed to be the deſcendants of *Meſhec*, and to have afterwards peopled *Muſcovy* and *Ruſſia*. *Magog.*

It is generally agreed, that *Madai* planted *Media*, and the *Medes* are always called by this name in ſcripture. *Madai.*

Javan is thought to have planted *Greece*. He may probably be ſuppoſed to have ſettled firſt near his brothers, on the Coaſt of *Aſia*, about *Ionia*, which contains the radical letters of his name. 1. His eldeſt ſon, *Eliſha*, is ſuppoſed by *Joſephus* to have planted *Æolia*; but others rather place him in *Greece*, in the *Peloponeſus* and its neighbourhood, *Greece* itſelf being anciently called *Hellas*. In *Attica* there was a city named *Eleuſis*, *Javan.* *Eliſha.*

and the river *Iliſſus*; and the *Peloponeſus* contained a city called *Elis*. The iſles of *Eliſha*, mentioned by *Ezekiel* to have ſupplied *Tyre* with purple and blue, are ſuppoſed to be the *Grecian* iſlands, which abounded with theſe dyes. 2. *Tarſhiſh*, according to *Joſephus*, gave name not only to *Tarſus* but to all *Cilicia*. Some however have placed him in *Spain*. 3. *Joſephus* will have the iſland of *Cyprus* to be the ſeat of *Kittim*. Some have placed him to the weſt of *Cicilia*, where *Homer* mentions a people called *Ceti*, and *Ptolomy* two provinces called *Cetis* and *Citis*. But in the *Apocrypha*, and ſeveral paſſages of ſcripture, † *Macedonia* is plainly denoted by the land of *Chetiim*. However ſome place him in *Italy*, and his brother *Dodanim* (otherwiſe called *Rhodanim*) in *France*, not far from the banks of the river *Rhone*. Others think that *Dodanim* was the father of the *Dorians*, and ſome think that he planted the iſland of Rhodes.

Tarſhiſh.

Kittim.

Dodanim.

Tiras.

Tiras, the youngeſt ſon of *Japhet*, is ſuppoſed by *Joſephus* to have led his colony into *Thrace*.

The countries ſettled by the deſcendants of *Ham*.

Ham, *Noah*'s youngeſt ſon, is thought to be the ſame with the *Chronus* of *Sanchoniatho*; and, according to *Marſham*, is to be found in prophane hiſtory, under the names of *Hammon*, *Thamus*, *Thammuz*, *Adonis*, *Oſiris*, *Baal*, *Belus*, *Jupiter*, and *Saturn* the ſecond. After the diſperſion he is ſuppoſed by ſome to have lived in *Phenicia*, and by others in *Egypt*.

Cuſh.

Cuſh, his eldeſt ſon, according to *Joſephus*, was the father of the *Ethiopians*, who he ſays in his time were called *Cuſheans*. It is however thought more probable, that he ſettled to the ſouth-eaſt of *Babylonia*, in that province ſtill called *Cuzeſtan*. His poſterity ſpread in time into ſeveral parts of *Arabia*, over the borders of the land of *Edom* into *Arabia Felix*, up to *Midian* and *Egypt*; all theſe countries in ſcripture being ſometimes called by the name of *the land of Cuſh*. The ſons of *Cuſh* were *Seba*, *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Ramah*, *Sabtecha*, and *Nimrod*. *Ramah* had two ſons, *Sheba* and *Dedan*.

Nimrod.

Theſe are all ſuppoſed to have planted different parts of *Arabia*, excepting *Nimrod*, who it is agreed kept poſſeſſion of *Shinaar*, where he erected a kingdom, and made *Babel* the ſeat of his empire. What the ſacred hiſtorian ſays of this chief is ſhort, and yet he ſays more of him than of any other of the poſterity of *Noah*, till he comes to *Abram*. He tells us, that *Nimrod began to be a mighty one in the Earth*; that *he was a mighty hunter before the Lord*, even to a proverb; and that *the beginning of his kingdom was* Babel *and* Erec, *and* Accad *and* Calneh *in the land of* Shinaar. Some repreſent him as *a giant*, according to the Septuagint tranſlation of the word, which in our verſion is rendered *a mighty one*. All conſider him as a great warrior, and from the words *a mighty hunter*, it is generally underſtood that he was a great tyrant. Others however interpret theſe words more favourably, alledging that the phraſe

† 1 Maccab. i. 1. and viii 5. Iſaiah xxiii. 1. Numb. xxiv. 4. Dan. xi. 30.

before

before the Lord may be taken in a favourable ſenſe, as a commendation of his good qualities, though the generality of interpreters underſtand it otherwiſe.

The hunting of wild beaſts, which probably were his firſt exploits, in thoſe ages would procure him great honour and renown: and by a long courſe of hoſtilities againſt them, he might be familiarized to blood and ſlaughter, and at length imagine that he had a right to be the aggreſſor againſt his fellow men, whom he would by force compel to ſubmit to his arbitrary authority. He is ſuppoſed to have formed the firſt monarchy after the flood, and to have extended the bounds of his kingdom conſiderably, no leſs than four cities belonging to him in the land of *Shinaar*, whereas in thoſe early times few kings had more than one. He is ſaid to have built ſeveral other cities, but when he began his reign, how long he reigned, and who were his ſucceſſors, is quite uncertain. The *Jews* ſuppoſe him to be the ſame with *Amraphel*, the king of *Shinaar*, who, with his three confederates, were defeated by *Abram*. Some have imagined him to be the ſame with *Belus*, and the founder of the *Babyloniſh* empire, others with *Ninus*, the founder of the *Aſſyrian*.

Mizraim, the ſecond ſon of *Cuſh*, planted *Egypt*. It is diſ- *Mizraim.*
puted, however, whether the word *Mizraim*, which has a plural termination, does not denote a people. The names of his deſcendants are plainly plural, as we read that *Caphtorim* came forth out of *Caphtor*. The firſt of the deſcendants of *Mizraim* were the *Ludim*, who, with the *Lehabim*, are judged to have peopled *Lybia*. The *Anamim* are thought by *Bochart* to be the *Ammonians*, or the inhabitants of *Lybia*, in the neighbourhood of the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*. The *Naphtuhim* are placed by ſome about *Noph* or *Memphis*, in upper *Egypt*; but by others, on the coaſt of the Mediterranean, near *Cyrenaica*, as the *Egyptians* called the ſkirts of a country and promontaries waſhed by the ſea *Nephthys*. *Pathruſim* are evidently the inhabitants of *Pathros* or *Thebais*, in upper *Egypt*. The *Caſluhim* were ſeated about *Caſhiotes*, in the entrance of *Egypt* from *Paleſtine*. According to ſome authors, the *Philiſtim* and *Caphtorim* were deſcended from the *Caſluhim*; but where they fixt their firſt ſettlements is greatly diſputed. *Caphtor* by the Septuagint is rendered *Cappadocia*; and the *Jews* and *Chaldee* paraphraſts, and the ancient fathers all ſuppoſe the *Caphtorim* to be the *Cappadocians*. But by *Cappadocia* here, is generally underſtood ſome place in lower *Egypt*, in the neighbourhood of *Damiata*. The *Philiſtim* were ſeated at firſt near the *Caphtorim* ‡, but afterwards removed to *Canaan*.

Moſes mentions none of the deſcendants of *Phut Ham*'s third *Phut.*
ſon, who is ſuppoſed to have ſettled ſomewhere in *Arabia* near to *Cuſh* ‖.

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‡ Amos ix. 7. ‖ Ezekiel xxxviii. 5. Jerem. xlvi. 9. Prideaux Connect. b. 2.

Canaan,

Canaan. *Canaan*, the fourth ſon of *Ham*, on account of the wickedneſs of his father, received the curſe of his grandfather *Noah*. Many conjectures are formed why the curſe was laid upon *Canaan*, and not upon the other children of *Ham*. The *Jews* imagine he was equally concerned in the crime with his father. It is believed, he lived and died in the country called after his name, which ſeems even to have been known to the ancient heathens; for *Sanchoniatho* expreſly ſays, *Cha* was the firſt *Phenician*. His poſterity, namely, *Sidon*, *Heth*, the *Jebuſites*, *Amorites*, *Girgaſhites*, *Hivites*, *Arkites*, *Sinites*, *Arvadites*, *Zemarites*, and *Hamathites*, peopled the land of *Canaan*.

We mention *Shem* and his deſcendants laſt, becauſe the ſacred hiſtorian carries down the line of his poſterity ſeven generations farther than that of any of his two brothers, concluding with Lot, the nephew and cotemporary of the patriarch *Abraham*. We ſhall afterwards be more particular with regard to this laſt patriarch, when we come to the hiſtory of the *Jews*, who are deſcended from him.

The countries ſettled by the deſcendants of *Shem*.

Shem was the ſecond ſon of *Noah*, and died at the age of ſix hundred, having lived five hundred and two years after the Flood. The *Jews* ſay, that for the laſt four hundred years of his life, he inſtructed mankind as a prophet, that he invented aſtronomy, and wrote a treatiſe of phyſic, which is ſaid to be ſtill extant in the elector of *Bavaria*'s library *. He left five ſons, namely, *Elam*, *Aſſur*, *Arphaxad*, *Lud*, and *Aram*.

Elam. *Elam*, the eldeſt, ſettled in the country of *Elam* or *Perſia*. It ſeems as if he fixed himſelf near the place where the kings of *Perſia* afterwards had their reſidence, for in *Daniel*'s time the palace of *Shuſhan* was in the province of *Elam*.

Aſſur. *Aſſur* for ſome time lived under *Nimrod*, in the land of *Shinaar*, but afterwards removed with his company into *Aſſyria*, where he built the cities *Nineveh*, *Rehobath*, *Calah*, and *Reſen*. From this time, which is ſuppoſed to have been about thirty years after the confuſion of tongues, is dated the beginning of the *Aſſyrian* kingdom.

Arphaxad. *Arphaxad*, the third ſon of *Shem*, ſettled in *Chaldea*, where likewiſe his ſon *Salah*, and his grandſon *Eber*, are ſuppoſed to have continued.

Salah.

Eber.

Lud. *Lud*, the fourth ſon of *Shem*, is generally ſuppoſed to be the father of the *Lydians* in leſſer *Aſia*.

Aram. *Aram* ſettled in *Syria*, which for a long time was known by the name of *Aramea*. It is probable that the four ſons of *Aram*, *Uz*, *Hul*, *Gether*, and *Maſh*, fixt their ſettlements near their father.

The patriarchal line continued in the poſterity of *Arphaxad*, whoſe grandſon *Eber* is ſuppoſed by many to have been the founder both of the name and nation of the *Hebrews*. Others however think, that the name of *Hebrews* was appropriated to

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* Calmet. Dict. de la Bible, Art. *Shem*.

Abram

Abram and his descendants, on account of his passing over the rivers in his way from *Irak* or *Chaldea* into *Syria*. Many have also believed, that the Hebrew language took its name from *Eber*, and remained solely in the family and descendants of that patriarch; but in the time of *Abram* it appears, that the Hebrew language was also spoke by the *Phenicians* or *Canaanites*, a people who had no affinity with the family of *Eber*.

Peleg. *Joktan.*

To *Eber* were born two sons, *Peleg* and *Joktan*. *Peleg* was born about the time of the confusion; and when *Joktan* came to be of years to head a company, he led away part of his family to seek a new habitation. This migration of *Joktan* is generally placed about the time that *Abram*'s father *Terah*, removed from *Chaldea*. *Joktan*, according to *Moses*, had thirteen sons, *whose dwelling was from* Mesha *to* Sephar, *a mount of the east*. Authors are not agreed where to look for these two places *Mesha* and *Sephar*. Many think they are seated in the *East Indies*, as the names of some *Indian* nations are similar to the names of some of *Joktan*'s children. Others, with more probability, place *Joktan*'s sons in *Arabia Felix*; yet 'tis imagined, his descendants in time might even spread into *India*.

Peleg, the brother of *Joktan*, had a son named *Reu*, from whom *Serug* was descended. *Serug* was the father of *Nahor*, who begat *Terah*, the father of *Abram*, and of two other sons *Nahor* and *Haran*. The eldest son, *Haran*, died before his father, in his native country of *Ur*, leaving behind him one son, whose name was *Lot*, and two daughters *Milcah* and *Iscah*.

Reu. *Serug.* *Nahor.* *Terah.* *Abram.*

At this period the corruption of mankind was become general. They had forsaken the worship of the true God, and degenerated into idolatry. The people of *Ur*, which name signifies fire, are supposed to have worshiped that element. The scripture expressly says, that *Terah* before he removed from thence served other Gods *. According to the eastern authors, he was a carver of idols, and was the first that made images of clay, and taught that they were to be adored as gods, his employment being reckoned very honourable. *Abram* himself, it is generally imagined, was an idolator; but God being minded to select his family out of the rest of mankind, ordered *Terah* to leave the place of his habitation. *Terah* and his family being converted to the worship of the true God, it is said the *Chaldeans*, on that account, expelled them their country †; and that they then travelled to *Haran*, a city in the north west parts of *Mesopotamia*, where *Terah* died, being two hundred and five years old.

Terah removes with his family to *Haran*.

His death.

This is the substance of what is offered by the best writers, about the first settlements after the dispersion of mankind, and concerning the history of those who distinguished themselves by

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* Josh. xxiv. 2.—14. † Judith v. 8.

found-

founding kingdoms and planting colonies. Though it muſt be allowed that the account is liable to great uncertainty; yet the reader may obſerve, that it is countenanced by arguments more favourable than any one, who never conſidered the ſubject would expect to meet with for a fact, of ſo remote antiquity, and but imperfectly deſcribed by the earlieſt writers.

It is ſtill more difficult to ſettle the chronology of the tranſactions of this period, than to inveſtigate the ſituation of the firſt colonies. We have no aſſiſtance herein from prophane hiſtory, and there is the greateſt diverſity between the ſeveral copies of the *Moſaical* writings. According to the *Hebrew* copy, from the Flood to the call of *Abram* upon *Terah*'s death, is only four hundred and twenty-ſeven years; but, by the Septuagint computation, between *Abram*'s call and the Flood were 1207 years, and according to the *Samaritan Pentateuch* 1077 years.

The Septuagint makes *Salah* not the ſon of *Arphaxad*, but the grandſon, and ſon of one *Cainan*, who is ſaid to have been born in the 135th year of his father's age, *Salah* being likewiſe born to him in the 130th year of his age. Thus the birth of *Salah* is put no leſs than 230 years later than according to the *Hebrew* copy. The Septuagint is ſingular in inſerting the name of *Cainan*; but the *Samaritan* agrees with it in adding 100 years to the lives of five different patriarchs, before the birth of their ſons, by which the account is ſwelled 500 years.

Another great difficulty in fixing the chronology, conſiſts in aſcertaining the age of *Terah* at *Abram*'s birth. Some will have *Abram* born in the 70th year of *Terah*, when *Moſes* mentions that he begat his ſons. By that expreſſion, however, *Moſes* only intimates that *Terah* was 70 before he had any children, and *Abram* appears to have been the youngeſt, and not much older than *Lot*, the ſon of his elder brother. If *Terah* lived till he was 205, *Abram*, who was then 75 years of age, muſt have been born in the 130th year of his father's life, which Mr. *Whiſton* ſeems to have fully proved in his chronology.

The name of *Cainan* is ſuppoſed to have been firſt interpolated by ſome careleſs tranſcriber into the Septuagint, as it is not found either in the *Hebrew* or *Samaritan* copies, in any of the places where *Noah*'s poſterity is enumerated, nor in the chronology of this period, given us by *Africanus* and *Euſebius*, from the Septuagint itſelf. The name ſeems alſo to have been unknown to *Onkelos*, *Philo*, *Joſephus*, and to the *Syriac*, *Perſian*, and *Arab* tranſlators. It is wanting in ſeveral editions of the *Septuagint* ſtill extant, and is not mentioned by a cotemporary of the Apoſtles; and even, according to *Beroſus*, *Abram* was in the 10th generation after the Flood. It might alſo creep into the goſpel of St. *Luke*, by the miſtake of a tranſcriber,

who

who might have added it at firſt to the margin, from an erroneous copy of the *Septuagint*. The addition of a century to the lines of ſome of the patriarchs before the birth of their children, is ſuppoſed to have been occaſioned by ſome ignorant tranſcriber, who wanted to make the years of the immediate deſcendants of *Noah*, to correſpond with thoſe of the antidiluvian patriarchs. There are other ſmaller variations betwixt the different copies; but we have choſen to adopt the chronology of the *Hebrew*, which is juſtified by *Uſher*, *Capſovius*, and other eminent chronologers.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Origin of Civil Government.

IN the infancy of the world, before the diſperſion of mankind, the different families probably were independant of each other, and formed ſmall ſocieties, each under the direction of their founder. Though the father, after his children were out of their minority, had no natural right to govern them; yet it may be ſuppoſed, that, during his life, or while they continued near him, he maintained an authority almoſt abſolute and ſupreme over all his deſcendants, who would have been looked upon as impious, to have rejected his counſels, or diſobeyed his commands. There would not at firſt be much occaſion for enacting laws and penalties, the dignity and reverence attending the head of the family, being ſufficient to reſtrain thoſe who might incline to be refractory. By degrees ſome regulations might be ſettled by unanimous conſent, as a ſtandard for the conduct of individuals; and the power of ſeeing theſe regulations put in execution might be veſted in the common parent, who would thereby acquire a legal authority firmly eſtabliſhed.

Upon the diſperſion, the leaders of colonies would probably imitate the form of government that had already taken place, and would be ſtudious, by the moſt prudent regulations, to render their new ſettlements as flouriſhing as poſſible. According as they had greater abilities, and were more active in promoting the welfare of their followers, they would acquire the greater truſt and more unlimited authority. Some in a few years, perhaps, would render themſelves almoſt entirely abſolute, and eſtabliſh an hereditary ſucceſſion to their poſterity; while others, in the ſame time, by their inactivity and ſloth, might become the contempt of their followers, who might bear with them during their life; but upon their death, would confer the chief authority upon perſons moſt conſpicuous for their active virtues.

When

When diſputes happened betwixt two independant families inſtead of terminating their differences by the ſword, they pu an end to the conteſt, by removing to a greater diſtance from each other. Thus their numbers were not diminiſhed by war, and there was a greater opportunity for them to multiply by diſperſing themſelves widely through the earth; ſo that their ſettlements could not for a long time interfere with each other.

Though ſome ſocieties were formed of the deſcendants of one family, united under their common parent as chief; yet we find that very early after the diſperſion others were founded, and governed in a different manner. *Nimrod* does not appear to have been an eldeſt ſon; yet, even in his youth, he ſeems to have eſtabliſhed a conſiderable kingdom. Whatever were his abilities for government, 'tis probable thoſe who were his elders did not at firſt voluntarily ſubmit to his authority; but finding themſelves unable to reſiſt his power, at length ſubmitted to be his ſubjects. As he had acquired great renown, many from different families might perhaps voluntarily attach themſelves to him, ſo that he would quickly have more numerous followers, and a more abſolute authority, than any head of a family.

The heads of the ſocieties newly formed after the diſperſion were ſoon diſtinguiſhed by the title of *king*, though their authority extended frequently but to one city. Not long after, in the moſt populous places, differences happening betwixt neighbouring chiefs, the territories of the one were ſeized by the other, and made part of his dominions. The victor rendered thereby much more formidable continued his conqueſts, adding city to city, till he had conſiderably enlarged his dominions. Thus kingdoms of conſiderable extent and power were ſoon formed; but ſometimes the ſmaller kings preſerved their independency by forming alliances with each other.

Thoſe who had made conqueſts, treated the conquered people in different manners, according to their various tempers and intereſts. Some looking on themſelves as abſolute maſters of the vanquiſhed, and thinking it was enough to grant them life, ſtripped them of every thing elſe, and reduced them to the ſtate of ſlavery, condemning them to the meaneſt offices, and the moſt laborious employments, which introduced the diſtinction between freemen and ſlaves, ever ſince kept up in the world.

Others introduced the cuſtom of tranſporting the conquered nations entirely into new countries, where they aſſigned them ſettlements and lands to cultivate.

Others yet more moderate, contented themſelves with obliging the conquered to purchaſe their liberty by a ranſom, and allowed them the enjoyment of their own laws and privileges, on payment of an annual tribute, ſometimes even leaving

A MAP of Antient EGYPT.

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

MOUTHS of the NILE

Bolbitic Bay

Parætonium

Apis

Catabathmus Paryas

Adrymachidæ

Mt. Oxyamus

Mareotis

Lake Moeris

Arsinoe

Temple of Jupiter Ammon

DESERTS OF LYBIA

Canopus

ALEXANDRIA

Taposiris

Antiphra

Marcotis Lake

Butus

Sais

Hermopolis

Zoan or Tanis

Pelusium

Tanitic B.

Mendesian B.

Pathmetic B.

Parætus B.

Ostracine

Rinocolura

LOWER EGYPT

Lakes of Nitre

MEMPHIS

Pyramids

Nilopolis

Aphroditopolis

Heliopolis

Heroopolis

Pihahiroth

Arsinoe

Baal-zephon

Clysma

Hardeopolis

HEPTANOMIS

Oxyrynchus

Lake

Cynopolis

RIVER Nile

Hermopolis

Great Oasis

Lycopolis

Hieracon

Little Apollinopolis

Antæopolis

Crocodilopolis

Panopolis or Chemnis

Ptolemais

UPPER EGYPT

Little Diospolis

Tentyra

Coptos

Memnonium

THEBES or Great Diospolis

Latopolis

Great Apollinopolis

Ombi

Syene

Little Cataract

Tacompsus

Hiera Sycaminus

Great Cataract

Nile R.

Premnis

ETHIOPIA

ARABIA DESERTS

ARABIA PETRÆA

ARABIAN GULF

Gulf of Elim or Heroopolis

Gulf of Elana

Aennum

Elim

Mt Sinai

Paran

Elath or Elana

Ezion-geber

Midian

Phænicon

Little Apollinopolis

Hydreum of Jupiter

Hydreum of Apollo

Hydreum of Troglodituum

Berenice

Tropic of Cancer

Aphrodite

Myoshormos or Port Sorris

PALESTINE

Tyre

Acco or Ptolemais

Cesarea

Samaria

Joppa

Jerusalem

Ascalon

Gaza

South

Genesareth L.

Jordan R.

Ammon

Moab

Zoar

Zuzumpa

Petra

IDUMEA

Mount Seir

Jynia

Havara

R. Besor

Sirbon L.

Rinocolura

English Statute Miles

20 40 60 80 100 120 140

33 32 31 30 29 28 27 26 25 24 23

43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54

their kings on the throne, and only obliging them to acknowlege the ſuperiority of their conqueror by certain marks of homage and ſubmiſſion. The wiſeſt and moſt politic gained the affections of their new ſubjects by admitting them to an equality with their old ones, and granting them the ſame liberties and privileges; ſo that by an union of intereſts they quickly became one people. Thus large empires were formed, which however did not happen, till ſeveral centuries after the diſperſion, when the eaſtern parts of the world were become very populous.

BOOK II.

The Hiſtory of EGYPT, *to the Time of* Alexander the Great.

CHAP. I.

A Deſcription of that Country.

Its different names.

EGYPT, frequently ſtiled in Scripture *the land of* Ham, and *the land of* Mizraim, by its ancient inhabitants was called *Chemia*, and by the *Copts* at preſent *Chemi*. The name *Chemia* is probably derived from *Ham*; but it is not agreed from what origin to deduce the *Greek* name *Egypt*, by which the country is beſt known to the *Europeans*. Some ſay it was ſo called from one of its kings named *Ægyptus*; but this name anciently was given not only to the country, but alſo to its famous river the *Nile*. Others ſay *Egypt* ſignifies no more than the land of the *Copts*, the word *Aia* being *Greek* for *a country*, and *Æcoptos* being eaſily ſoftened into *Ægyptus*. But 'tis probable the city *Coptos*, ſituate far up in higher *Egypt*, was not known to the *Greeks*, till long after they had given a name to the country. Others therefore think the country was ſo called from the blackneſs of its ſoil, and the dark colour both of its river and inhabitants, which the *Greeks* denote by the word *ægyptias* from *ægyps*, a vulture, a bird of a duſkiſh hue, which colour by the *Latins* is called *ſubvulturius*. On the ſame account the country was alſo frequently called by the *Greeks Aeria*, and *Melamboius*; and the river *Nile*, *Melo* or *Melas*, which ſignifies black, and correſponds with the *Hebrew* name *Shibor*, and the *Ethiopian Siris*, by which the river was alſo known.

Egypt

Its situation and extent.

Egypt is situated between the 48th and 53 degrees of longitude east from the *Azores*, and the 23d and 32d degrees of north latitude, being bounded on the south by *Ethiopia*, on the north by the *Mediterranean* sea, on the east by the *Red* sea and the Isthmus of *Suez*, and on the west by a region of *Lybia*, called *Marmarica*. The river *Nile* runs through the whole length of country from south to north about 600 miles. The coast on the *Mediterranean* extends near 300 miles. Above the division of the *Nile* the habitable part of the country is bounded on each side by a chain of mountains that are continued to *Ethiopia*. The plain betwixt them in some places is not 33 miles broad, but in other places it extends to about 70 or 80 miles.

Its three principal divisions.

Ancient *Egypt* may properly be divided into three parts, namely, *Upper Egypt*, or *Thebais*, next to *Ethiopia*, *Middle Egypt*, or *Heptanomis*, and *Lower Egypt*, which included what the *Greeks* called *Delta*, and all the country on the coast of the *Mediterranean*.

Thebais, so named from its principal city *Thebes*, in the scripture is called *Pathros*, and at present *Al Said*. It is near as big as the other two divisions, and is divided from *Ethiopia* by the cities of *Syene* and *Elephantina*, which, according to *Tacitus*, were once the boundaries of the *Roman* empire in those parts *.

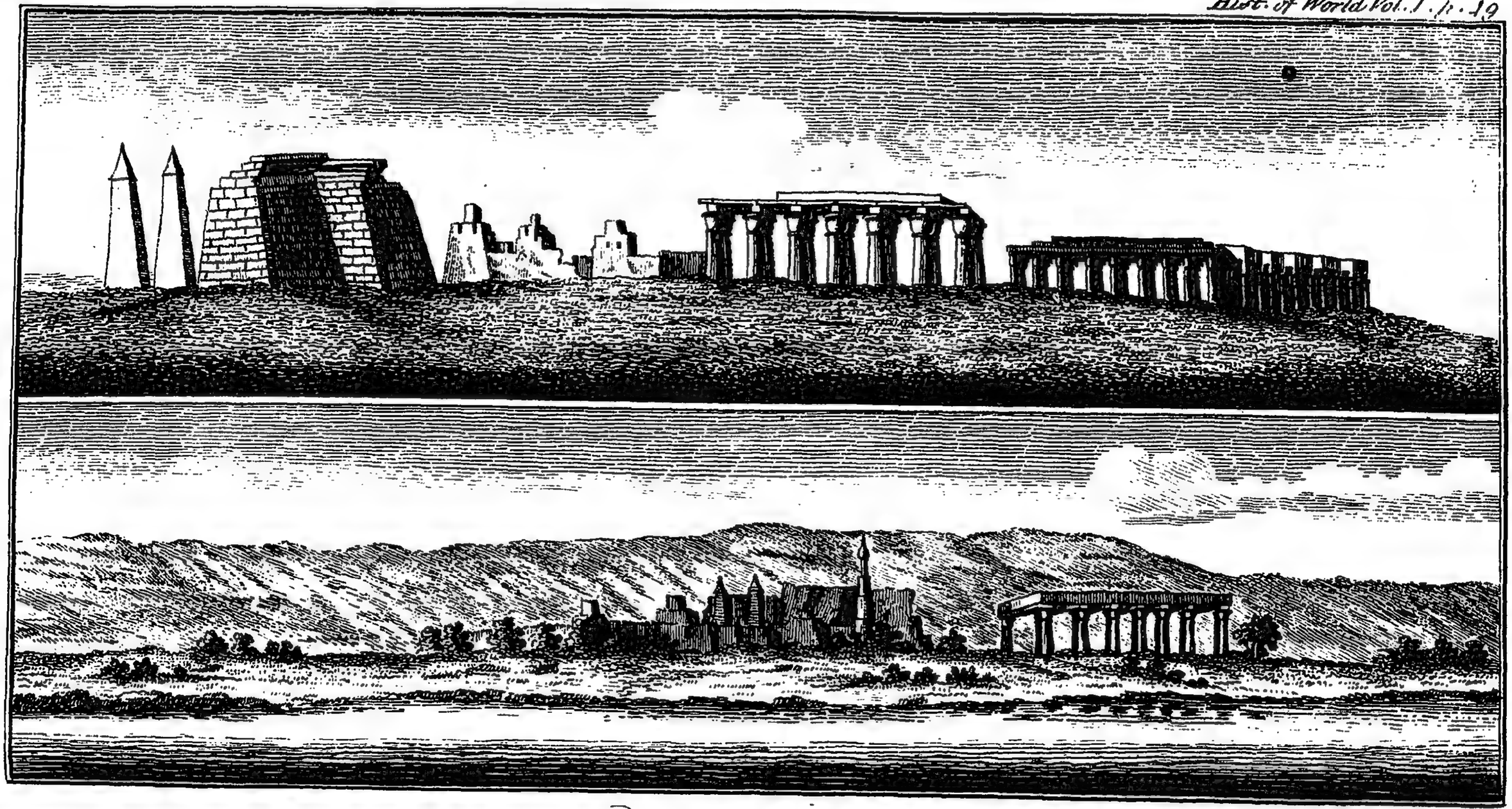
Cities in the first division.

In this part of *Egypt* there were formerly several cities of great note, some of which are now only insignificant villages, and others heaps of ruins. On the west side of the river towards the north was *Lycopolis* or *the city of wolves*, supposed to have been the same with the present town of *Monfalut*. Here wolves were worshiped, because, says *Diodorus*, they formerly drove back an *Ethiopian* army †. More southward was *Hypsele*, now *Aboutig*, a considerable town and bishop's see. There were also *Aphroditopolis*, or the city of *Venus*; *Ptolemais*, by *Strabo*, thought as large as *Memphis*; *Abydus*, once a most populous city, but in *Strabo*'s time only a village; *Little Diospolis*, supposed to be the present town of *Hou*; and *Tentyra*, now in ruins, the inhabitants of which, *Juvenal* informs us, had such an enmity to the *Crocodile*, that they waged war with the worshipers of that animal ‡. On this side of the river were likewise *Latopolis*, where the ruins of an ancient temple, and several hieroglyphics are still to be seen; and *Great Apollinopolis*, the inhabitants of which were also *Crocodile*-haters.

Going down the other side of the river were found the cities *Phylæ*, near the lesser cataracts, where *Osiris* was supposed to have been buried, and *Syene*, situate directly under the tropic of *Cancer*. In the neighbourhood of this last city, are the quarries of red granite, from whence large columns and obe-

* Tacit. Annal. l. 2. † Diodor. l. 1. c. 88. ‡ Juven. Satyr. xv. ver. 33.

lisks



A View of the Ruins of Thebes

liſks were hewed in one entire piece, and, according to the opinion of *Pococke*, even formed before they were ſeparated from the native rock. North from *Syene* lay *Ombos*, the inhabitants of which worſhiped the *Crocodile*, *Elythia*, *Cnuphis*, the famous *Thebes*, *Little Apollinopolis*, *Coptos*, *Cæne*, *Chenoboſcia*, *Panopolis*, and, laſtly, *Antæpolis*, ſo called from *Antæus*, whom *Hercules* ſlew. *Coptos*, now *Kept*, was a conſiderable city near the *Nile*, inhabited both by *Arabians* and *Egyptians*. The *Arabian* and *Indian* commodities were carried thither from the *Red* ſea by land, and from thence down the *Nile* to *Alexandria* *. *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, cauſed a good road to be made from *Coptos* to *Berenice* on the *Red* ſea, with convenient ſtations for reſting and watering, which were called *Hydria*. Formerly the chriſtians were very numerous in *Coptos*, whence in deriſion the *Mohammedans* called all the *Egyptian* chriſtians *Copts*.

Deſcription of Thebes.

Thebes, called alſo *Dioſpolis*, or the city of *Jupiter*, was one of the nobleſt cities in the world. Its grandeur and magnificence have been celebrated by many *Greek* and *Roman* writers. *Strabo*, who was on the ſpot, ſays, its length was ten miles, which is nothing to its antient extent before it was ruined by *Cambyſes*, when we are told, it was no leſs than 52 miles and a half in circuit. Its wealth was ſo immenſe that after it had been plundered by the *Perſians*, what was found, on burning the remains of the pillage, amounted to more than 300 talents of gold, and 2300 talents of Silver. According to *Homer*, the city had a 100 gates, and could ſend out of each gate 10,000 fighting men, and 200 war chariots. Some, however, think that the city had no walls, and by the 100 gates are meant the temples, or the palaces of great men †.

The city ſeems to have been built on both ſides of the *Nile*, and in *Strabo*'s time, it ſtood chiefly on the eaſt ſide of the river. There are ſtill to be ſeen temples and palaces almoſt entire, adorned with innumerable columns and ſtatues. One of the temples, according to *Diodorus*, was a mile and a half in circumference, and 45 cubits in height, with walls 24 feet thick. A modern traveller thinks that the temple even exceeded the deſcription of *Diodorus*. Hence avenues extending as far as the eye can ſee, adorned on each ſide with ſphinxes and coloſſal ſtatues conduct to three portico's, whoſe height is amazing to behold. The temple has other five grand portico's and gates without avenues, but of the fineſt marble, and adorned with hieroglyphics and coloſſal ſtatues. The author taking ſome meaſures of one of theſe ſtatues, found the hand to be 16 inches broad, and the head 5 feet 6 inches long. From the outer court to the inner temple there were in ſome places two rows of pillars 40 feet high, and eight in diameter, which had

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* Plin. l. 5. b. ix. and l. 6. c. xxiii. † Homer Iliad, x. ver. 381. Mela l. 1. c. ix. Strabo l. 17. Diodor. l. 2. Pocock. Deſcrip. of the Eaſt.

plinths above their capitals, as though ſtatues had been to be placed upon them. In the inner temple there are 16 rows of pillars one way, and 18 the other, the two middle rows being 11 feet diameter, and the others 8. The whole temple both within and without is covered with hieroglyphics, and other repreſentations. Beſides the inner temple, within the court, are a great many different buildings, which are now very much ruined. Many other grand ruins are diſcovered in the neighbourhood of the temple, but their original deſign cannot be ſo eaſily traced.

Of the ſepulchres of the *Theban* kings.

In the mountains near *Thebes* are ſtill to be ſeen the moſt magnificent ſepulchres of the *Theban* kings. You enter the rock by a gallery about 10 feet wide and 10 feet high, and upwards of 30 feet long. This gallery conducts to another of the ſame form; and ſo on to a third, and fourth, and fifth, at the end of which is a large ſpacious room, in which is ſeen the tomb of the king, with his figure cut in relievo on the lid, or painted at full length on the ſtone. The ſides and cielings of the room are cut with hieroglyphics, ſome of which are painted and ſtill look as freſh as if juſt finiſhed.

The ſtatues of *Memnon*.

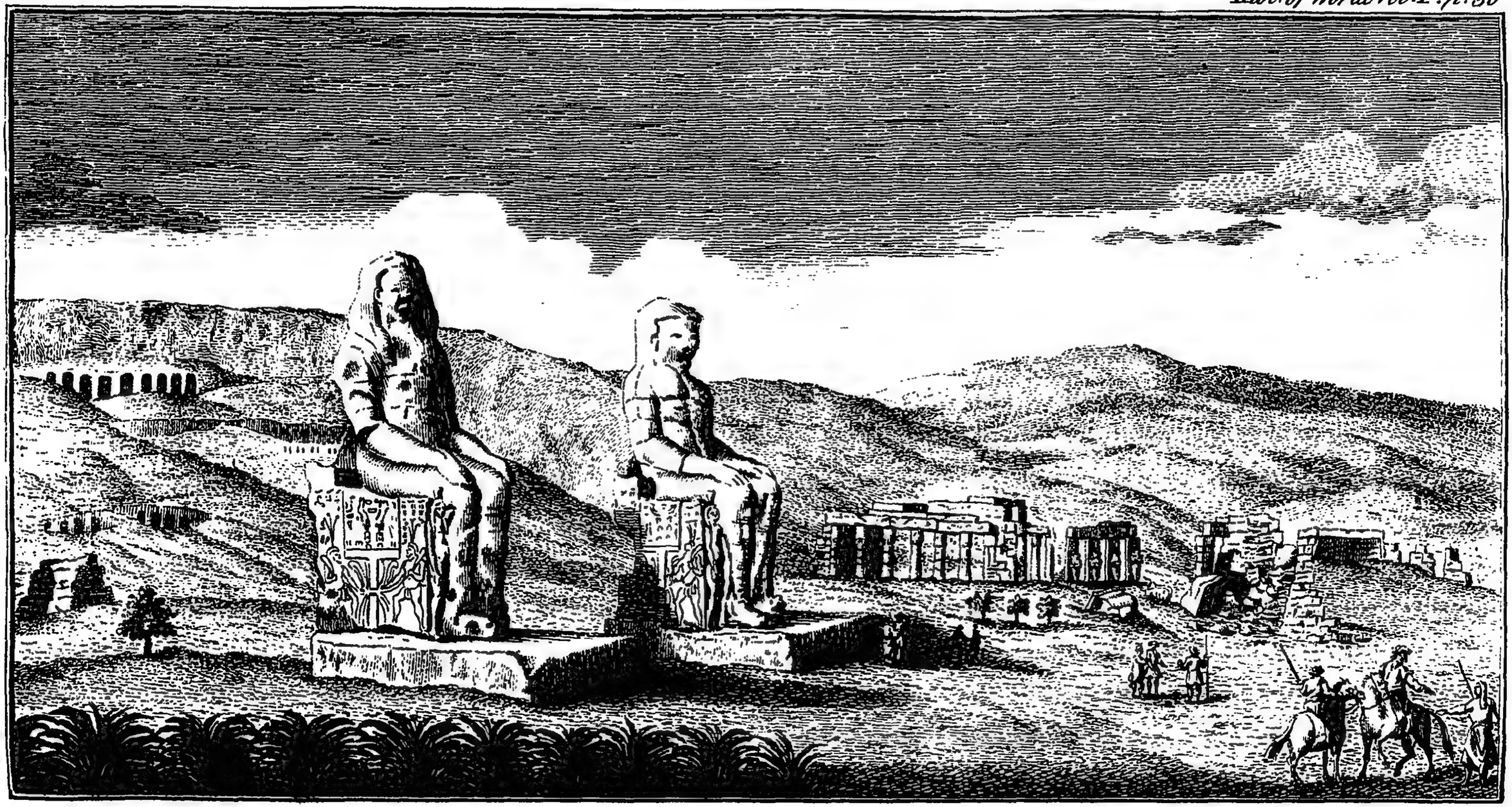
Not far from theſe tombs are the two coloſſal ſtatues of *Memnon*, ſtanding about 30 feet aſunder, and made of a particular kind of porous hard granite. The height of one of the ſtatues from the bottom of the foot to the top of the knee is about 29 feet, and from the bottom of the foot to the ancle two feet ſix inches. Here are alſo the remains of two ſtatues of black granite, one of which is ſuppoſed by ſome to have been the famous ſtatue of *Memnon*, which is ſaid daily to have uttered a ſound as ſoon as it was touched, by the rays of the riſing ſun. *Strabo* owns, that he himſelf heard the ſound, but adds, that he did not know whether it proceeded from the baſe, or the ſtatue, or the people about it, ſo that he ſuſpected a trick, which it doubtleſs was.

On the weſtern ſhore of the *Red* ſea, towards the north there were ſeveral conſiderable cities belonging to *Egypt*. On the moſt northern point ſtood *Heroopolis*, or the city of *Heroes*, and *Arſinoe*, which laſt is now called *Suez*. Farther ſouth were ſituated *Myos*, *Albus Portus*, and *Berenice*.

The cities in *Middle Egypt*.

Middle Egypt, called *Heptanomis*, from the ſeven names or prefectures into which it was divided, comprehended all the country north from *Thebais*, as far as the *Delta*, where the *Nile* divides into different branches. In early times it was alſo full of large and noble cities. On the weſt ſide of the river about 15 miles ſouth of the *Delta* ſtood *Memphis*, built, as is ſuppoſed, by *Menes* the firſt king of *Egypt*, and for many ages the metropolis of the whole kingdom. There are now no more remains of ſo great a city than if it had never exiſted; the beſt part of its ruins being probably carried off to *Alexandria*, and other cities, and the reſt buried by the overflowing of the *Nile*. It was great and populous even in the time of *Strabo*, who calls it the ſecond after *Alexandria*, and was adorn-

ed



Two Colossal Statues, with the Ruins of the Palace of Memnon

ed by many magnificent temples, one particularly of the god *Apis*, whom they worſhiped, under the appearance of an ox, that was kept and fed with great care and ceremony. A few miles ſouth from *Memphis* lay *Acanthus*, where was a great temple, dedicated to *Oſiris*. The *Nile* here formed a pretty large iſland, in which were the two cities *Heracleopolis*, where the *Ichneumon* was worſhiped, and *Nilopolis*. The following cities were likewiſe found in this diviſion, namely, *Arſinoe*, where the crocodile was worſhiped; *Oxyrynchus*, ſo called from a fiſh of that name worſhiped all over *Egypt*; *Hermopolis*, or the city of *Mercury*; *Aphroditopolis*, or the city of *Venus*; *Ancuropolis*, or the city of *Anchors*; *Cynopolis*, or the city of *Dogs*, where that animal was worſhiped; and *Antinoopolis*, built by *Adrian*, in honour of his favourite *Antinous*: though ſome imagine the emperor did not build a new city, but embelliſhed an old city named *Beſa*, which was afterwards called *Beſantinoopolis*.

Lower *Egypt*, which reached from the diviſion of the *Nile* to the *Mediterranean* ſea, was called *Delta*, from its triangular figure and reſemblance to the *Greek* letter of that name. Near the lake *Marea*, or *Mareotis*, the ancients mention the following cities, *Plinthine*, *Monocomium Gobii*, *Almyræ*, *Hierax*, *Taposiris*, *Phomotis*, *Marea*. This lake, according to *Strabo*, was formerly navigable, and was 300 ſtadia in length, and half as much in breadth. It appears from *Virgil* and *Horace*, that the adjoining country was once famous for excellent wine. The cities in lower *Egypt*.

Between the lake and the canopic branch of the *Nile* ſtood ſeveral cities of no ſmall note, particularly *Alexandria*, founded by *Alexander* the Great, and after his death made the capital of all *Egypt* by the *Ptolemies*. This city, in the days of *Auguſtus*, was reckoned the next to *Rome* for the grandeur, magnificence, and number of its buildings, very few remains of which are now to be ſeen. Its extent was about fifteen miles, and the royal palace, which was pleaſantly ſituated by the ſea, took up about one fifth of the city. Near a mile from the ſhore was the iſland of *Pharos*, which almoſt encloſed a bay about three leagues wide. One of the kings joined this iſland to the continent by a mole, ſo that it became a part of the city. On the eaſt end of it the famous light-houſe, called *Pharos*, was erected for the uſe of ſea-faring people, which was reckoned one of the wonders of the world; but now only ſome of its remains are ſeen covered by the ſea. For ſeveral centuries *Alexandria* was the city of the greateſt trade in the world, it being the only center of all the European traffic with *Arabia*, *Perſia*, *India*, and the eaſtern coaſts of *Africa*. In conſequence of its extenſive trade, it abounded with wealth, profuſion, and luxury, ſo that the *Alexandrian* voluptuouſneſs became a proverb.

About four miles from *Alexandria* ſtood *Nicopolis*, ſo called from the victory *Auguſtus* gained there over *Anthony*. In its neighbourhood lay *Canopus*, ſaid to be built by the *Spartans* on

their return from the *Trojan* war, and infamous for the diſſolute manners of its inhabitants. From thence ſouthwards on that branch of the *Nile*, were placed ſeveral conſiderable cities. In the *Delta*, between the canopic or moſt weſterly branch of the *Nile*, and the peluſian or eaſterly branch, were ſituated *Metelis* on the canopic branch, and *Naucratis* a little ſouth from the firſt ſubdiviſion of the canopic branch. Not far from thence was *Sais*, formerly the capital of Lower *Egypt*, where there was a famous temple of *Minerva*, and before it a ſurpriſing room cut out of one ſtone, on the outſide twenty-one cubits long, fourteen broad, and eight high, and within above eighteen feet in length, twelve broad, and five high, 2000 men being employed three years in bringing it down by water from *Elephantina*. Northwards from *Sais* ſtood *Cabaſa* and *Butus*, famous for the oracle of *Latona*. Many other cities of note were ſituated on and between the different channels of *Delta*, which whole territory was ſuppoſed by ſome to be an acceſſion of land to *Egypt*, and to have been formed by the ſoil brought down by the *Nile* in its yearly overflowings. Tho' large rivers, eſpecially if they run from high countries, form banks at their mouth, which in time become firm and dry land; yet conſidering the little alteration which has been in this part of *Egypt* for above 2000 years paſt, it is not likely that the *Nile*, that flows without rapidity, ever brought down ſoil ſufficient to form any conſiderable new territory.

Eaſt from the *Delta*, but on the banks of the *Nile*, ſtood *Bubaſtus*, ſo called from *Diana*, or *Bubaſtis*, where there was a magnificent temple dedicated to that goddeſs. On the ſame bank, farther ſouth, was ſeated *Onias*, ſo called from the *Jewiſh* prieſt of that name, who built a temple there in oppoſition to that of *Jeruſalem*. On this ſide of the river likewiſe ſtood *Babylon*, ſaid by *Diodorus* to have been built by ſome captives from *Babylon* in *Chaldea*, who at firſt plundered the country from a hill, whither they had eſcaped, where they afterwards, upon obtaining a pardon, founded a city, and called it *Babylon*. *Ptolomy* mentions a canal between this city and the Red Sea, which he calls the canal of *Trajan*, who either made or repaired it. This city was alſo the ſtation of a *Roman* legion.

A canal joining the *Nile* and the Red Sea.

Not far from it began the canal called *the canal of the kings*, from the peluſian branch to the Red Sea. This canal, which was 100 cubits in breadth, and of depth ſufficient to carry the largeſt veſſels, was begun by *Seſoſtris* king of *Egypt*, and after long interruption carried on and compleated by his ſucceſſors. Towards the mouth of this branch of the *Nile* ſtood the city *Peluſium*, ſo called from its marſhy ſituation, tho' ſome think it got its name from *Peleus*, the father of *Achilles*, who founded it. It was reckoned the key of *Egypt*, becauſe whoever was maſter of it, commanded the paſſage into *Egypt*. Several other cities lay between it and the confines of *Paleſtine*, and more ſouthwards towards *Arabia* ſtood *Phagroriopolis* and *Heliopolis*, or

or *the city of the Sun*, which is commonly thought to be the *On* of ſcripture.

Seſoſtris and other kings of *Egypt*, divided the kingdom into ſeveral governments or prefectures, called by the *Egyptians Tabir*, and by the *Greeks Nomes*; the number of which was uncertain, and varied according to the pleaſure of the kings.

A deſcription of the *Nile*.

One of the greateſt wonders of *Egypt* is the *Nile*, which by its regular overflowings, waters the whole country, and richly ſupplies the want of rain. The ſources of this river, which are now diſcovered to be in *Ethiopia*, were ſo abſolutely unknown to the ancients, that they thought it even impoſſible to find them. The river enters *Egypt* almoſt under the tropic of *Cancer*, pouring itſelf down in no leſs than ſeven cataracts, to which, tho' very impetuous, the natives nevertheleſs truſt themſelves in ſmall boats, each of which holds only two perſons. A little below the ancient *Memphis*, the river divided itſelf into two large arms, which afterwards formed ſeven channels, by which it emptied itſelf into the ſea. The greater part of theſe channels have ſince been ſtopped up, and others formed; ſo that the river is now ſuppoſed to flow into the ſea by above thirty channels, eſpecially at its overflowing. The two principal channels at preſent are that of *Roſetta*, or *Raſhid*, and of *Damietta*, or *Dimyat*.

The cauſes of its overflowing.

The ancients were at a loſs to account for the overflowing of the *Nile*, which, contrary to other rivers, was higheſt in ſummer and loweſt in winter. The true cauſe, however, has been long known, *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, a very inquiſitive prince, having ſent able perſons on purpoſe to examine into it. When the ſun paſſes the equator, and advances towards the northern tropic, it is then winter in that part of the torrid zone, the rains falling continually for ſeveral months. In conſequence of theſe rains, *Ethiopia* is ſoon overflowed; and about three weeks after, towards the end of *May*, the *Nile* begins to riſe in *Egypt*. About the end of *June*, when the river has riſen fourteen or ſixteen feet, the overflowing is proclaimed through the *Egyptian* cities by public criers, who regularly publiſh its daily increaſe, till it riſes to thirty-four feet eight inches, when the dam of the great canal is cut down, which entitles the ſultan to a certain tribute. If the water encreaſes to the height of about fifty feet, according to the account of ſome moderns, which greatly exceeds that of the ancients, it is judged moſt favourable; but if it ſhould either be conſiderably lower or higher, a barren year enſues, or the country ſuſtains great damage. The greateſt height according to the accounts both of the ancients and moderns, happens about the end of *September*, when the river begins to decreaſe, and in about three months returns within its banks.

The time and continuance of the inundation.

The plenty and riches of *Egypt* chiefly depend upon the overflowing of the *Nile*; the day the river roſe to ſuch a height as ſecured plenty, has always been obſerved by the *Egyptians* as a grand feſtival. By a long ſeries of regular obſervations

upon the riſing of the river, the plenty or ſcarcity of the following harveſt was aſcertained, and the inhabitants knew beforehand what they might promiſe themſelves or fear from the enſuing crop.

To diſcover the regular increaſe of the river, columns were erected in different places, on which equal diviſions were marked. And 'tis ſuppoſed the Sphinxes were made as ſymbolic repreſentations to denote the time when the inundation happened. Theſe figures had the head of a woman and the body of a lion, ſignifying that the *Nile* overflowed when the ſun was in the celeſtial ſigns *Leo* and *Virgo*. Several of theſe ſphinxes are ſtill to be ſeen, one particularly near the pyramids, cut out of a rock, of a prodigious ſize. It is now wholly covered with ſand, except the head and neck. According to *Thevenot*, it is 26 feet high, and 15 feet from the ear to the chin; but by *Pliny*'s account, the head was no leſs than 102 feet in circuit, and raiſed above the belly 62 feet, and the body, which was 143 feet long, was thought to be the ſepulchre of king *Amaſis* *.

5 ...inxes.

The *Egyptians* by art render the overflowing more ſerviceable.

As the *Nile* could not of itſelf overflow the lands every where in the neceſſary proportion, the *Egyptians*, with vaſt labour, have cut numberleſs canals of a length and breadth proportioned to the different ſituation and wants of the lands. Theſe canals are not permitted to be opened all at once, but firſt only in upper *Egypt*, and ſo on towards the ſea as the river riſes; by which means the water is ſo carefully huſbanded, that 'tis thought ſcarce a tenth part of it enters the ſea for the firſt three months after the river begins to riſe. Some places, however, lying too high to be watered by the canals, *Diodorus* tells us the country people formerly raiſed the water by ſpiral pumps, invented by *Archimedes* in his travels into *Egypt* †. For this purpoſe they now generally uſe wheels turned round by oxen, and having upon their extremities earthen pots that hold about ſeven or eight quarts apiece. 'Tis ſaid, that no leſs than 200,000 oxen are daily employed in *Egypt* in this labour, without reckoning the men who draw water in wicker baſkets, ſo cloſe and well made, that not a drop runs through.

The great fertility of *Egypt*.

Egypt abounds in grain of all ſorts, but particularly rice; and as it formerly was the granary of *Rome*, ſo it now chiefly ſupplies *Conſtantinople*. Its extraordinary fertility, which was greatly celebrated by ancient writers, and even by *Moſes* himſelf, is owing entirely to the *Nile*, which exceedingly fattens and enriches the lands by the mud and ſlime it leaves upon them. The *Egyptian* huſbandman has no labour in cultivating the ground, but when the river is retired, mingles a little ſand with the earth to abate its ſtrength; then ſows his ſeed with almoſt no charge. Providence, however, has not intended he ſhould be idle; for the time which in other countries is uſed to dreſs the ground, is by him employed in watering it. The ſeed

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* Pliny Nat. Hiſt. l. xxxvi. c. 12. † Diod. l. i. p. 30. l. v. p. 313

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time in *Egypt* is in *October* and *November*, ſoon after the overflowing; and before the earth is again covered with the next inundation, it generally yields three or four different crops.

What is moſt ſurpriſing is, that the fecundity cauſed by the overflowing of the *Nile*, reaches even to mankind and animals. For by conſtant experience it is found, that the new waters make the women fruitful, whether they bathe in them or drink them. They uſually conceive in *July* and *Auguſt*, and are delivered in *April* and *May*. The cows alſo almoſt always bring two calves at a time. The ſheep yean twice a year, having two lambs the firſt time, and but one the ſecond. A goat is often ſeen followed by four kids, which ſhe has brought in ſix months. The paſtures are moſt excellent, the graſs generally growing to the height of the cattle.

Two different ſcenes preſented by *Egypt* at two differ-ent ſeaſons.

Egypt, at two ſeaſons of the year, preſents two different and very delightful proſpects. In the months of *July* and *Auguſt*, if you aſcend ſome mountain, or one of the largeſt pyramids, you behold a wide ſea, in which numberleſs towns, villages, and ſpires appear, with ſome cauſeways for communication, intermixed with groves and fruit-trees whoſe tops only are viſible, the diverſified ſcene being terminated by mountains and woods at a great diſtance. On the other hand, in the winter, that is about *January* and *February*, the whole country appears one verdant meadow, richly enamelled with all kinds of flowers. On every ſide are ſeen herds and flocks of cattle ſcattered over the plain, with an infinite number of gardeners and huſbandmen. The air is then perfumed by the great quantity of bloſſoms on the orange, lemon, and other trees, and is ſo pure, that a man cannot breathe one more wholeſome or agreeable; nature then, as it were dead in other climates, ſeeming to revive only for the ſake of ſo delightful an abode *.

Of the animals of *Egypt*.

We ſhall now take a view of the animal and vegetable productions of *Egypt*. The crocodile and hippopotamus are both inhabitants of the *Nile*. The crocodiles are killed by the natives after various manners. They ſometimes bait an iron hook at the end of a rope with a piece of fleſh, and when the crocodile is hooked, they pull him to land and kill him. Sometimes they ſtrike them as they ſleep under the belly with a ſtake armed with a bearded point of iron, and alſo faſtened to a rope. Some who were hired to catch them, uſed a moſt extraordinary means. Where the crocodile uſed to come, they tied their ſon, a young lad, to a ſtake, and taking two ſhort clubs in their hand, one of which was wound round at the end with a very large ball of courſe thread dipped in pitch, laid themſelves down on their belly. As the crocodile approached and opened his mouth to ſeize the boy, the father thruſt the ſtaff with the pitched ball into his mouth, which ſticking in his teeth and entangling him, the man with the

* Senec. Nat. Queſt. l. iv. Rolin Hiſt. An.

other club broke his back and killed him. The inhabitants of *Tentyris* were very bold and dextrous in hunting theſe creatures. They even ventured to leap on their backs in the water, and as they opened their mouths to bite, they thruſt a ſtick acroſs their jaws, with which they managed them as with a bridle, and brought them to land and killed them: ſo that theſe creatures were terrified with their voice and ſmell. The *Arabs* of Upper *Egypt* are very fond of the fleſh of the crocodile, which when it is young is white, fat, and delicious.

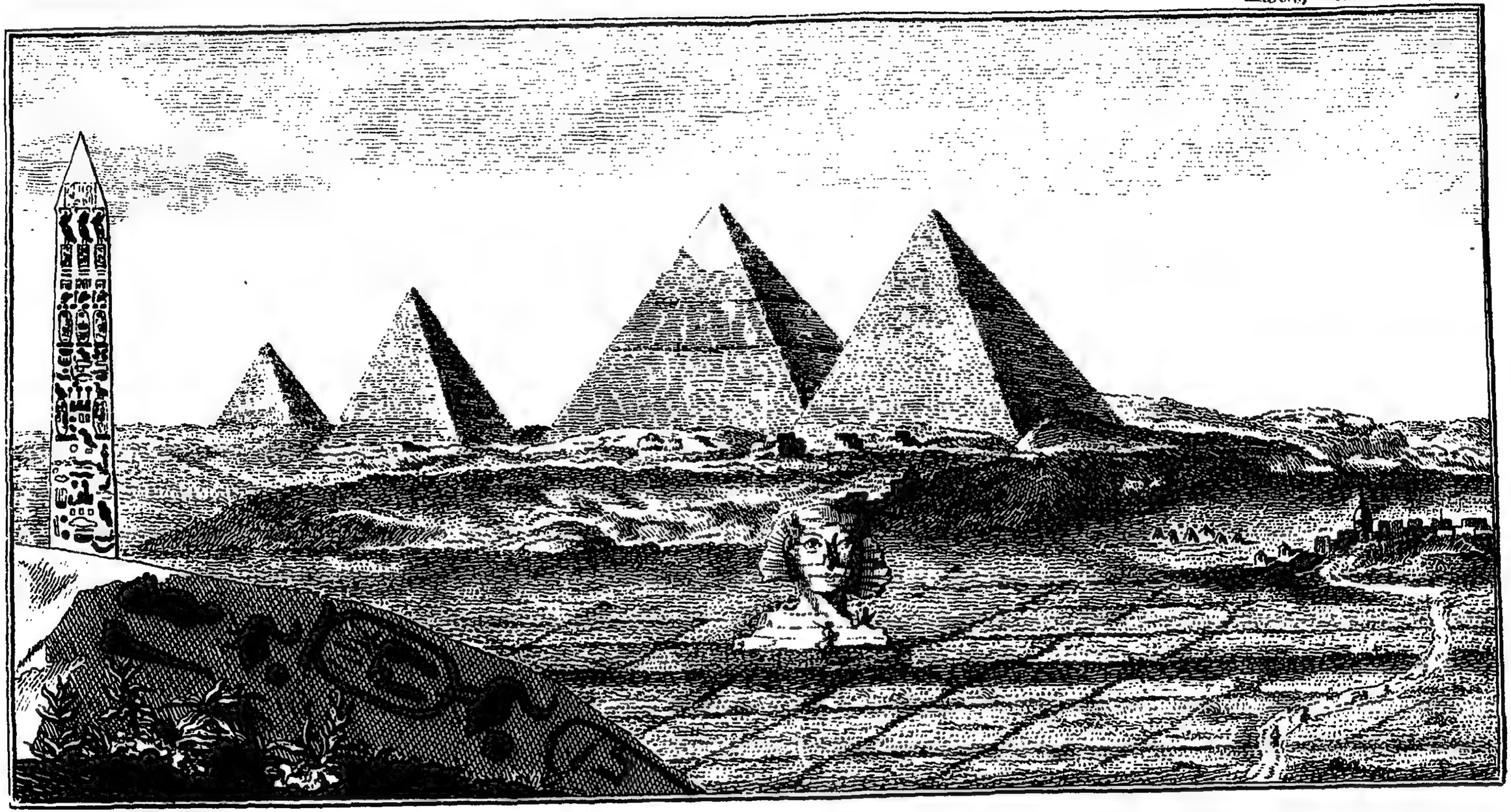
The hippopotami are common in upper *Egypt*; but are ſcarce to be met with in any part of lower *Egypt*. It is rare to ſee two of them together; and they are ſo diſtruſtful, and fly ſo ſwiftly from their purſuers, that they are very ſeldom taken. Beſides wild and tame oxen, camels, aſſes, goats, and ſheep, of which there is the greateſt plenty in *Egypt*, there are a vaſt number of antelopes, and a large kind of ape with a head ſomewhat like a dog, whence it was called *Cynocephalus*. The little or land crocodile (ſuppoſed to be the *ſcincus* of *Pliny*) is about the bigneſs of a lizard, and has a round tail covered with ſcales. It is found near the *Nile* and the *Red Sea*, and uſually feeds on the moſt odoriferous flowers. Its fleſh being uſed in phyſic, great numbers of them are brought to *Venice* and other places.

The *Egyptian* rat, called by the ancients *Ichneumon*, is of the ſize of a cat, with very rough hair. It has ſhort black legs, a tail like a fox, and noſe like a hog, with which it digs up the earth. By its natural inſtinct, it hunts out and breaks the crocodiles eggs, thereby preventing too great an increaſe of that deſtructive creature. The naturaliſts alſo ſay, that it is ſo greedy after the crocodile's liver, that rolling itſelf in mud, it ſlips down his throat while he ſleeps with his mouth open, and gnaws its way out again.

In *Egypt* there are great numbers of oſtriches, eagles, hawks, pelicans, flamingos or phænicopteri, wild geeſe, herons, ducks, and various other ſorts of birds. Thoſe peculiar to the *Nile* are the rice-hen, or hen of *Dimyat*, the gooſe with golden feathers, the ſakſak and the ibis. The two laſt are remarkable. The *ſakſak*, which is the trochilus of the ancients, is the only creature with which the crocodile is in friendſhip, and picks and clears his mouth of the leaches which infeſt it. The ibis is ſo peculiar to *Egypt*, that it pines away and dies if carried elſewhere. It is of great uſe in that country, by deſtroying the flying ſerpents, which are brought by the ſouth winds from the deſerts of *Lybia*, and are ſhaped like the water-ſnakes, with wings like a bat. In the proper ſeaſon of the year, theſe birds in vaſt numbers, by a peculiar inſtinct, go and wait on the frontiers for theſe ſerpents, and devour them as they fly, before they enter *Egypt*.

In the *Nile* there are abundance of fiſh, four ſorts of which are excellent. There are alſo fine fiſh in many lakes in different places of *Egypt*, particularly in the *Delta*. The revenue one

of



The Pyramids of Memphis. the Obelisk of Constantine & Sphinx below.

of theſe lakes alone brings into the emperor's treaſury, amounts to no leſs than 40,000 crowns a year.

Woods are very rare in *Egypt*, and trees do not thrive there without great care and cultivation. There are, however, fruit trees of ſeveral ſorts, ſome cedars, though not ſo large as in *Syria*; but of all others the palm trees are the moſt common. We ſhall mention a few of the different kinds of plants, which are very numerous. The reed papyrus, or byblus, called at preſent by the natives *al berdi*, grows on the banks of the *Nile*, and ſhoots out a ſtalk of nine or ten feet high. The leaves are like the blade of a ſword, and are uſed to keep wounds open, which if not inveterate, are alſo cured by the aſhes of the ſtalk. Of this plant the ancients made their writing paper, by working the pith of the ſtalk into a white paſte or glue, almoſt in the ſame manner as the linnen-rags are now manufactured. Some, however, ſay, that the paper was made of the inner rind of the plant. In early times this reed was of great ſervice to the *Egyptians*; for they did not only uſe it as food, but made cloaths, boats, and domeſtic utenſils of it, and alſo crowns for their gods, and ſhoes for their prieſts; but more uſeful inventions ſucceeding, the plant is now entirely neglected. Of the vegetables of *Egypt*.

The flax of *Egypt*, eſpecially one ſort of it, was ſo exceeding fine, and dreſſed and ſpun ſo curiouſly, that the threads could ſcarce be ſeen *. It was cultivated and manufactured by the *Egyptians* to ſo great an extent, that beſides ſupplying their home conſumption, which was very general, they carried on a great trade with it to foreign parts, their fine linen being in the greateſt requeſt all over the eaſt. The *lotus*, which grows plentifully in lower *Egypt*, is a ſpecies of *nenuphar*, nymphæa or water-lily. Its leaves float on the ſurface of the water, and it produces many flowers formerly wove into the crowns of conquerors. Its pulp and root ſerved for food to the ancient *Egyptians*, and the *Arabs*, at this day, eat the head and ſtalk of it, and alſo make a drink of it, which is cooling and ſalutary. There are many other plants in great abundance, the fruits or roots of which afford ſuch excellent food, that the *Egyptians* might almoſt be maintained by them without the uſe of corn; and formerly the labouring people ſcarce lived on any thing elſe.

What chiefly raiſes the admiration of travellers in *Egypt*, is the buildings and other works of the ancient *Egyptians*, who ſeem to have placed their chief glory in raiſing monuments for poſterity. Of the artificial rarities of *Egypt*.

In different parts of *Egypt*, particularly in upper *Egypt*, are ſeen many *pyramids*, which are large ſtructures either ſolid or hollow, riſing from a baſe generally of a ſquare form, and terminating in a point. Thoſe which have been chiefly taken notice of and deſcribed by travellers, ſtand on the weſt ſide of The Pyramids.

* Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. xix. c. 1.

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the *Nile*, not far from the ſeat of the ancient *Memphis*. The number of theſe is about twenty, three of which ſtanding near together, are moſt conſiderable. From whence they were called pyramids, is uncertain. Some think they were ſo named by the *Greeks* from their ſhape, which reſembles a riſing flame, the word *pyr* in *Greek* ſignifying *fire*. Others imagining they were granaries of the ancient *Egyptians*, derive their name from the *Greek* word *pyros*, which ſignifies *wheat*. Another writer derives the name from the *Coptic* word *pouro*, a *king*, and *miſi*, a *race* or *generation*, ſuppoſing they were built to perpetuate the memory of their kings.

Uncertain by whom they were built.

By whom the pyramids were built, is equally uncertain. *Joſephus* and ſeveral moderns have ſuppoſed they were erected by the *Iſraelites* during their bondage in *Egypt*; but according to the ſcriptures, the ſlaviſh employment of the *Jews* was the making of bricks, whereas all theſe pyramids are of ſtone. Others think they were built by the patriarch *Joſeph*, for granaries to lay up the corn of the plentiful years; but the groſs ſolidity of the ſtructures, and the few rooms they contain, overthrows this opinion. According to *Herodotus*, *Cheops*, or *Chemnis*, built the largeſt of the remarkable pyramids. However, *Diodorus* confeſſes that it does not appear by whom they were built; and this uncertainty *Pliny* mentions as a juſt reward of the vanity and uſeleſs oſtentation of the undertakers.

Though the pyramids that are ſtill to be ſeen appear from their figure and ſize to be able to reſiſt all the injuries of time for very many centuries, yet many others which ancient writers have taken particular notice of, have been long ſince ruined and defaced. *Herodotus* mentions a large one that ſtood at the end of the labyrinth, with a ſubterraneous paſſage to it, and large figures of animals engraved upon it. *Pliny* alſo mentions ſeveral pyramids built near the labyrinth; and king *Mæris* alſo built two pyramids in the midſt of a lake which he dug. Theſe pyramids were each a furlong in height, and ſtood one half above the water, and the other half below; and on the top of each was placed a marble ſtatue or coloſſus, ſitting on a throne. Another king alſo built a pyramid of brick, with this inſcription cut in ſtone, *Compare me not with the pyramids of ſtone; for I as far excell them, as* Jupiter *does the other gods. For ſtriking the bottom of the lake with long poles, and gathering the mud which ſtuck on them, thereof they made bricks, and formed me in that manner* *.

Their great antiquity.

Though the preciſe time when the pyramids were built cannot be aſcertained, yet the leaſt antiquity that can be allowed them ſeems to be near 3000 years; ſince *Herodotus*, who lived 2000 years ago, was able to find ſo little ſatisfaction in his enquiries about them; and *Diodorus*, who lived before the birth

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* Herod. l. xi.

of

of our Saviour, ſuppoſes the great pyramid to have been built at leaſt 1000 years before his time.

'Tis ſuppoſed the pyramids were built for ſepulchres and monuments of the dead. This is the opinion of a great many authors of the beſt authority, and the tomb, which at this day ſtands in the firſt pyramid, puts it out of all doubt. But what motive influenced the *Egyptian* kings to build ſepulchres at ſuch vaſt expence, cannot be ſo eaſily determined. *Ariſtotle* makes them the works of tyranny; and *Pliny* conjectures, that they were built partly from oſtentation, and partly out of ſtate policy, to prevent the people from ſeditions and rebellions. Others aſſign higher reaſons ariſing from the theology of the *Egyptians*, who believing, that while the body laſted the ſoul continued with it, were moſt ſollicitouſly concerned to preſerve the corps from corruption. For what purpoſes erected.

The firſt of the three remarkable pyramids above-mentioned, is ſituated on the border of the ſandy deſert of *Lybia*, about a quarter of a mile from the plains of *Egypt*, on a rock that riſes by a gentle aſcent 110 feet. Many authors, both ancient and modern, have given us the dimenſions of this pyramid: but without perplexing our readers with their different accounts, we ſhall give them the exact deſcription of them by a countryman of our own, who ſeems to have uſed great accuracy. The four ſides of the baſe are equilateral, and each ſide meaſures 693 *Engliſh* feet, the ſuperficial contents of the area being 480,249 feet, or ſomething more than eleven acres of ground. Its height, though generally magnified by the ancients, is only 481 feet, which is very little more than the height of the top of the cupola of St. *Paul*'s church in *London*. The gradual tapering to the top does not form one plain ſurface; but as the building riſes, it is ſucceſſively benched in on every ſide, forming all round ſo many large ſteps, the lowermoſt of which is near four feet in height, and three in breadth. Though the top, to a ſpectator at the bottom, appears a point, yet it is a fine platform of about thirteen feet ſquare, compoſed of ten or twelve maſſy ſtones. The ſteps are not all of equal bulk, but diminiſh gradually to the top. They are formed of large poliſhed ſtones, ſaid to have been hewn out of the mountains towards the eaſt of upper *Egypt*. One ſtone compleats the height of each row of the ſteps, and the ſtones are joined both within and without in the cloſeſt and ſmootheſt manner. A deſcription of the great pyramid.

As there is no window or opening to admit the light, thoſe that would view the inſide muſt carry lights with them. The entrance is by a ſquare narrow paſſage about the middle of the north ſide on the 16th ſtep. The breadth of the paſſage is little more than 3 feet, and it declines for 92 feet and a half in the proportion of 8 feet every 20. It then begins gently to riſe; but is ſo choaked with ſand at this place, that a man muſt ſlide on his belly cloſe to the ground, and grate his back againſt the angle of the roof-ſtone. Beyond this ſtreight there is a hole on

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the right hand about 89 feet in length, the height and breadth various, and not worthy conſideration. On the left hand, climbing up a ſteep and maſſy ſtone eight or nine feet high, you enter the firſt gallery, the breadth and height of which is about five feet, and the length 110 feet. The pavement riſes gently, and conſiſts of ſmooth poliſhed marble of a white and alabaſter colour. At the end of it are two paſſages, one horizontal and the other riſing. In the entry of that which is level is a well, mentioned by *Pliny*, which is circular, and about three feet diameter, now almoſt filled with rubbiſh. At the end of it is a gallery 110 feet long, which leads to a vaulted chamber of a grave-like ſmell and half full of rubbiſh. This chamber ſtands due eaſt and weſt, and is about 20 feet long, 17 broad, and near 15 high. The walls are intire, and plaiſtered over with lime. The aſcending paſſage above-mentioned is very magnificent. It riſes gradually, is 26 feet high, and a little more than 6 feet broad, a ſtone bench, about a foot and a half high and as much broad, running along on each ſide. It is roofed and covered on each ſide with large tables of white poliſhed marble in ſeven courſes, each ſuperior courſe jetting out about three inches further than the inferior. At the end of this admirable gallery you enter another, about five feet ſquare, which leads to two ſmall rooms lined with ſpeckled marble. Paſſing the ſecond room, you enter another ſquare hole, over which are ſome engravings, which are the only ſculptures to be obſerved in the whole pyramid.

This paſſage, which is not long, conducts to a magnificent and ſpacious chamber, placed as it were in the heart and center of the pyramid. The floor, the ſides, and the roof, are all made of large tables of *Thebaic* marble, or, according to ſome, of that kind of porphyry by *Pliny* called *Leucoſtictos*, being ſpeckled with black, white, and red ſpots. The length of the chamber is 34 feet, the breadth 17, and the height 19 feet and a half. The ſtones that cover the room are of a ſtupenduous length, and traverſe the room like ſo many huge beams, withal ſupporting an infinite maſs and weight of the pyramid above. Within this ſtately room ſtands the monument of *Cheops* or *Chemnis*, of one piece of marble, hollow within, uncovered at the top, and ſounding like a bell. It is formed like an altar, or two cubes ſet together, and is cut ſmooth and plain, without any ſculpture or engraving. It is about ſeven feet three inches long, and in depth about three feet three inches. The hollow inſide is ſix feet in length, and in breadth and depth about two feet. There is no more to be ſeen within this firſt pyramid; but travellers obſerve a very ſurprizing echo in it, which repeats no leſs than ten or twelve times very diſtinctly *.

* Greave's deſcription of the pyramids.

Scarce

Scarce the flight of an arrow ſouthward from the firſt ſtands the ſecond pyramid, of which both ancient and modern writers have delivered very little. It has no entrance, and is built of white ſtones, not near ſo large as the firſt, the ſides riſing ſmooth to the top without any benching. The whole fabric, except on the ſouth ſide, ſeems quite intire, free from any deformed breaches †. The 2d great pyramid.

At a convenient diſtance from this pyramid, and parallel to the north-weſt ſides of it, runs a ſtately and elaborate piece of architecture, in length about 1400 feet, and in depth 30 feet. It is a row of rooms, ſuppoſed to have been deſigned for the lodgings of the *Egyptian* prieſts, cut out of the rock, and ſquared by the chiſſel. On the north ſide without there is a line engraved in ſacred *Egyptian* characters.

The third pyramid ſtands about a furlong from the ſecond. Though it is not ſo large as the other two, yet, as to the ſtructure, the exquiſite workmanſhip and magnificence of the marble, it far excels them, and is no more decayed than if it were newly built. The 3d pyramid.

By what means theſe immenſe ſtructures were erected has been the ſubject of much ſpeculation. *Herodotus* ſeems to think that after the firſt courſe was laid they raiſed other ſtones upon it by ſhort wooden engines; perhaps he means inclined planes: that the ſtone was raiſed from this row to a ſecond by another engine placed on the firſt ſtep, and ſo on progreſſively from benching to benching to the top, which he ſays was firſt finiſhed. *Diodorus* imagines the ſtones were raiſed on ſloping artificial mounds compoſed of ſalt and nitre, and that by letting in the river they were afterwards diſſolved. According to *Pliny*, the ſtones were carried up over brick bridges, which, upon finiſhing the work, were taken down. *Greaves* thinks both mounds and bridges were uſed, and that a large tower reaching to the top was firſt built, and the reſt of the building was adjoined to this, piece by piece, like ſo many buttreſſes. How the pyramids were erected.

According to *Diodorus* 360,000 men, but according to *Pliny* 366,000 were employed 20 years in building the firſt pyramid. *Herodotus* makes the number of workmen only 100,000, who were ten years employed in hewing out the ſtones, and twenty years more in building the edifice; and adds, that in his time there was an inſcription on the pyramid declaring, that 1600 talents of ſilver, or about 310,000 *l.* ſterling had been expended in radiſhes, onions, leeks, and garlick, for the workmen. Some travellers, obſerving that theſe ſtructures are not all built of the ſame marble, imagine that the rock on which they are founded ſerved for a quarry, which perhaps in a great meaſure may be true. One thing more remarkable in the ſtructure of the firſt pyramid is, that the four ſides of it, and the tomb within, exactly face the four quarters of the world, and conſequently mark The number of men employed.

† Idem ibid.

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the true meridian of the place; which position, in all probability, was the effect of art and design, and is a proof of the early progress of the *Egyptians* in astronomy, and shews likewise that there has been no alteration in the poles of the earth or the meridian during so long a space of time. *Herodotus* mentions a famous bridge near this pyramid, no remains of which are now to be seen. It was about five miles in length, 60 feet broad, and, at its greatest altitude, 80 feet high. It was the work of ten years, and was built all of polished stones, carved with the figures of various animals.

The labyrinth.

The labyrinth was another celebrated structure in *Egypt*, and, according to the opinion of *Herodotus* who saw it, was still more admirable than the pyramids. For what purpose this structure was built, or who were its builders, is uncertain. Some affirm it was designed for a tomb, others for a palace, and others for a temple; and as there was more than one building of this kind, it is not always evident if the descriptions of authors can be applied to the great labyrinth, which was situated on the south side of the great artificial lake *Mæris*.

According to *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* this amazing structure was the work of twelve cotemporary *Egyptian* kings, who built it at their common charge, as a monument of their reign, and were buried there. It is supposed to have been intended as a *Pantheon* or universal temple of all the *Egyptian* deities separately worshiped in the different provinces and cities. It was also the place of the general assembly of the magistrates of the whole nation, who met here to feast and sacrifice and to judge causes of the greatest consequence, every *nome* or province having its separate palace. Authors don't agree as to the number of palaces. *Herodotus* says there were twelve palaces, magnificently and regularly disposed, having all a communication with each other. That in the whole edifice there were 3000 chambers, 1500 in the upper part, and as many under ground. He viewed every room in the upper part; but was not permitted to see the subterraneous part, as the sepulchres of the kings and of the holy crocodiles were there. He reports that what he saw seemed to surpass the art of man. The variety of rooms was infinite, and all the roofs and walls within were incrusted with marble, adorned with figures of sculpture. Others add, that all the pillars were of marble of *Syene*, and the porch of *Parian* marble; that the ascent, which consisted of 90 steps, was adorned with many columns of porphyry, colossal statues of their kings, and images of their gods. The whole edifice consisted of stone, the roof appearing like a wide field of stone. The various intricacy of the passages rendered it impossible for a stranger without a guide to find his way in or out; and several of the apartments were so contrived, that on opening of the doors there was heard within a terrible noise like that of thunder *.

* Strabo. l. xvii. Pliny, l. v. c. 9. & l. xxxi. c. 13.

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So great was the ſolidity of this ſtructure, that for many ages it withſtood not only the rage of time, but of the inhabitants of *Heracleopolis*, who ſtrove to demoliſh it, becauſe they had an enmity to the crocodile, and worſhiped its mortal enemy the *ichneumon*. However, *Pliny* ſays it was remaining in his days; and though the *Arabs* have ſince helped to ruin it, a conſiderable part of it is ſtill ſtanding, called by the people of the country the palace of *Charon*. Some of the ancient ſplendor is ſtill to be obſerved in theſe remains. Towards the eaſt is ſeen a large portico of marble, ſupported by four great marble pillars, though not each of one piece. Of theſe pillars one is now half fallen. In the middle is a door whoſe ſides and entablature are very maſſy; and above are ſeveral doors in different ſtories that conducted into apartments now ruined. The face of the building is adorned with variety of ſculptures. Paſſing through the portico, which bears no reſemblance to any of the preſent orders of architecture, you enter into a magnificent hall 40 feet high, covered with tables of marble, each 25 feet long and three broad. You then proceed through another portico into another hall, and then through a third portico into a third hall, which has alſo a portico on its oppoſite ſide. There are many chambers alſo ſtill remaining; and our author taking the precaution which *Ariadne* taught *Theſeus*, and providing himſelf with above 2000 fathom of thread, and ſome chopped ſtraw to ſtrew in his way, went into above 150 of them. He was often obliged to creep on his belly, and to remove rubbiſh; but, with all his endeavours, he was not able to go very far *.

The lake *Mæris*.

How admirable ſoever the labyrinth was, yet the lake *Mæris*, near which it ſtood, is ſaid to be yet more wonderful. As the too ſcanty or too exceſſive overflowing of the *Nile* was equally detrimental to *Egypt*, *Mæris*, one of the kings, to prevent theſe two inconveniencies, cauſed this lake to be dug, which afterwards went by his name. According to *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Pliny*, its circumference was 354 miles, which includes a ſpace larger than the moſt extenſive county in *England*, and therefore juſtly reckoned incredible to be the work of men's hands, conſidering at the ſame time its depth, which in ſome parts is 50 fathoms. The account of *Pomponius Mela* is much more moderate, and, according to him, its circuit was only 20 miles. A late traveller ſays it is about half a league broad, and in circuit about 12 leagues; however, according to a modern tradition of the inhabitants, it was formerly much larger, and one place left by the water is now become a dangerous quickſand †. In the middle of the lake, as mentioned above, formerly ſtood two pyramids 600 feet high, built before the water was admitted, which afterwards reached up half their height. The water was ſupplied from the *Nile* by a large canal, about eight miles long and 300 feet broad, on which were ſeveral

* Lucas Voy. t. ii. p. 18, &c.

† Idem. ibid.

ſluices,

ſluices, the opening or ſhutting of which was attended ever time with an expence of near 10,000 *l.* ſterling. On the othe hand, the lake was of great ſervice to the adjacent countr ſometimes by receiving the ſuperfluous waters of the *Nile*, an at others by ſupplying water to the lands, by many ſmall canals which are ſtill ſubſiſting almoſt intire. The lake alſo brough in a conſiderable revenue to the princes by the fiſhery, whic continually employed a great number of people.

The other buildings and admirable works of the ancien *Egyptians*, if they were to be particularly deſcribed, would re quire ſeveral volumes; therefore cannot come within the com paſs of our deſign. When *Rome* was in its glory, the ver ſpoils of them made the greateſt ornaments of that city. Ho great then muſt have been the opulence, grandeur, and magni ficence of *Egypt* at its moſt flouriſhing period, which com menced early, the arts being far advanced here, while the othe parts of the world were in barbarity and ignorance!

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CHAP. II.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, cuſtoms, arts learning, and trade, of the ancient Egyptians.

The antiquity of the *Egyptians*.

FEW nations can pretend to an equal antiquity with the *Egyptians*. Their country alone has borne the name of a ſon o *Noah*. Though it is not certain whether *Ham* himſelf mad any ſettlement there, yet his ſon *Mizraim* certainly peoplec *Egypt* with his own iſſue, who inhabited ſeveral parts of it The *Egyptians* however, ignorant of their true deſcent, pre tended even to a higher antiquity, and aſſerted that they wer the firſt men in the world, alleging what they thought a demon ſtration of their opinion. Mankind and animals, they ſaid, muſ have been originally produced in their country, which every year, on account of the temperature of its climate, and the fe cundity of the *Nile*, gave proofs of ſpontaneous generation. Fo when the *Nile* retired, the rich ſlime, animated by the rays o the ſun, generated an innumerable quantity of mice, ſome o which appeared only half formed, the fore-part of the body being alive, while the earth which was to form the other par continued inanimate. The diſcoveries of philoſophy have long ſince overturned this abſurd plea, and the notion of ſpontaneou generation is now rejected; though it is allowed, and frequentl obſerved, that a concurrence of proper cauſes will occaſion a prodigious increaſe of vermin; yet, by the careful enquiries o the moſt accurate naturaliſts, it is found, that neither an anima nor plant can be produced without the ſeed of its proper ſpecies The mice ſpoken of by the *Egyptians* were perhaps of that kin mentione

mentioned by *Theophraſtus* and *Pliny* to have but two legs, and might therefore be miſtaken for imperfect animals.

Their government and laws.

The *Egyptians* are ſaid to have been the firſt who found out the rules of government proper for an extenſive kingdom. Their laws and inſtitutions were formed to make life eaſy and a people happy, and were highly reverenced even by other nations, and particularly the *Grecians*, whoſe moſt illuſtrious ſages and lawgivers travelled thither to acquaint themſelves therewith, and to draw from that fountain whatever was moſt rare and valuable in every kind of learning.

The crown of *Egypt* was hereditary; but the *Egyptian* princes were not abſolute. According to *Diodorus*, they were even under more reſtraint from the laws than their ſubjects, their private way of life being regulated by certain ſacred ſtatutes. No ſlave bought with money, or ſervant bought in their own houſe, was admitted into their ſervice; but they were attended by the ſons of the prieſts of moſt diſtinguiſhed birth, who, after having had a ſuitable education, were, at the age of twenty, placed about the king's perſon, that being waited upon both by day and night by men of ſuch extraordinary merit, he might learn nothing unworthy of the royal majeſty, and be in the leſs danger of falling into any exceſs; which princes ſeldom do, unleſs they find, among thoſe who approach their perſons, encouragers of their debauchery and miniſters of their paſſions.

Their kings obliged to conform to the moſt ſtrict regulations.

There were ſtated hours of night as well as day when the king was indiſpenſably obliged to give attention to buſineſs and ſerious employment. Early in the morning he peruſed the public diſpatches and letters which came from ſeveral parts of his dominions. Then bathing himſelf, putting on ſplendid attire, and aſſuming the enſigns of his regal office, he went to the temple to ſacrifice, and, ſurrounded by his whole court, he aſſiſted at the prayer pronounced aloud by the high-prieſt, who aſked for health and proſperity to the king, becauſe he governed according to juſtice and the laws of the kingdom. The high-prieſt then enlarged on his royal virtues, obſerving, that he was pious towards the gods, tender towards his people, moderate, juſt, magnanimous, of ſtrict veracity, liberal, maſter of himſelf, puniſhing below and rewarding above deſert. He next ſpoke with execration of the faults which the king might have committed through ſurprize or ignorance; but withal abſolving him, and laying the guilt on his miniſters and council. This method they took to win their kings to the practice of virtue, not by ſharp admonitions, but by the pleaſing praiſes due to good actions. The ſacrifice and prayers being ended, the councils and actions of great men, fit for imitation, were read to the king out of the ſacred records, that he might be inſtructed to govern his ſtate by their maxims, and not vary from the ancient eſtabliſhed cuſtoms.

The king was not obliged to this exactneſs in public affairs only, but was ſo little maſter of himſelf in private, that he could not take the air, converſe with his queen, bathe, or do

the moſt indifferent thing, but at certain appointed times. He was not permitted to chuſe what he would eat; but his table was furniſhed with the moſt ſimple food, generally veal or gooſe, and the quantity of his wine was alſo limited. This regulation was ſo moderate, that it appeared not the inſtitution of a legiſlature, but rather the preſcription of an experienced phyſician for the preſervation of health. Simplicity and frugality were in ſo great eſteem, as *Plutarch* relates, that on a certain pillar of a temple at *Thebes* execrations were inſcribed againſt a king who had firſt introduced luxury among the *Egyptians*. The king was alſo reſtrained from indulging more dangerous appetites, by wronging or oppreſſing the ſubject. He could not puniſh any perſon out of paſſion or caprice, nor give judgment in any caſe otherwiſe than as the laws ordained; which was ſo far from being thought hard or diſhonourable by the kings, that on the contrary they eſteemed it a ſingular bleſſing. So long as theſe laws were obſerved, the ſtate was flouriſhing and the people happy; and while the princes behaved with juſtice and moderation, they were infinitely dear to their people; the whole *Egyptian* nation being more ſollicitous for the king's ſafety than that of their wives, children, or poſſeſſions. Their affections for their kings appeared in nothing more than in the lamentations they made for them, and the honours they paid them when dead. The whole kingdom at that time went into mourning, rending their garments, ſhutting up their temples, and putting a ſtop to all ſacrifices, feaſts, and ſolemnities, for the ſpace of 72 days. All this while they abſtained from all delicacies, neither bathed nor anointed themſelves, nor ſlept in their beds, nor uſed the company of their wives, but every one mourned both night and day as for the loſs of a beloved ſon. On the laſt day the body was expoſed in a coffin at the entrance of the ſepulchre, where the actions of the deceaſed were recited, and every one was at full liberty to accuſe him. If he had reigned worthily, the numerous multitude preſent ſeconded the applauſe of the prieſts, who pronounced his elogy: but if he had governed unworthily, they boldly expreſſed their diſapprobation, and ſometimes even denied the corps a ſolemn burial. The kings, therefore, frequently did their utmoſt to deſerve the good opinion of their ſubjects, by an unblameable conduct, leſt their dead bodies ſhould be abuſed, and their memory blaſted with eternal infamy.

The great affection of the *Egyptians* for their kings.

The political diviſion of the kingdom.

As to the adminiſtration of public affairs, each *nome* or province had its peculiar governor. The lands were divided into three parts; of which one was allotted for the maintenance of the prieſts and their families, for providing ſacrifices, and defraying all other expences of public worſhip; the ſecond belonged to the king, and was allotted for the charges of his wars, and the ſupport of the regal dignity, which prevented him from laying burdenſome taxes upon the people. Thoſe who had the third part were the ſoldiers, who were thereby

encouraged to venture their lives in defence of their country *.

The ſame author ſays, that the *Egyptians* were diſtinguiſhed into five orders of men; namely, prieſts, ſoldiers, ſhepherds, huſbandmen, and artificers.

Of the prieſts.

The king, prieſts, and ſoldiery, made as it were the three eſtates of the kingdom. The prieſts were held in great reverence and eſteem, and were always near the king's perſon, as the chief of his council, to aſſiſt him with their advice, to read uſeful points of hiſtory out of the ſacred books, and, by their ſkill in aſtrology and divination, to give their judgments of the event of any enterprize. They wore linen garments and ſhoes, and took particular care to have them always clean. They bathed twice by day and twice by night, and ſhaved all parts of their bodies once in three days. They were freed from domeſtic cares, eat the conſecrated bread, and were daily furniſhed with beef and geeſe in abundance, having alſo an allowance of wine; but were not permitted to eat fiſh or beans, which laſt was abſtained from by all the *Egyptians*.

Of the ſoldiers.

The ſoldiers in all the *nomes* amounted to about 410,000 men, and were not permitted to learn or exerciſe any mechanical art, but were obliged, from father to ſon, to apply themſelves to the art of war only. The Scripture informs us that they were famous for horſemen and the ſkill of guiding chariots. For neglect of duty, and other crimes, they were puniſhed with marks of infamy; it being thought more adviſeable to keep them in order by the motive of honour than the fear of chaſtiſement. The portion of land aſſigned to each of them was twelve *aruræ*, or about nine *Engliſh* acres. Two thouſand of them attended at court as a guard to the king, and were annually ſucceeded by the ſame number. After all, the *Egyptians* cannot be ſaid to have been a warlike nation: they rather extended their dominions by their colonies than by their arms. If the *Egyptians* at any time created a new king by election, which ſometimes happened, he was always choſen either out of the prieſts or the ſoldiers; and if out of the latter, he was immediately received into the order of prieſts, and initiated into their learning and myſteries.

Of the huſbandmen ſhepherds, &c.

The huſbandmen, taking the lands from the king, prieſts, and ſoldiers, at an eaſy rent, employed themſelves wholly in tillage; and the ſon continually ſucceeding the father in the ſame occupation, they became the moſt expert in agriculture of any people in the world. The ſhepherds, in like manner, were always ſhepherds, from generation to generation, and by long experience arrived at great ſkill in their way. Thoſe who bred poultry likewiſe uſed the advantages of art in their buſineſs; for not content with the ordinary way of natural increaſe, they did not ſuffer the fowls to brood, but hatched the

* Diod. Sic. l. i.

eggs by an artificial warmth. *Diodorus* does not mention after what manner; but it was moſt probably by ovens, which the *Egyptians* at this day uſe for the ſame purpoſe. In all arts and trades the ſon was obliged to follow the vocation of his father; ſo that no room being left for popular ambition, every one ſtuck cloſely to what he profeſſed. The common people were never permitted to concern themſelves with civil affairs; and if they happened to attempt it, or undertook any buſineſs that did not belong to their hereditary profeſſion, they were ſeverely puniſhed.

Of their courts of juſtice.

The *Egyptian* kings were more immediately careful in the adminiſtration of juſtice, convinced that on this depended the happineſs of their ſtate, and the eaſe and comfort of their ſubjects. For this reaſon they were very ſcrupulous in the choice of their judges, who were 30 in number, and men of the beſt reputation, and ſelected from the three chief cities, *Heliopolis*, *Thebes*, and *Memphis*. In the trial of cauſes no public pleadings were allowed, but each party ſupported his pretenſions by a ſimple narrative in writing. The *Egyptians* were ſo far from admitting the clamorous harangues of lawyers, that they would not even ſuffer a man to ſpeak in his own cauſe, well knowing the advantage one perſon might have over another, by more artful ſpeaking or greater confidence.

Their remarkable laws.

Their laws were not numerous, being all contained in eight books: ſome of the moſt remarkable were the following.

I. Perjury was puniſhed with death.

II. Falſe accuſers underwent the ſame puniſhment as the accuſed ſhould have undergone in caſe of conviction.

III. He that ſaw a man aſſaulted or killed on the highway, and did not endeavour to reſcue him if he could, was puniſhed with death. If it appeared that he was unable to give aſſiſtance, he was nevertheleſs obliged to diſcover and proſecute the offenders according to law; which if he neglected, he received a certain number of ſtripes, and was kept without food for three days.

IV. Every *Egyptian* was obliged to give in his name, and by what means he gained his livelihood, in writing, to the governor of the province wherein he lived; but if it could be proved that he had given in a wrong information, or got his living in an unlawful way, he was puniſhed with death. *Solon* borrowed this law, and introduced it among the *Athenians*.

V. He that wilfully murdered any perſon, even a ſlave, was condemned to die.

VI. Parents that killed their children were not adjudged to die; but were obliged to embrace their dead bodies for three days and three nights together.

VII. Parricides were put to death by tortures.

VIII. Women with child were not executed till they had been delivered.

IX. Thoſe who betrayed ſecret deſigns to the enemy had their tongues cut out.

X. Coining

X. Coining falſe money, uſing falſe weights, and forgery of all ſorts, were puniſhed by cutting off both the hands.

XI. He that committed a rape on a freewoman had his privities cut off.

XII. Adultery by conſent was puniſhed in the man with 1000 laſhes given with rods, and in the woman with the loſs of her noſe.

XIII. The man who borrowed money was obliged to give in pledge to his creditor the dead body of his father, which every *Egyptian* embalmed with great care. If he did not redeem ſo precious a pledge, he was to be deprived of the honour of burial, nor was he permitted to bury any perſon deſcended from him; both which were accounted the greateſt infamy. Thus, the creditor could not, as at *Rome* and *Athens*, by rigorous and oppreſſive means diſtreſs his debtor, and the debtor was excited by the ſtrongeſt motive to haſten the diſcharge of his debt.

XIV. The *Egyptian* prieſts were allowed no more than one wife, but all others might marry as many as they pleaſed; nor was any child reckoned a baſtard, though begotten on a ſlave bought with money.

XV. Brothers alſo were permitted to marry their ſiſters, from the example of *Oſiris*, whoſe murder having been revenged by his ſiſter and wife *Iſis*, who governed the kingdom during her widowhood with great prudence, the *Egyptians* from thence gave more power and more honour to their queens than to their kings.

XVI. Robbers and ſharpers were allowed to have a chief, to whom they promiſed to deliver all their booty. When any thing was ſtolen, the loſer immediately applied to the chief of the gang, who reſtored the ſtolen goods to the right owner, upon his paying a fourth part of their value *.

The *Egyptians* paid a very great reſpect to old age; the young being obliged to riſe up to the old, and on every occaſion to reſign to them the moſt honourable ſeat. The virtue in the higheſt eſteem among them was gratitude; and the moſt excellent circumſtance in their laws was, that every individual from his infancy was nurtured in the ſtricteſt obſervance of them. *Plutarch* ſays, a new cuſtom in *Egypt* was a kind of miracle †. All things there ran in the old channel; and the exactneſs with which little matters were adhered to, preſerved thoſe of more importance.

Of the religion of the *Egyptians*.

As much as the *Egyptians* ſeemed to excel other nations in the wiſdom of their laws and conſtitutions, they ſurpaſſed them yet more in bigotry and ſuperſtition. Idolatry was ſo ancient among them, that the *Greeks* confeſſed they borrowed not only their religious ceremonies, but the names of almoſt all their gods, from the *Egyptians*. They themſelves pretended to be the firſt inſtitutors of feſtivals and proceſſions in honour of the

* Herod. l. ii. Diod. Sic. l. i. † Plut. in Tim.

gods, and to be the firſt who erected altars, images, and tem ples. They had a great number of gods of different orders an degrees, two of whom, *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, ſuppoſed to be the ſu and moon, were the chief, and univerſally adored in *Egypt* * They alſo worſhiped, as celeſtial and eternal gods, *Jupiter Vulcan*, *Ceres*, *Occanus*, and *Minerva*; and had others, wh they ſaid were deified at their death, on account of the benefit they had conferred on mankind in their life-time. The name of ſome of theſe were the ſame with thoſe of the celeſtial gods they were, the *Sun*, *Chronus* or *Saturn*, *Rhea*, *Jupiter*, (caile by them *Ammon*) *Juno*, *Vulcan*, *Veſta*, *Hermes* or *Mercury Opus*, *Venus*, *Pan*, *Erueris*, *Nepthhys*, *Harpocrates*, and others Some ſay *Serapis* was firſt introduced by the *Ptolemies*; other think it only another name for *Oſiris*, whoſe brother *Typho* was ſuppoſed an evil deity. The ſouls of their mortal god they believed ſhone in the ſtars in heaven.

Notwithſtanding this polytheiſm of the *Egyptians*, they ar ſaid in reality to have acknowleged one ſupreme God, th maker and ruler of the world, whom they denoted by the nam of *Oſiris*, and ſometimes by other names; on whoſe temple a *Sais* was the following remarkable inſcription, *I am all that hath been, is, and ſhall be, and my veil hath no mortal yet uncovered* There is alſo another inſcription remaining at *Capua*, to this ef fect, *To thee, who being one art all things, the goddeſs* Iſis. *Plu tarch* alſo informs us, that the inhabitants of *Thebais* worſhip ed only the immortal and unbegotten God *Cneph*, from whom they imagined a ſecondary God proceeded, repreſenting the world, and was called *Phtha*.

However, idolatry ſeems at length to have over-run all *Egypt*, to a degree almoſt incredible. Notwithſtanding their boaſted wiſdom, the *Egyptians* paid divine honours to ſeveral beaſts, and even to vegetables, as leeks and onions. Many of theſe beaſts were worſhiped only in particular cities or pro vinces, while other beaſts, natural enemies to the former, were worſhiped in other places. Thus neighbouring cities fre quently held each others gods in the greateſt abhorrence and de teſtation, and on that account were perpetually at enmity with one another, and engaged in inveterate quarrels and danger ous wars. Theſe animoſities were owing to the falſe policy of one of their kings, who, to deprive them of the opportunity and means of conſpiring againſt the ſtate, endeavoured to amuſe them, by engaging them in religious conteſts.

The *Egyptians* had the moſt extravagant zeal for their animal gods, and reverenced them highly, as well dead as living. Whilſt they were living, lands were ſet apart for their mainte nance, and both men and women were employed in feeding and attending them, glorying in the office, which was thought moſt honourable, and in ſome places executed by perſons of high

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* Idem de Iſid. & Oſir.

rank,

rank. Their victuals conſiſted of the greateſt dainties, ſuch as the fineſt flour boiled in milk, cakes of ſeveral ſorts made with honey, and the fleſh of geeſe boiled and roaſted. Thoſe who fed on raw meat were ſupplied with ſeveral ſorts of birds, and moreover waſhed in hot baths, anointed and perfumed. They lay on the richeſt carpets, and the moſt beautiful females of their ſeveral kinds were provided for them, and called by the *Egyptians* their concubines.

If a perſon killed any of them deſignedly, he was puniſhed with death; if unvoluntarily, his puniſhment was referred to the diſcretion of the prieſts. But he that even inadvertently killed a cat, a hawk, or an ibis, was to die without mercy; an inſtance of which *Diodorus* relates he was eye-witneſs to. A *Roman* happening accidentally to kill a cat, the exaſperated mob gathered about the houſe where he was, and neither the entreaties of ſome principal men ſent by the king, nor the fear of the *Romans*, with whom they were then negotiating a peace, could ſave the life of the unfortunate criminal. Such was the reverence which the *Egyptians* had for thoſe animals, that in an extreme famine they choſe to eat one another, rather than feed upon their imagined deities. When any of thoſe animals died, particularly the bull *Apis*, which was the moſt famous, a great lamentation enſued. Upon the death of *Apis*, *Egypt* went into a general mourning, and the obſequies were ſolemnized with ſuch a pomp, as is hardly credible. In the reign of *Ptolemy Lagus*, the *Apis* dying of old age, his keeper beſtowed 13,000 l. over and above all his ſubſtance in burying him. Some keepers we are told ſquandered away 100,000 talents, a moſt immenſe ſum, in the maintenance of thoſe creatures.

It were endleſs to recount all their abſurd and ridiculous ſuperſtitions, in defence of which, they generally alleged to ſtrangers various reaſons. Their prieſts, however, affected ſilence, and referred all to certain myſteries, which it was not lawful to reveal. The firſt reaſon was drawn from the fabulous tradition of the gods, in a rebellion raiſed againſt them, in the early ages, by men who concealed themſelves in *Egypt* under the form of different animals. Others ſay, that the images of the animals were anciently uſed by the *Egyptians* on their ſtandards, and from thence the animals themſelves came to be worſhiped as the authors of the victories which they obtained. A third reaſon alleged, was the great ſervice the ſeveral animals performed to the *Egyptians*: as the ox for tilling the land, the ſheep for ſupplying milk, wool, *&c.* Philoſophers, however, not ſatisfied with theſe weak excuſes for practices ſo diſhonorable to paganiſm, and at which they themſelves ſecretly bluſhed, pretended that the worſhip paid by the *Egyptians* to animals, did not terminate in the animals themſelves, but in the Gods, whoſe ſymbols they were, and to whom they had ſome peculiar relation. Thus they ſaid the hawk was an emblem of the ſupreme deity, becauſe of its piercing ſight and ſwiftneſs; and the aſp, becauſe it was not ſubject to old age, and moved with-

out the assistance of limbs; the crocodile, because of all animals it has no tongue, which organ God has no occasion for; and so of others, the most extravagant allusions being produced as satisfactory reasons in justification of their idolatry.

Besides these animals, which they sometimes alleged were only living images of the celestial gods, the *Egyptians* paid adoration to various other representations of their deities. Tho' the bull was reckoned the living image of *Osiris*, yet they sometimes represented that god by a sceptre and eye, to express his power and providence, at other times by the image of an hawk, and in latter times in an human form.

The image of *Isis* was usually in the form of a woman, with cows horns on her head, and holding the *sistrum* (or cymbal) in her right hand, and a pitcher in her left. Sometimes she was represented as *Cybele*, with her body full of breasts, to express her nourishing of all things.

The statue of *Serapis* was of an human form, with a basket or bushel on his head, signifying plenty. His right hand leaned on the head of a serpent, the body of which was wound round a figure with the heads of a dog, a lion, and a wolf. In his left hand he held a measure of a cubit length, as it were to take the height of the waters of the *Nile*.

Jupiter or *Ammon* the *Egyptians* represented by an image with the head of a ram, because they said he shewed himself in that form to *Hercules*.

Anubis, who was sometimes confounded with *Hermes*, was usually painted with the head of a dog. *Harpocrates*, the son of *Isis*, and god of Silence, was represented with his finger on his mouth, and was always placed near the statues of *Osiris* and *Isis*, to intimate that there having been once mortals, was not to be mentioned. *Orus*, the son of *Osiris* and *Isis*, was often confounded with *Apollo*, and was generally represented as a child wrapped up in swaddling cloaths. *Canopus*, whose soul migrated into the fixed star of that name, not visible in *Europe*, but of the first magnitude, was the pilot of *Osiris*'s ship, and was represented with the head of a man upon an earthen water-pot full of holes. Some suppose this figure represented no more than vessels filled with the *Nile*, which the ancient *Egyptians* used to worship.

The greatest care was taken to find the proper bull for representing their chief god *Osiris*. According to *Ælian*, he was distinguished from all others by twenty-nine peculiar marks, the chief of which were these: his body was black, except one square of white upon the forehead. On his back he had the figure of an eagle, a double list of hair upon his tail, and a knot like a beetle under his tongue. When upon any vacancy such a one was found, nothing was heard in all parts of *Egypt* but festivals and rejoicings, and the new god was conducted to *Memphis*, and there installed with a great number of ceremonies.

The utmost solemnity was used also in celebrating the festival of *Isis*. They sacrificed to her fasting, beating themselves

all

all the while the flesh lay on the fire; but afterwards they feasted on the remainder.

Jupiter was principally worshiped at *Thebes* or *Diospolis*. The *Thebans*, on that deity's account, esteemed the ram sacred, and abstaining from sheep, sacrificed goats only. However, once a year, at the festival of their god, they killed and flayed a ram, and put the skin on his statue, at the same time introducing the image of *Hercules* as a visitor. The inhabitants of *Mendes*, on the other hand, who worshiped *Pan*, abstained from goats and sacrificed sheep.

The *Egyptians* also worshiped the moon, and when she was at the full, sacrificed to her swine, which they held to be impure animals, and offered them to no other deities, than to that planet and *Bacchus*. At the festival of this god, though every one was obliged to kill an hog before the door of his house, yet he instantly returned the carcase to the swine-herd of whom it was bought.

Not contented with celebrating annual festivals to their gods, the *Egyptians*, at several appointed times in the year, visited, with great devotion, the several cities where the particular deities were worshiped. At the annual festival of *Diana* at *Bubastis*, the concourse of people usually amounted to 700,000, besides children. Another great festival, surnamed the Feast of the Lights, was celebrated to *Minerva* at *Sais*. All persons throughout *Egypt*, who did not go to *Sais*, were obliged on the evening of that day to illuminate their windows.

One common and general ceremony was observed in all sacrifices, namely, the laying of hands upon the head of the victim, loading it at the same time with imprecations, and praying the gods to divert upon it all the calamities which might threaten *Egypt*. The ancient *Egyptians* are reported to have offered human sacrifices. As *Typon*, the bad deity, was said to be red hair'd, so men of that complexion were reported to have been slain in former times at the tomb of *Osiris*. Few of the *Egyptians* having red hair, strangers were the usual victims; whence it is supposed the fable so current among the *Greeks* of the cruelty of *Busiris* to strangers, took its rise not from any king of that name, but because *Osiris*'s tomb was so called in the *Egyptian* tongue. In old times men were also sacrificed at *Heliopolis*, and to *Juno* or *Lucina* at a city in upper *Thebais* called by her name. Three of those unhappy men, to whom they gave the name of *Typhonian*, were sacrificed every day in the Dog-days, being burnt alive, and their ashes scattered abroad. This barbarous custom was at length abolished by *Amasis*, who ordered that so many images of wax should be offered in their stead *.

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* Diod. Sic. l. i. Plut. de Isid. & Osir. Manetho ap. Porphyr. l. ii. Euseb. l. iv.

Historians

Hiſtorians are ſilent as to the worſhip of leeks and onions; and perhaps the ſatyriſt who mentions it, might, to heighten the ridicule, go a little beyond ſtrict truth. There might, however, be ſome foundation for ſuch an opinion from the ſcrupulous abſtinence of ſome of that nation from particular vegetables, as lentils, beans, and onions.

Other cuſtoms of the *Egyptians*.

The *Egyptians* were the firſt who aſſigned each month and day to a particular deity, and judged of peoples future fortunes, by obſerving the times of their nativity. They did not, however pretend to foretell things of themſelves, but made their gods the authors of all their predictions; and if they were not the firſt nation which erected oracles, it is however allowed, that the moſt ancient and famous oracles among the heathens, particularly thoſe of *Jupiter* in *Lybia*, and at *Dodona*, owed their original to *Egypt*. Of the ſeveral *Egyptian* oracles, the chief were the oracle of *Latona*, in the city of *Butus*, and that of *Serapis* in later times, at *Alexandria*. The ſacred animals, as the apis, the goat, the lion, and the crocodile, had alſo their ſeveral oracles. The manner of conſulting the apis, was by obſerving into which chamber of the two that were prepared for him he entered, his going into one being conſtrued as a good omen, and his entering the other as a bad one: or elſe food was offered him, and from his accepting or refuſing of it, the anſwer was concluded favourable or the contrary.

A deſcription of their temples.

The temples of the *Egyptians* were generally built after the following manner. The firſt thing that preſented itſelf to view was an avenue or ſtone pavement near 100 feet in breadth, and about three or four times as long, having on each ſide a row of ſphinxes, twenty cubits diſtant from each other. This avenue led to a portico, behind which was a ſecond, and ſometimes a third. The temple itſelf conſiſted of a ſpacious and magnificent court, and a well-proportioned chapel, in which was generally no image, (for in the more early times the *Egyptians* uſed none*) or if there was any, it was not of human form, but in the ſhape of ſome irrational animal†.

Their manner of educating their children.

The *Egyptians* were very careful in the education of their children; but they brought them up with great frugality. Their food was cheap broths made of common things, and the ſtems of the papyrus roaſted under the aſhes, and the ſtalks and roots of other plants which grew in the marſhes, ſometimes raw and ſometimes dreſſed. They went for the moſt part barefoot, and almoſt naked, during their childhood, becauſe of the warmth of the climate; ſo that the whole expence of a child from his birth till he arrived at the ſtate of manhood, did not exceed twenty drachmæ, or about thirteen ſhillings. The prieſts taught them two ſorts of letters, thoſe called ſacred, and thoſe in which their common learning was written: but their chief ſtudy was arithmetic and geometry.

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* Lucian. de dea Syria. † Strabo, l. xvii.

New

Few of the inferior claſſes, however, learned to read and write, except the tradeſmen. That they might be uſeful members of the commonwealth, and be enabled to maintain themſelves, they began very early to learn their paternal art or profeſſion, either from their fathers or near relations. The *Egyptians* never taught their children muſic and wreſtling. The firſt they eſteemed not only uſeleſs but even hurtful, ſerving only to emaſculate the mind; and the other they believed did not tend to the preſervation of health, the exerciſe itſelf being dangerous, and the ſtrength gained by it of ſhort duration *.

The diet of the *Egyptians* conſiſted of fiſh and the fleſh of various animals, either boiled or roaſted, excepting of thoſe which ſerved for deities. The inhabitants of the marſhes fed on ſeveral plants which grow there, particularly of the lotus, of which they made a ſort of bread, and on the lower ſtems of the papyrus. But through the whole kingdom ſwines fleſh was held in the utmoſt abhorrence, and was accounted ſo impure, that if a man but touched one of thoſe animals by accident, he went immediately and plunged himſelf into the river with his cloaths on. For this reaſon hogherds alone, of all the *Egyptians*, were not ſuffered to enter any of their temples, neither would any man give his daughter in marriage to one of that profeſſion, or take a wife born of ſuch parents; ſo that they were forced to marry among themſelves. Among the *Egyptians* it was a reproach to eat bread made of barley or wheat. Inſtead of theſe, they uſed a fine flour called by ſome *olyra*, by others *zea*, and by us *ſpelt*. Their uſual drink was (as it is at preſent) the water of the *Nile*, which is very agreeable to the taſte, and ſo fattening, that it was never given to the apis, leſt he ſhould grow too corpulent. The water at firſt is ſomewhat muddy, but according to *Sicard*, they clarify it, by rubbing the veſſel with pounded almonds. Their better ſort of drink or wine, as *Herodotus* called it, was made from barley, becauſe antiently they had no vines in their country, or rather did not cultivate them, neglecting their cultivation even at this day, excepting in one province. Thus it is probable we are indebted to this nation for the invention of beer. At their principal feaſts it was their cuſtom, when they began to taſte the wine after ſupper, to bring in a coffin with the image of a dead man, of one or two cubits in length, carved in wood and painted; or according to others, a real corpſe, which was carried about to all the company by a perſon who repeated theſe words diſtinctly, 'Look upon this, and 'be merry; for ſuch as this is ſhalt thou be when thou art 'dead †.'

The *Egyptians*, both at their meals and in other reſpects, were very cleanly, uſing frequent purifications and ablutions.

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* Diod. l. i.

† Herod. ubi ſupra. Lucian de luctu Sil. de bel. Pun. l. iii.

They

They ſcrupulouſly avoided eating with ſtrangers, reckoning it unclean *. It was chiefly for the ſake of neatneſs that they circumciſed themſelves; and this ceremony, which was among them from time immemorial, they eſteemed ſo neceſſary, that *Pythagoras*, to have the liberty of converſing with the *Egyptian* prieſts, and entering into their temples, was obliged to ſubmit to it. One of the fathers tells us, but without mentioning his authority, that they were circumciſed at the age of fourteen.

Their dreſs.

The dreſs of the *Egyptians* was a linen veſt fringed at the bottom, called *calaſiris*, over which they wore a white mantle of woollen cloth. But to enter any of their temples in that upper garment, or to bury their dead in woolen, was accounted profane. They ſaluted one another abroad, by bowing very reſpectfully, and letting their hands fall down to their knees †.

Several of their uſages and manners were directly oppoſite to thoſe of other nations. Amongſt them it was the cuſtom for the women to be employed in trade and buſineſs abroad, while the men ſtaid at home to ſpin and mind domeſtic affairs. This probably gave occaſion to that extraordinary law, by which, not the ſons, but the daughters, were obliged to provide for their parents. In carrying of burdens, the men bore them on their head, and the women on their ſhoulders. They uſed to eaſe nature at home, and eat publickly in the ſtreets; ſaying very juſtly, that ſuch things as were filthy, though neceſſary, ſhould be done in private, and ſuch as were decent, in public. They kneaded dough with their feet, and tempered mortar with their hands. And whereas in other countries the places deſtined for cattle were ſeparated from thoſe of the men, in *Egypt* men and beaſts dwelt together ‡.

Their funeral ceremonies.

According to the ſame author, the *Egyptians* were the firſt that aſſerted the immortality of the ſoul, which they believed, after the corruption of the body, entered into ſome other animal, and paſſing by a continual metempſychoſis through the different kinds of animals belonging to the air, earth, and water, again animated a human body after a revolution of 3000 years. They therefore uſed the utmoſt care to preſerve the body as long as poſſible, that the ſoul might be obliged to continue with it. And by the means they uſed, the dead bodies being of long duration, they ſpared no labour nor coſt in building their ſepulchres, which they termed their *eternal manſions*; at the ſame time being little curious in the ſtructure of their houſes, calling them *inns*, in which men abode as travellers only a few years.

When a perſon of any conſideration died, all the women of that family, having their heads and faces covered with dirt, their breaſts bare, and their waiſts girt, went in proceſſion

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* Gen. xliii. 32. † Herod. ut ſupra. ‡ Idem. ibid.

through

through the ſtreets of the city, attended by their female relations, lamenting the deceaſed, and beating themſelves in a moſt cruel manner. The male relations at the ſame time formed another company, and made a proceſſion by themſelves, which they continued for forty or ſeventy days, according to the quality of the perſon, abſtaining in the mean while from baths, wine, and dainties of every kind. The firſt lamentation being over, the body was carried to thoſe who profeſſed the art of embalming, which, like other trades, they learned of their anceſtors. They had three different ways of embalming, the moſt exquiſite amounting to about 258l. the ſecond to about 60l. and the third, which was very mean, to a mere trifle. The relations having agreed upon the manner, the embalmers took the body, and firſt drew the brains through the noſtrils with an iron inſtrument made for that purpoſe, and then filled the vacancy with different ſpices. One, called the ſcribe, next marked out on the left ſide of the belly where the inciſion was to be made, and another, with a ſharp *Ethiopic* ſtone, cut open the body as far as the law ordained, and immediately retired with all poſſible haſte, purſued by the ſtanders-by with ſtones and curſes to turn the execration upon him: for they thought it a very heinous crime to wound, or offer violence, to a dead body. The embalmers, however, were highly reſpected, converſed with the prieſts, and as perſons of ſanctity were admitted with them into the more ſacred parts of their temples. After the inciſion was made, they drew out all the inteſtines except the heart and kidneys, and filled the belly with pounded myrrh, caſſia, and other odoriferous drugs, frankincenſe only excepted. The inciſion being then ſewed up, the body was carefully anointed with oil of cedar and other ointments, for above thirty days, or elſe laid in nitre for ſeventy days, after which time it was waſhed and ſwathed with fine linen, the whole being covered with gum and perfumes. All this was performed without diſfiguring the body, ſo that the very hairs remained on the brows and eyelids, and the reſemblance of the countenance was preſerved ſo as to be eaſily known. The body thus embalmed, was delivered to the relations, who put it into a wooden coffin fitted exactly to the ſize of the corps. They then placed it upright againſt the wall, either in ſepulchres, or in their houſes: for many of the *Egyptians* kept their dead at home with them in magnificent apartments, having by this means the pleaſure of ſeeing the lineaments of their anceſtors, who died many ages before they were born*. They even frequently brought the dried corps of their friend as a gueſt to their feaſts †.

To theſe accounts of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* we ſhall add, that many of theſe embalmed bodies, which are now called mummies, have been brought from *Egypt*, and are found in A deſcription of the mummies.

* Cicer. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. i. c. 9. † Lucian de luctu.

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the cabinets of the curious. The coffins in which they lie are very thick, and generally of ſycomore, which does not rot ſo ſoon as other wood. Some, however, are of ſtone, and others of cloths paſted together, and very ſtrong. The top of the coffin is uſually cut into the ſhape of a head, with a face painted on it reſembling a woman. The reſt is one continued trunk, having at the lower end a broad pedeſtal. Some of them are handſomely painted with ſeveral hieroglyphics. The bodies appear wrapped up in a ſhroud of linen, upon which are faſtened divers linen ſcrolls painted with ſacred characters. The face is covered with a kind of head-piece of linen-cloth fitted with plaſter, on which the countenance of the perſon is repreſented in gold. The feet have alſo a cover of the ſame painted with hieroglyphics, and faſhioned like an high ſlipper. The whole corps is ſwathed with linen fillets with great art and neatneſs, and with ſo many cafts, that there cannot be leſs than 1000 yards of filleting upon one body. And in the inſide of the body are found medicaments of the conſiſtence and colour of pitch or bitumen, which wax ſoft by the heat of the ſun *.

The way of embalming, as above deſcribed, was the moſt coſtly manner of preſerving the dead. Thoſe who were unable or unwilling to be at ſo great an expence, were contented with a more ordinary preparation, which was performed by ſyringing oil of cedar the common way, without opening the belly, and by laying the body in nitre the number of days above-mentioned. At the end of the time, the oil of cedar was let out by the fundament, which, by a peculiar efficacy, brought away the entrails ſhrunk and putrified, while the nitre had conſumed the fleſh, and left nothing but the ſkin and bones. The third and laſt manner of preſerving the dead, uſed only for the poorer ſort, was performed by cleanſing the belly by injected lotions, and ſalting the body for ſeventy days. If any perſon, even a ſtranger, was found killed by a crocodile, or drowned in the river, wherever the body came aſhore, the inhabitants were by law obliged, at their own charge, to embalm and place it among the conſecrated monuments in the moſt coſtly manner. None might touch the body except the prieſts of the *Nile*, who buried it with their own hands as ſomething more than human.

A remarkable inſtitution.

Before the corps of any perſon was admitted into the ſacred aſylum of the tomb, it underwent a ſolemn trial, which is one of the moſt remarkable circumſtances to be found in ancient hiſtory. At the time appointed for the interment, above forty judges aſſembled in a certain place near the lake, ſuppoſed to be the lake *Mæris*, and before the corps was admited into the boat which was to ferry it over to the other ſide,

* Thevenot's Voy. part i. c. 6. Greave's Deſcrip. of the Pyramids. p. 49 50.

every

every one was at liberty to accuſe the deceaſed. If any accuſer proved that the deceaſed had led an ill life, the body was denied the uſual burial: but if the accuſer was convicted of falſehood, he incurred a ſevere puniſhment. If no accuſer appeared, or the accuſation proved falſe, the deceaſed was interred in an honourable manner, his relations having recited his praiſes and enlarged on his piety, juſtice, temperance, and other virtues, without however taking any notice of his deſcent; for all the *Egyptians* were held equally noble. Thoſe that were forbidden to be interred, either for crimes by them committed, or for debt, their relations depoſited them privately in their own houſes. But it often happened that the poſterity of ſuch perſons growing rich, to take off the diſgrace, obtained their pardon or paid their debts, and then beſtowed on them an honourable burial.

This inſtitution of the *Egyptians* was excellently contrived for the encouragement of virtue and the diſcouragement of vice; and from hence it is plain the *Greeks* took all their fables concerning the infernal judges, and the happineſs and puniſhments of men after death. However, in *Egypt* the rewards were really wiſhed for, and the puniſhments dreaded; but the *Grecian* fables, *Diodorus* obſerves, were only the ridicule and ſport of the profligate.

A deſcription of their tombs.

Many of the tombs in which the dead bodies of the *Egyptians* were depoſited, were ſubterraneous vaults, cut in the rocks with great labour and expence, and are called *catacombs* or *mummy pits* by the modern travellers, who have viſited ſeveral of them in the *Libyan* deſerts. The entrance into them is by a narrow ſquare well, having holes on each ſide to ſerve as ſteps for thoſe who deſcend. The ſhalloweſt of theſe wells are about 33 feet deep. At the bottom of the well there is a ſquare opening, and a paſſage 10 or 15 feet long, which conducts to ſeveral ſquare chambers, each ſide of which meaſures about 15 or 20 feet. In the middle of every ſide a bench is cut out of the rock, and on this the embalmed bodies are placed, having at their head commonly an idol, and at the feet the image of a bird. On the walls are ſeveral hieroglyphics, which perhaps ſerve for epitaphs. Beſides the bodies placed on the benches, there are other ſmaller ones lying on the ground. Sometimes no leſs than 25 or 30 of theſe ſubterraneous chambers have a communication with each other, and the deſcent to them all is by one well *.

Of their ſciences, arts and manufactures.

The *Egyptians* were the inventors of many uſeful arts and ſciences, and were early famous for wiſdom and learning, as appears from many ancient writers, and even from the ſacred ſcriptures, where, to the honour of *Moſes*, it is ſaid, *he was learned in all the wiſdom of the* Egyptians; and to magnify the wiſdom of *Solomon*, that *it excelled all the wiſdom of* Egypt.

* Thevenot's Voy.

According

According to their own account, their firſt kings inſtructed them how to provide the common neceſſaries and conveniencies of life: but the honour of the firſt invention of the ſciences belonged to their *Hermes* or *Mercuries*.

All authors agree, that geometry was firſt found out in *Egypt*, neceſſity having forced the *Egyptians* to think of means for accurately ſurveying and meaſuring their lands, the bounds of which were annually diſturbed by the overflowing of the *Nile*. However, probably they knew little more than plain meaſuring, and a few problems of moſt common uſe in life. For *Pythagoras*, who had been in *Egypt*, on his finding out the proportion of the longeſt ſide of a triangle to the other two, offered an hecatomb; and *Thales*, who alſo travelled into *Egypt*, ſacrificed an ox to the gods, for joy that he had found a method of inſcribing a right-angled triangle within a circle. The *Egyptians*, therefore, were either ignorant of theſe inventions, or concealed them from foreigners, or theſe two philoſophers unjuſtly arrogated to themſelves the invention of what they had learned elſewhere, which laſt would be a very injurious ſuppoſition. If then theſe more ſimple, though noble, propoſitions were not to be found in the *Egyptian* geometry, much leſs can it be ſuppoſed to have contained thoſe abſtruſe theorems and analytical methods which were afterwards known to the *Greeks* *.

The *Egyptians* diligently cultivated the ſcience of arithmetic; and it appears, that in later ages a kind of algebra was known among them, which in all probability was an improvement made by the *Grecians* after their ſettling there.

It is alſo generally ſuppoſed that the *Egyptians*, on account of the conſtant ſerenity of the air, and the flatneſs of their country, were among the firſt who obſerved the courſes of the planets. *Herodotus*, indeed, gives the honour of the invention of aſtronomy to the *Babylonians*; but *Diodorus* derives both the *Babylonians* and their ſciences from *Egypt*, and ſays, aſtronomy was firſt invented by the *Thebans*, who had kept regiſters of their obſervations for an incredible number of years, and by their long experience were often able to foretel the appearance of comets, and to make other ſurprizing predictions, which ſeemed to exceed human capacity. By their obſervations they were certainly early led to adjuſt the length of the year to the annual revolution of the ſun; for, as *Diodorus* obſerves, their year, from the moſt remote antiquity, was compoſed of 365 days 6 hours. They might likewiſe have a true notion of the ſyſtem of the world, for they called the moon an *æthereal earth*, and affirmed the ſtars to be fire; yet it does not appear that they had an exact knowledge of the theory of the planetary motions, ſo as to make artificial calculations; ſince *Thales* is ſaid

* Burnet Archæol. l. i. p. 72. Wotton's Reflections on ancient and modern Learning.

to be the firſt who ventured to foretel an eclipſe, and *Eudoxus* and *Ptolomy* to have firſt reduced the heavenly motions into hypotheſes and tables.

Toſorthrus, or *Seſorthrus*, a king of *Memphis*, is ſaid to have been the inventor of phyſic, and from thence was called *Æſculapius*. He was much more ancient than the *Grecian Æſculapius*, and by ſome is ſuppoſed cotemporary with *Athothis*, the ſucceſſor of *Menes*. *Athothis* is imagined to be the ſame with *Thoth*, or the firſt *Hermes*, and is ſaid to have written ſome books of anatomy, which, however, are aſcribed by ſome to the ſecond *Hermes*. *Iſis* herſelf is alſo ſaid to have invented ſeveral medicines, and to have taught the art to her ſon *Orus*, or *Apollo*, whence ſhe was held by the *Egyptians* to be the goddeſs of health.

In the time of *Joſeph*, the ſame perſons ſeem to have been both embalmers and phyſicians, but in after times it was otherwiſe; for according to *Herodotus*, no phyſician was permitted to practiſe in more than one branch of the art, every diſeaſe having its own phyſician. By this regulation, great improvements might have been expected in the art, had not the laws as it were ſhut the door to any future diſcoveries, by obliging the phyſicians to preſcribe according to fixed rules contained in the ſacred books, which had been collected from long obſervation and experience. While theſe rules were obſerved, the phyſician was not anſwerable for the ſucceſs; but if he ventured to follow his own private judgment, in caſe the patient died, he ran the hazard of his life. This law, however, it muſt be confeſſed, was a moſt effectual method to prevent the miſchievous practice of empirics. By the laws likewiſe the *Egyptian* phyſicians were allowed a public proviſion, on which account they were to attend, without any other fee, thoſe who happened to be ſick in the army, or on a journey, within the kingdom.

The phyſicians, with their proper art, alſo ſtudied aſtrology and the ritual myſteries, their practice being greatly founded on magical and aſtrological principles. Their medicines ſeem rather to have been calculated for prevention than cure. Evacuations were chiefly preſcribed, which were effected either by clyſters, potions, or emetics, or elſe by faſting. The chief cauſe of diſeaſes they imagined was the loading of nature with ſuperfluous food; therefore thoſe who lived in the corn country, *Herodotus* tells us, uſed to vomit and purge themſelves three days ſucceſſively every month to preſerve health, though otherwiſe they were by nature one of the moſt healthful people in the world.

As *Athothis*, we obſerved, was reported to have written ſome books of anatomy, ſo *Pliny* tells us, that for the perfection of this part of phyſic, their kings ordered dead bodies to be diſſected. It would ſeem, however, that their anatomiſts were more fond of wild conjectures than experimental reſearches. For they aſſerted, that men could not live above 100 years,

because the heart gradually diminishing after 50, (till which time it had been annually increasing) they must necessarily die at the age of 100, for want of a heart *. Another of their observations was, that a nerve proceeded from the heart to the little finger of the left hand, for which reason the *Egyptians* always wore rings upon that finger, and the priests dipped that finger in their perfumed ointments †.

The philosophical doctrines of the *Egyptians* may best be known by considering those of the ancient *Greeks*, who were their scholars, and travelled into *Egypt* for instruction in the more sublime parts of learning. It was from that country, in all probability, that *Pythagoras* received the knowledge of the ancient system of the world, which bears his name, and is now so generally admitted. It seems, however, to have been part of their secret doctrine, and not revealed to the vulgar.

The science for which the *Egyptians* were particularly famous, and of which the attainment was esteemed the highest pitch of knowledge, was magic. According to eastern traditions, the antediluvians were first taught this art *by the sons of God*, (whom they suppose angels) who fell in love *with the daughters of men*. They say, *Ham*, at the deluge, preserved the principal rules of it, and taught them to his son *Mizraim*. Others ascribe the invention to *Hermes*; but whoever was the inventor, the art was certainly very ancient among the *Egyptians*; for in the time of *Joseph*, they had magicians who pretended to the interpretation of dreams, and to divine by a cup. The professors of magic, among the *Egyptians*, were the priests and sacred scribes, two of which order, named *Jannes* and *Jambres*, were pitched upon to withstand the prophet *Moses*, and gave very extraordinary instances of the power of their inchantments. From the caution given by *Moses* to the *Israelites*, it is evident that, in those early times, there were pretenders under various denominations to this science amongst most of the idolatrous people, and *Balaam* in particular, seems to have been a considerable proficient therein. Their art seems to have been something very different from that innocent natural magic which consists in an excelling knowledge of the properties of natural bodies and their various relations to each other, by which uncommon and astonishing effects may be produced; otherwise it would not have been prohibited by the divine lawgiver.

No profession in *Egypt*, however mean, was considered as sordid or ignoble. Husbandmen particularly, and those who took care of herds and flocks, were in great esteem, the most elevated ranks, according to their estimation, being furnished from them not only with the necessaries, but even the delights

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* Plin. l. xix. c. 5. l. ix. c. 37. † A. Gellius noct. Attic. l. x. c. 10.

of

of life. In ſome parts of *Egypt* indeed, on account of religious opinions, feeders of cattle were held in abomination.

The pyramids, and other amazing works already mentioned, are ſufficient proofs of the ſkill of the *Egyptians* in mechanics, painting, and ſculpture. Their ſtatuaries worked not by the eye, as the *Grecians*, but by the moſt methodical rules of proportion. They divided the whole body into twenty-one parts and one-fourth, and after the artiſts who were employed had come to a reſolution as to the ſize of the ſtatue, and fixed upon their particular taſks, they went each to his own home, and with ſingular ſkill and ſurpriſing exactneſs made the ſeveral parts proportionable to one another.

Their manner of ſailing on the *Nile*.

The veſſels or barges they uſed on the *Nile*, were of a very extraordinary conſtruction. They were built of ſmall planks of the *Acantha* or *Egyptian* thorn, about three feet and a half ſquare. Theſe planks were ſet together like tiles, and faſtened with a great number of long pins; and inſtead of ribs and bent timber, the angles of the ſides were ſecured by ropes of papyrus. As they were unfit to mount the river againſt the ſtream, they were therefore always towed up, unleſs the wind proved very favourable. When they came down with the current, the bargemen faſtened an hurdle of tamariſk to the prow of the veſſel, and having ſtrengthened it with bands of reeds, let it down into the water, at the ſame time hanging a ſtone of a conſiderable weight to the poop. By this means the boat was carried down with the ſtream, which bore upon the hurdle, being balanced and kept ſteady by the ſtone at the poop.

How the *Egyptians* preſerved their knowledge.

The learning of the *Egyptians*, we have already obſerved, was very extenſive, which was owing to the care they took to preſerve their knowledge and to tranſmit it to poſterity. Their prieſts were the depoſitaries of all their learning, having the care of their philoſophy and other ſciences, as well as of their religion and ſacred rites. Thoſe who wanted to be inſtructed therein, were obliged to apply to them, and for the purpoſes of inſtruction, they had colleges or academies in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, one of which, at *Heliopolis*, is mentioned by *Strabo*, who viſited the apartments where *Eudoxus* and *Plato* had ſtudied for ſeveral years. The *Egyptians* partly inſcribed their learning on pillars, and partly committed it to writing in the ſacred books. Other nations beſides the *Egyptians*, we find, uſed to preſerve the memory of things by inſcriptions on columns. The *Babylonians*, we are told, kept their aſtronomical obſervations engraven on bricks; and *Democritus* is ſaid to have tranſcribed his moral diſcourſes from a *Babyloniſh* pillar. But the moſt famous of all others were the columns of *Hermes* in *Egypt*, mentioned by ſeveral credible authors. Upon them he is reported to have inſcribed his learning, which was afterwards explained more at large in ſeveral books by the ſecond *Hermes*. It is at leaſt certain, that the *Egyptian* hiſtorians and *Greek* philoſophers took many things from thoſe pillars. *Pythagoras* and *Plato* both read them, and borrowed their philo-

ſophy from thence. They ſtood in ſome ſubterraneous apartments near *Thebes*, and were ſtill remaining about the end of the 5th century. The ſacred books, though more recent, were not leſs famous. They did not only contain what related to the worſhip of the gods and the laws of the kingdom, but hiſtorical collections, nay even all kinds of miſcellaneous and philoſophical matters of conſiderable moment.

The learning contained in the inſcriptions and ſacred books was of two kinds: part of it was dark and myſterious and communicated to very few, and another part was obvious and plain to be underſtood by the common people and ſtrangers. The monuments of the ſuperior ſort of learning beſides being hidden in the private apartments of the temples, were written in a character not commonly underſtood, and guarded by the prieſts, who were extremely difficult of acceſs, a memorable inſtance of which we have in their uſage of *Pythagoras*. That philoſopher was recommended by *Polycrates* the tyrant of *Samos*, to *Amaſis* king of *Egypt*, who gave him letters to the prieſts, ordering them to communicate their knowledge to him. He went firſt to thoſe of *Heliopolis*, who referred him to the college at *Memphis* as their ſeniors; and from *Memphis* he was ſent under the ſame pretext to *Thebes*. After many dilatory excuſes, not daring abſolutely to diſobey the king's command, they endeavoured to deter him from his purpoſe, by enjoining him a ſevere and troubleſome noviciate, containing many things contrary to the religion of the *Greeks*, which however he underwent with invincible patience and courage *.

The *Egyptians* alſo concealed their doctrines from popular conception, by wrapping them up in hieroglyphicks, ſymbols, enigmas, and fables. The antients in general uſed to deliver their inſtructions under the dark veils of allegory and fiction, inſtances of which are frequent both in ſacred and prophane writers. The *Egyptians* ſeem to have excelled other nations in the obſcurity of their fictions, wherein the footſteps of truth were ſo faint, that they required a moſt ſagacious enquirer to diſcover them. In their inſcriptions and writings they made uſe of three different ſorts of characters. The firſt and moſt ancient was that of hieroglyphical figures of various animals, of the parts of the human body and of mechanical inſtruments. From Porphyry however there is reaſon to think that the *Egyptian* prieſts uſed alſo another ſort of characters ſomething reſembling thoſe of the *Chineſe*, which are ſaid to have been the invention of *Hermes*. The conjecture of Sir *John Marſham*, which has been adopted by the abbe *De Pluche*, in his Hiſtory of the Heavens, is by no means improbable, that the uſe of the figures of animals as characters, introduced the ſtrange worſhip that was paid them, by that nation. The people accuſtomed to the ſeeing the figures in their temples, began to forget

* Porphyr. de Vit. *Pythag.*

the

their primary uſe, which was only to denote and expreſs certain qualities of their gods, princes, and great men, and at length imagined they referred to the animals themſelves, and therefore eaſily transferred their worſhip from the dead picture to the living animal whoſe repreſentation it was.

Antiquaries have made large collections of theſe hieroglyphical inſcriptions, images, and pictures, and have taken a great deal of pains to explain them, but with very little ſucceſs. The meaning of a few of theſe characters has indeed been preſerved by old writers. Thus a ſerpent with the head of an hawk repreſented the ſupreme deity. The hawk itſelf was the hieroglyphic of *Oſiris* the river horſe of *Typhon*; the dog of *Mercury*; the cat of *Diana*, or *the moon*; the beetle of a courageous warrior; a new born child of the riſing ſon, and the like. But the illuſtrations of others by the moderns appear very conjectural and doubtful.

The *Ægyptians*, beſides theſe repreſentations of animals, uſed alſo literal characters of which they had two ſorts. One they called *the ſacred letters*, in which their public regiſters and all matters of a higher nature were written; and the other *the vulgar*, made uſe of by every one in common buſineſs. The *Ethiopians* and *Babylonians* and ſeveral other eaſtern nations uſed two different kinds of letters, and the modern *Bramins* among the *Indians* have not only a ſacred character, but a ſacred language alſo, in which they are very ſhy of inſtructing ſtrangers *.

Though moſt other nations are ſuppoſed to have received letters from the *Egyptians*, yet they themſelves perhaps learned them of their neighbours the *Ethiopians*, among whom letters were in uſe very early, and whoſe vulgar character became the ſacred of the *Egyptians*. Both the ſorts of old *Egyptian* letters are now loſt; or if the forms of them remain in any old inſcriptions, they are unintelligible, and cannot be decyphered. All that is known of them is that the alphabet conſiſted of 25 letters, and that they wrote from the right hand to the left as moſt of the oriental nations ſtill do †.

Of their language.

The *Egyptian* language is certainly one of the moſt ancient in the world, and in all probability an original or mother tongue, formed at the confuſion of *Babel*. So early as the time of *Joſeph* it appears to have been a diſtinct tongue, from the new name given to him of *Egyptian* derivation, when he was made governor, and his uſing an interpreter when he ſpoke to his brethren in that language. This very language is in great meaſure preſerved to our own times in the preſent *Coptic*: but as the *Egyptians* ever ſince their conqueſt by *Cambyſes*, have been almoſt continually ſubjected to foreigners, a conſiderable part of their ancient language is loſt, and in return

* Diod. l. 3. Diog. Laert. in Democr. Lucian de Macrol. Burnet. Archæoth l. 1. † Diod. Herod. Plutarch ut ſupra.

a great number of *Greek* and ſome *Perſian*, *Latin*, and *Arabic* words have been introduced. At preſent the *Arabic* prevails ſo univerſally in *Egypt*, that the *Copts*, or native *Egyptians* themſelves, generally ſpeak no other, the ancient tongue being known only to the prieſts, and that not to any degree of perfection. Notwithſtanding its preſent corruption and great mixture with the *Greek*, it ſtill retains evident marks of primitive antiquity in its ſtructure and conſtitution, wherein it differs ſo widely from all the oriental and *European* languages, that it is impoſſible to conceive it derived from any of them. The *Copts* decline their nouns and conjugate their verbs, even thoſe of foreign extract, no otherwiſe than by prefixing particles, of one or more ſyllables, and ſometimes of a ſingle letter, which denote the caſe, gender, number, and perſon, ſeveral of them being often joined together in one word, and the primitive word uſually placed laſt *.

Of their trade and ſhipping.

Egypt is excellently ſituated for commerce, being waſhed on two ſides by two different ſeas, the one of which opens the communication with *Europe* and the weſtern parts of *Aſia*, and the other with the *Indies* and the ſouth eaſt coaſt of *Africa*, while the iſthmus of *Suez* allowed the eaſtern commodities to be carried thither by land. It is to be preſumed ſo ſenſible and induſtrious a people were not long without making uſe of theſe natural advantages. Sir *John Marſham* ſuppoſes that till the time of the *Ptolemies* the *Egyptians* did not apply themſelves to merchandize; but this opinion ſeems to be a miſtake; for not to inſiſt on their claim to the invention of commerce, *Diodorus* informs us, that *Pſammitichus* gained great riches by trade before he was king of all *Egypt*, and we learn from ſcripture that the *Midianites* and *Iſmaelites* traded thither ſo early as the time of *Jacob*. According to *Huetius* there is a great preſumption, that they had anciently the ſovereignty of the *Red* ſea, and engroſſed the whole trade carried on that way to themſelves. However, by the account of *Philoſtratus*, they ſeem to have been ſome time diſpoſſeſſed of it; for he relates that a certain prince named *Erythras*, (by ſome imagined to be the ſame with *Eſau* or *Edom*) being maſter of the *Red* ſea, made a law that the *Egyptians* ſhould not enter that ſea with any ſhips of war, nor with more than one merchant ſhip at a time. *David* becoming in later times maſter of *Elath* and *Eziongeber*, two ports on the *Red* ſea, belonging to *Edom*, is ſaid by ſome to have built ſhips there, and to have traded to *Ophir*. However that be, *Solomon* his ſon certainly eſtabliſhed a very great trade there, which it is not improbable he might do by permiſſion or connivance of the *Egyptians* to whoſe king he was ſon-in-law. The *Jews* in the time of *Ahaz* entirely loſt this trade, when it fell into the hands of the *Syrians*, and after of the *Tyrians*,

* Wilkins's Diſſert. de ling. Copt. p. 120, &c.

till the *Ptolemies* recovered the whole again to their own subjects.

Strabo indeed has expreſly aſſerted that *Pſammitichus* was the firſt king of *Egypt* who opened the ports to ſtrangers, but this can only be underſtood of the commerce that was driven by the *Mediterranean* ſea, which, on the coaſts of *Egypt*, was infeſted by the pyracies of the *Greeks*, who were therefore excluded from all traffic with the *Egyptians*. The *Greeks* on that account repreſented the *Egyptians* as an inhoſpitable and barbarous nation. It is evident however, from the inſtances above mentioned, that the *Egyptians* were a civilized nation, and traded early with foreigners. They gave eaſy acceſs to *Abraham* and the ſons of *Jacob*, and *Solomon* brought horſes from thence. Towards the *Greeks* indeed they behaved with ſome caution and reſerve, even after they were admitted; for though *Amaſis*, who was their great friend, ſuffered them to build the city of *Naucratis*, for the ſettlement and reſidence of their merchants, yet that was the only place in the whole kingdom where he allowed them to have a factory. They ſailed up to it by the *Canopic* mouth of the *Nile*, and if by accident a veſſel entered any other mouth of that river, the owners, after making oath that they were forced in there againſt their will, were obliged to go back to that channel; or if the winds were contrary, to unlade and ſend up their goods to *Naucratis* by the river veſſels *. On a religious account the *Egyptians* in general bore a great averſion to the ſea, by them called *Typhon*, becauſe it ſwallowed up their *Nile*. They alſo hated ſailors ſo much that they would not ſpeak to them; and were not fond of going out of their own country, for fear of introducing foreign luxury and cuſtoms †.

Nevertheleſs they were not ignorant of ſea affairs, having an order of men among them that followed nothing elſe. The *Greeks* even confeſs they learned navigation from them ‡. *Diodorus* informs us, that *Seſoſtris* built a formidable navy of 400 ſhips of war, for his expedition to the ſouthern ſeas, and alſo a very large veſſel of cedar, near twice as big as one of our largeſt firſt rates, being 280 cubits long, gilt without and beautified with ſilver within, which he dedicated to *Oſiris* ||.

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* Herod. l. 2. † Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir. & Sympos, l. 8. Clem. Alex. Strom. i. p. 302. ‡ Euripid. in Troad. || Diod. l.

CHAP. III.

The History of the Kings of Egypt.

WE ſhall now proceed to the hiſtory of the princes who reigned in *Egypt* from the moſt early times to the final conqueſt of the country by *Alexander*, when the ſevere prediction of the prophet *Ezekiel* was fulfilled, *there ſhall be no more a prince of the land of* Egypt.

No part of ancient hiſtory is more obſcure or uncertain than that of the firſt *Egyptian* kings. The *Egyptian* writers give the moſt extravagant account of their own antiquities, reckoning a race of gods and demigods who governed them before their firſt king *Menes* for more than 36,000 years. We have already taken notice of the abſurdity of this vain and fabulous claim, taken in a literal ſenſe, and have given the moſt probable application of the ground of that fable. From *Menes* to the time of *Alexander* the Great, they again reckon a ſucceſſion of upwards of 300 kings, of 30 different dynaſties or families, the length of whoſe reigns together would amount to 5300 years. *Joſephus*, *Syncellus*, *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, have likewiſe each given us a ſeries of *Egyptian* kings; but in their accounts as well as in thoſe of *Manetho* preſerved by *Africanus* and *Euſebius*, there are ſuch chaſms and ſuch apparent corruptions and miſtakes both in the princes names and the years of their reſpective reigns, that it is next to impoſſible to reduce them into a chronological order ſo as to make them agree with one another, much leſs with ſcripture, and the chronology of other nations who have taken notice of their tranſactions with the *Egyptians*.

The moſt probable way to reconcile the different accounts, and to reduce the entire ſeries to the ſcripture chronology, is to ſuppoſe with the learned Sir *John Marſham* and many other modern writers on this ſubject, that theſe dynaſties were not ſucceſſive but collateral. *Egypt*, they think, immediately after the death of *Menes* was divided into four diſtinct kingdoms of *Thebes*, *This*, *Memphis*, *Tanis*, or *Lower Egypt*. Some diviſions of leſſer note afterwards aroſe, whoſe epochs are more difficult to be ſettled, and the kingdom continued ſo divided for almoſt ſeven centuries, till the paſtors made themſelves maſters of all the country, except the kingdom of *Thebes*, which continued for five centuries more, when *Egypt* again became ſubject to one prince. On this ſuppoſition the duration of the whole empire from *Menes* to the conqueſt of *Cambyſes* is reduced to 1820 years. This however is too large an account, and carries up the beginning of the *Egyptian* kingdom to within four years of the Flood. According to *Conſtantine Manaſſes* it had ſubſiſted at the conqueſt of *Cambyſes* only 1663 years, therefore was founded about 60 years after the diſperſion.

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That the ſeries of *Egyptian* kings was compoſed of the names of cotemporary princes, appears probable from ſcripture, where, even ſo late as the time of *Jehoram*, mention is made of the kings of the *Egyptians* in the plural number *, and it is certain, from *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, that there were at leaſt two kings in *Egypt* when it was invaded by the *Ethiopians* under *Sabbaco*.

After all, the labour of aſcertaining the *Egyptian* chronology is rendered in a great meaſure unneceſſary; and it is like being ſollicitous about the extent of a canvas when there is nothing to paint on it. For *Diodorus* informs us, that *Menes* was ſucceeded by 52 kings, whoſe reigns altogether took up the ſpace of 1400 years, in all which time the *Egyptians* had done nothing worth the recording in hiſtory; and according to *Herodotus*, nothing worth notice was recorded of 328 princes that reigned after *Menes*, excepting of one *Ethiopian* woman called *Nitocris*. As it would be therefore waſting time to attempt to frame a regular and connected chronology of the *Egyptian* kings, the greateſt number of whom are only tranſmitted to us by their names, we ſhall only relate ſome tranſactions that are recorded of a few of them by ancient writers, as moſt important and inſtructive, and ſhall endeavour to fix the times of the events, as far as poſſible, by hiſtorical ſynchroniſms, and the co-incidence of facts.

Menes or *Mizraim*, the firſt king of *Egypt*.

Menes, by ſome called *Mezraim* and *Menas*, according to the unanimous opinion of ancient hiſtorians, was the firſt mortal who was king of *Egypt*. In his time the whole country, except *Thebais*, was a moraſs, and no land appeared between the lake *Mœris* and the *Mediterranean* ſea, which was ſeven days paſſage on the river. He diverted the courſe of the *Nile*, which before waſhed the foot of the ſandy mountain towards *Lybia*, and built the city of *Memphis* within the ancient bed of the river. On the north ſide of it he made a lake, and on the weſt another, both fed by the *Nile*, which flowed along the eaſt ſide of the town. In the city itſelf he built the famous temple of Vulcan. He was the firſt that inſtructed the *Egyptians* in religious matters, that introduced domeſtic magnificence and luxury, and that inſtituted the pomp of feaſts, on which account his memory was loaded with the execrations of one of his ſucceſſors.

From this circumſtance of his introducing luxury, *Perizonius* concludes that he was not the founder of the *Egyptian* nation, nor the ſame with *Mizraim*. Sir *Iſaac Newton* and father *Pezron* likewiſe bring his reign ſeveral centuries later down than the days of *Ham*; but the authority of their arguments does not ſeem equal to that of the teſtimony of the ancient writers; and Sir *John Marſham* has pretty clearly evidenced that the times of their *Menes* coincide with thoſe of *Moſes*'s

* 2 Kings vii. 6.

Mizraim. The ſtory of his teaching the *Egyptians* to fare ſumptuouſly, might probably belong to ſome following prince of the name of *Menes*, and be attributed to him by a miſtake, as authors frequently confound the tranſactions of two princes of the ſame name, though living in very different periods.

Menes, or *Mizraim*, is ſuppoſed to have planted *Egypt* about 59 years after the diſperſion, or 160 years after the flood. It is thought he firſt ſeated himſelf near the entrance of *Egypt*, and perhaps built the city of *Zoan*, which *Bochart* proves to have been the ſeat of the *Egyptian* kings in the firſt ages. *Hebron*, in its neighbourhood, the ſcripture tells us, was built ſeven years before *, and perhaps it was one of his ſtations before he arrived at *Egypt*. He is ſaid by *Plato* to have reigned king over all *Egypt* †, and according to *Euſebius* removed to the ſouth parts of *Egypt*, that is, the country of *Thebais* about 124 years after the diſperſion ‡. After his planting *Thebais* he is ſuppoſed to have lived 62 years; and allowing him to be born about the time of *Arphaxad*, he would then be at his death in the 285th year of his age. He might perhaps have lived to the ſame age with his cotemporary *Arphaxad*, who died in his 438th year; but the antients were of opinion that he was killed.

The learned *Shuckford* thinks that upon the death of *Menes* or *Mizraim*, *Egypt* was immediately divided into ſeven kingdoms among his ſeven ſons mentioned in ſcripture, who he ſuppoſes were the ſeven *Cabiri*, the ſons of *Sydic*. To theſe an 8th perſon was added, concerning whoſe name the ancients differed a little. This perhaps might be *Philiſtim*, whom *Moſes* mentions along with the ſons of *Mizraim*. Two of the kingdoms of *Egypt* we find bore the names of two of his ſons, namely, the kingdom of *Noph* or *Memphis*, from *Naphtuhim*, and *Pathros* or *Thebais*, from *Pathruſim*. As the *Egyptians* called the kingdom of *Pathros*, *Thebais*, ſo they likewiſe changed the name *Pathrus* into *Thyoth*, *Taaut*, or *Athothes*. To *Thyoth*, who, by the *Greeks*, is called *Hermes*, and by the *Latins Mercurius*, they attributed the invention of letters, and of many arts and ſciences.

There are almoſt no accounts of the ſucceeding kings of *Egypt* for many centuries. Some unconnected tranſactions are related, concerning a few of them, but to what period theſe ought to be referred remains very doubtful.

The paſtors or ſhepherds invade and ſubdue *Egypt*.

A great revolution is mentioned to have happened in *Egypt* in the reign of *Timaus*, when a multitude of ſtrangers, of an ignoble race, poured from the eaſt into that kingdom, and the inhabitants not daring to oppoſe them, they reduced the whole country. Having ſecured their conqueſt, they inhumanly burnt the cities, threw down the temples of the gods, and

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* Numb. xiii. 22. † In Phædro. ‡ Euſeb. prep. Evang. & Chron. Shuckford, Connect. l. 4.

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put many of the antient inhabitants to death, and carried away their wives and children into captivity. One of their own number, named *Salatis*, being appointed king, fixed his residence at *Memphis*, and leaving garrisons in the moſt proper places, kept both the higher and lower country under tribute. Fearing an invaſion of the *Aſſyrians*, who were at that time very powerful, he particularly fortified the eaſtern parts, and finding a convenient city called *Abaris*, on the *Bubaſtic* channel of the river, he rebuilt and fortified it, and ſtationed therein a garriſon of 24,000 men. *Salatis* dying, was ſucceeded by five others, namely, *Beon*, *Aphacnas*, *Apophis*, *Janias*, and *Aſſis*, who treading in his footſteps, did their utmoſt to root out the whole nation of the *Egyptians*. Theſe invaders the *Egyptians* diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Hycſos*, or ſhepherd-kings. According to *Manetho*, as quoted by *Joſephus*, they came from *Arabia*, and held all lower *Egypt* in ſubjection for the ſpace of 259 years, at the end of which they were obliged, by a king of upper *Egypt*, named *Amoſis* and *Thetmoſis*, to quit the country and retire elſewhere. This prince's father had, it ſeems, driven them to *Abaris*, where *Amoſis* beſieged them with an army of 480,000 men. Finding, however, that he could not reduce them by force, he propoſed an accommodation, by which it was concluded that they were to retire from *Egypt* without moleſtation. They accordingly withdrew towards *Syria* with their families to the number of 240,000, and fearing the *Aſſyrians*, who were then very powerful in *Aſia*, they built themſelves, in the land of *Judea*, a city which they called *Jeruſalem*. Such is the account of *Manetho* in *Joſephus*. Many authors from this relation, imagine that the expulſion of the ſhepherds, and the *Exodus* of the children of *Iſrael* are the ſame tranſaction; but the circumſtances of the *Iſraelites* leaving *Egypt*, as related in ſcripture, differ ſo widely from thoſe attending the expulſion of the ſhepherds, that they do not appear to us to be the ſame event. Sir *Iſaac Newton* makes the ſhepherds to have been the *Canaanites*, who fled from *Joſhua*, and went into *Africa*; but in their flight ſeized on the kingdom of the lower *Egypt* in the reign of *Timaus* or *Thammuz*. But according to Sir *John Marſham*, the ſhepherd invaſion happened 157 years before the children of *Iſrael* left *Egypt*. As it ſeems impoſſible to fix the time of this invaſion of the paſtors, we have choſen to relate it and their expulſion together, though the one was 259 years poſterior to the other.

They are expelled by *Amoſis*.

According to *Diodorus*, *Buſiris* in proceſs of time became king of *Egypt*, and was ſucceeded by eight princes of his line, the laſt of which was alſo called *Buſiris*, and was the founder of the city of *Thebes*, which he made the capital of his kingdom. One of the princes named *Buſiris*, was ſaid to be infamous for his cruelty to ſtrangers; but others ſuppoſe theſe accounts to be only allegorical; and Sir *John Marſham* and Sir *Iſaac Newton* think that no king of that name ever reigned in *Egypt*. *Perizonius* ſuppoſes he is placed too early by *Diodorus*.

Buſiris, king of *Egypt*.

Oſyman-

Oſymandyas.

Oſymandyas appears next. It is uncertain whom he ſucceeded, or when he reigned. He is ſaid to have reduced the *Bactrians* with an army conſiſting of 400,000 foot and 20,000 horſe. *Diodorus* gives a very particular deſcription of many magnificent edifices raiſed by him, one of which conſiſted of vaſt courts, porticos, ſhrines, temples, a library, his own tomb, and other buildings, adorned with ſculptures and paintings of exquiſite beauty, repreſenting his expedition againſt the *Bactrians*. After paſſing the firſt court which was 200 feet in extent, you arrived at a portico of a ſquare form, each ſide being 400 feet long. The ceiling was blue and ſeeded with ſtars; and inſtead of pillars it was ſupported by repreſentations of animals, each of one ſtone 15 cubits high, adorned with figures after the ancient manner. This portico led to a ſecond court every way like the firſt, only more enriched with various ſculptures. At the entrance were three ſtatues, each of one ſtone, the workmanſhip of *Memnon* the *Syenite*. One of them, which was the ſtatue of the king, was in a ſitting poſture, and the largeſt of all *Egypt*, the length of its foot exceeding ſeven cubits. The other two, which ſtood one at each knee, repreſented his mother and daughter. This wonderful piece had the following inſcription, *I am* Oſymandyas, *king of kings, he that would know my grandeur or where I lie let him ſurpaſs me in any of my works.* Here alſo was another ſtatue of his mother by itſelf 20 cubits high, cut out of one ſtone, and having on its head three queens, ſignifying that ſhe had been the daughter, wife, and mother of a king. Beyond this court was a ſecond portico far exceeding the firſt. On one of its walls the king was repreſented with his army beſieging a town and fighting in the front of the battle, accompanied by a lion, an emblem, according to ſome, of his extraordinary courage, though others ſaid, that he always fought with a tame lion at his ſide. On another wall were repreſented the captives, with their hands and privities lopt off, to expreſs their cowardice. The third wall contained various ſculptures and paintings, repreſenting his ſacrifices and triumph; and on the fourth wall were two gigantic ſtatues all of one ſtone in a ſitting poſture, and 27 cubits high. In the middle was an altar in the open air of moſt ſhining marble, and of excellent workmanſhip.

His famous buildings.

From the fourth ſide you entered by three paſſages into a great hall 200 feet ſquare, ſupported by columns after the manner of a muſic theatre. Here were many wooden ſtatues, repreſenting parties engaged in law, and the judges hearing the cauſes. The preſident was ſurrounded with books, and from his neck hung an image with its eyes ſhut, denoting that judges ought to be perfectly verſed in the laws, and impartial in the adminiſtration of them. In a neighbouring gallery the king was painted with the moſt lively colours as preſenting to God the gold and ſilver annually dug out of the mines of *Egypt*, amounting to about 20 millions ſterling.

Next

Next was the ſacred library, the oldeſt mentioned in hiſtory, with the following inſcription, *Here is contained phyſic for the ſoul.* Contiguous to this were the images of all the *Egyptian* gods, to each of whom the king was repreſented as paying ſuitable offerings. Not far from hence was a magnificent edifice, in which were 20 couches to feaſt on, and the ſtatues of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and the king, who was thought to be here intombed. His ſepulchre was encompaſſed with a circle of gold, a cubit in thickneſs, and 365 cubits in circumference. The circle was divided according to the days of the year, and ſhewed the riſing and ſetting of the ſtars and their aſpects, according to the *Egyptian* aſtrology. It was afterwards carried away by *Cambyſes* the *Perſian* †.

The deſcendants of *Oſymandyas* reigned after him to the eighth generation, and the laſt of them was called *Uchoreus*, to whom was attributed the building of *Memphis*, which has already been aſcribed to *Menes*. He tranſlated the imperial city from *Thebes* to *Memphis*, which he is ſaid to have extended to the circumference of 150 ſtadia, or about 20 miles, ſecuring it by immenſe trenches or mounds from the inſults either of the *Nile*, or of an invader. He alſo adorned it with palaces, which, though they ſurpaſſed thoſe in any other country, yet fell ſhort of thoſe that had been raiſed by his predeceſſors. *Uchoreus.*

The next prince mentioned by *Diodorus* is *Myris* or *Mæris*, according to *Herodotus*, who before him mentions one *Nitocris*, an *Ethiopian* woman, who ſucceeded her brother, whom the *Egyptians* had murdered. At what period ſhe reigned cannot be determined. Sir *John Marſham* and father *Pezron*, place her ſoon after the *Iſraelites* came into *Egypt*; but Sir *Iſaac Newton* brings her many generations later. To revenge her brother's murder, ſhe is ſaid to have put many of the *Egyptians* to death privately and by ſtratagem. Particularly, ſhe is ſaid to have contrived a ſubterraneous building, to have invited thither the principal actors againſt her brother to partake of a feaſt, and in the midſt of their mirth to have turned the river upon them by a private paſſage, and to have drowned them all. She is reported to have built the three great pyramids *. *Nitocris.*

Twelve generations afterwards *Myris* or *Mæris* came to the throne. This king dug the famous lake that bore his name, and erected the two pyramids which ſtood in the midſt of it. He alſo built a ſumptuous portico on the north ſide of *Vulcan*'s temple at *Memphis*. According to *Herodotus*, he was the 330th king from *Menes*, and the immediate predeceſſor of *Seſoſtris*. *Mæris.*

As the reign of *Seſoſtris*, who was alſo called *Seſooſis*, *Sethoſis*, *Seſonchis*, *Seſonchoſis*, &c. is one of the moſt extraordinary in the *Egyptian* hiſtory, chronologers have been very ſo- *Seſoſtris.*

† Diod. l. 1. * Idem ibid. Herod. l. 2. Syncel. ut ſupra.

licitous

ſicitous to fix the time when he flouriſhed. Sir *John Marſham* thinks, that he is the ſame with the *Seſac* or *Shiſhak*, who, the ſcriptures mention, in the days of *Rehoboam* took and plundered *Jeruſalem*. *Shiſhak*, he ſays, is the firſt *Egyptian* king called by his proper name in ſcripture, unleſs *Rameſes* be rather the name of a king than a country. *Shiſhak*, according to the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* verſions, was followed by multitudes of *Lybians*, *Troglodytes*, and *Ethiopians*, nations whom the prophane hiſtorians ſay he had previouſly conquered. *Joſephus* alſo ſays, *Herodotus* was miſtaken only in the king's name, which implies that *Shiſhak* and *Seſoſtris* were the ſame; and *Herodotus* profeſſes to have ſeen ſome of the pillars of *Seſoſtris* in the *Syrian* Paleſtine, which Sir *John* thinks were raiſed by the conqueror, to the diſgrace of *Rehoboam*, who gave up the city without the leaſt reſiſtance.

Perizonius on the other hand affirms, that *Seſac* and *Seſoſtris* are kings widely different and remote from each other. After proving that Sir *John* had miſapprehended the expreſſions of *Joſephus*, he ſays, that *Seſoſtris*, by the common conſent of the *Greeks*, particularly of *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Ariſtotle*, was much older than the *Trojan* war. According to *Fornandes*, he flouriſhed before the *Amazons*. *Juſtin* ſays, he lived before the days of *Ninus*; and *Ælian*, that he was inſtructed by *Mercury*. If *Seſoſtris* had been cotemporary with *Rehoboam*, he thinks, the *Greeks*, who were then in poſſeſſion of great part of *Aſia Minor*, whither the conqueror carried his arms, would not have omitted taking notice of his expedition, which probably *Homer*, who was born a few years after, would have alſo remarked. *Herodotus*, however, profeſſes he received the whole ſtory from the *Egyptians*. *Manetho* expreſly ſays, that *Ægyptus* and *Danaus* were only different names for *Sethoſis* and his brother *Armais*, which was probably the *Egyptian* opinion; and *Danaus* is ſaid to have come into *Greece* three ages before the *Trojan* war. According to the ſcriptures alſo and *Joſephus*, *Seſac*, after plundering *Jeruſalem* and the temple, returned home; but by prophane accounts *Seſoſtris* over-ran all *Aſia*, in a continued expedition of nine years. From *Herodotus* he thinks it may be concluded, that *Seſoſtris* lived about an age before the *Trojan* war, though, in fact, he muſt have been ſomewhat older, if he be the ſame with *Ægyptus*, the brother of *Danaus*. He therefore conjectures that he flouriſhed in the days of the *Judges*, and thinks that the *Iſraelites* did not take notice of his expedition, as it was not ſo much againſt them, as the other inhabitants of the country, who then held them in ſubjection; and that *Seſoſtris* making no change in the government of any country, nor taking any pains to ſecure his conqueſts, his reducing *Paleſtine* might be looked upon by them only as a tranſient paſſage of his army.

Pezron ſuppoſes *Seſoſtris* to be the ſame with *Ægyptus*; but that he was widely diſtant from *Seſonchoſis*, or *Seſoncheris*, or *Seſonchis*, which laſt he thinks was *Shiſhak*. Mr. *Whiſton* takes

this king for the very *Pharaoh* who perished in the *Red* sea, and the very *Typhon* of the mythologists *. The great Sir *Isaac Newton* is of the opinion, that *Sesostris* is the *Osiris* of the *Egyptians*, the *Bacchus* of the *Greeks*, and the *Shishak* of the scripture; and, according to the learned *Usher* †, he was the son of *Amenophis*, who was drowned in the *Red* sea; and *Amenophis* being the father of *Ægyptus* was consequently the *Belas* of the *Greeks*.

Since we find the greatest chronologers cannot agree as to the time when *Sesostris* reigned, we shall proceed to collect the best account we can of his exploits which have been greatly celebrated. Whoever his father was, it is said the god *Vulcan* appeared to him in a dream, and admonished him that the son, which was or should be born to him, would be lord of the whole earth. On the authority of this vision he immediately formed the design of making his son a conqueror, and ordered all the males in *Egypt* born on the same day with his son, to be brought to court, where they were educated as if they had been his own children, with the same care bestowed on *Sesostris*; being persuaded that they who had been the constant and equal companions of his childhood and youth, would prove the most faithful ministers, and most affectionate fellow soldiers. As they grew up they were by degrees inured to laborious and manly exercises, and in particular were never permitted to taste of any thing till they had performed a course of 180 furlongs, or upwards of 22 miles. By this exercise of the body, and by a proper cultivation of the mind, they were equally fitted to command and to execute.

All the boys born on the same day with him brought to court.

When *Sesostris* was more advanced in years, his father sent him against the *Arabians*, in order that by fighting against them he might acquire military knowlege. In this, as in all his other expeditions, being accompanied with the youth educated with him, he surmounted all the dangers of serpents and venemous creatures, all the wants and hardships of a dry and barren country, and in the end subdued the *Arabians*, who till then had never been conquered. He next, by his father's desire, invaded *Lybia*, and carried his arms as far west as the *Atlantic* ocean. His father dying whilst he was on this expedition, his great success, or his remembrance of the prediction of *Vulcan*, inspired him with the design of conquering the whole earth. He accordingly made great preparations for his enterprize, to which some say he was moreover excited by his daughter *Athyrte*, who, by divination, by dreams in temples, and by prodigies in the air, had obtained assurances of his success.

His first expedition against *Arabia*.

Having in view a general conquest, and knowing that he must be long absent and far remote from *Egypt*, he therefore, as much as was in his power, endeared himself to all his subjects, by his generosity, justice, and a popular and obliging beha-

He undertakes to conquer the whole world.

* Whiston's Appendix. † Usher ad an. mundi 2594.

behaviour. He divided the whole kingdom into 36 nomes o provinces, aſſigning a governor to each of them, and conſtitu ting his brother *Armais* ſupreme regent, with ample authority forbiding him however the uſe of the diadem, and command ing him to offer no injury to the queen or her children, and to abſtain from the royal concubines. After ſettling the govern ment, he formed an army of the choiceſt of his ſubjects, con ſiſting of 600,000 foot, 24,000 horſe, and 27,000 armed cha riots, and beſtowed the chief commands on his beloved com panions, who were upwards of 1700 in number. To ſecure their affection and attachment to himſelf and his ſucceſſors, he ſettled on his whole army certain portions of the moſt fertile land in *Egypt*, that neither they nor their poſterity, lying un der the neceſſity of ſeeking a livelihood by mercantile or me chanic callings, might wholly apply themſelves to the military profeſſion.

He ſubdues the *Ethiopians.*

His firſt expedition was againſt the *Ethiopians*, whom he re duced, and obliged to pay an annual tribute of ebony, gold, and ivory. He is generally believed to have been the firſt that ſubdued *Ethiopia* and *Trogloditica*, and is ſaid to have reached the promontory of *Dira*, near the ſtraits of the *Red* ſea, where he ſet up a pillar, with an inſcription in ſacred characters, and advancing to the country where cinamon grows, he there left monuments and pillars which were ſeen many ages after.

His naval expeditions.

Beſides his land army, he had likewiſe immenſe naval forces. According to *Diodorus* he had 400 ſail of tall ſhips in the *Red* ſea or *Arabian* gulf, and another fleet in the *Mediterranean*, if we may believe *Manetho*, who, by *Sethoſis* means *Seſoſtris*. By his conſecrating a ſpacious and magnificent ſhip to the ſupreme god of the *Thebans*, and by theſe naval armaments, it ſeems that he had not only deſigned to bring navigation into credit among the *Egyptians*, but had even conquered their averſion to ſea affairs. With the firſt of theſe fleets he ſailed into the *Indian* ſea or *Perſian* gulf, and after ſubduing all the nations on thoſe coaſts, continued his courſe till being ſtopped by certain ſhoals and difficult places he returned back to *Egypt*; or, ac cording to another author, he did not go on board himſelf, but ſent them out againſt the iſlands and maritime places of the continent as far as *India*. With his *Mediterranean* ſquadron he conquered *Cyprus*, the ſea-coaſt of *Phenicia*, and ſeveral of the *Cyclades*. No further mention is made of his exploits by ſea.

He marches beyond the *Ganges.*

Invades *Scythia.*

As to his land conqueſts, all authors agree, that he overran and pillaged all *Aſia* and ſome part of *Europe*. He croſſed the *Ganges*, on the banks of which river he erected pillars, and afterwards advanced eaſtward till he was ſtopped by the main ocean. Returning from thence, he invaded, and, according to ſome conquered the *Scythians*. *Juſtin* however relates that his ambaſſadors were treated with contempt by the *Scythians*, and that he himſelf was purſued by them to the borders of *Egypt*, and, in his flight, loſt all his baggage and warlike ſtores.

Pliny

Pliny and *Valerius Flaccus* likewiſe relate that he was repulſed with great ſlaughter by the *Colchians*. Nevertheleſs it is agreed that he left a colony at *Colchis*, where the *Egyptian* manners and cuſtoms have been ever ſince retained. *Herodotus* indeed does not decide whether this colony was planted by *Seſoſtris*, or whether part of his army, tired out, loitered in the rear, and voluntarily ſat down on the banks of the *Phaſis*. From his own knowlege he ſays, the inhabitants were undoubtedly of *Egyptian* deſcent. They reſembled the *Egyptians* not only in their perſons but in their language and cuſtoms, particularly that of circumciſion: and from the ſame author it appears, that the relation to each other was acknowleged on both ſides. Leaves a colony at *Colchis*.

From *Colchis Seſoſtris* paſſed into *Europe* and invaded *Thrace*, which was the utmoſt boundary of his progreſs weſtward in this grand expedition; for being in danger of loſing his army, through want of proviſions, and by the difficulty of the paſſes, he was obliged to return. Another reaſon however is aſſigned for his retreat, and *Manetho* informs us, that from the high prieſt of *Egypt* he had received advice that his brother had revolted. His pillars were no where to be ſeen in *Europe* beyond *Thrace*, but in *Aſia Minor* from one ſea to the other, *Herodotus* ſaw monuments of his victories and pillars, with this inſcription, Seſoſtris, *king of kings, and lord of lords, ſubdued this country, by the power of his arms*. On his pillars he denoted by emblematical repreſentations, whether any nation had baſely crouched to him without oppoſition, or bravely defended itſelf by arms. Paſſes into *Europe*, and invades *Thrace*.

Being informed that his brother, encouraged by his long abſence and great diſtance, had aſſumed the diadem, violated the queen, and taken to himſelf the royal concubines, *Seſoſtris* haſtened from *Thrace*, and, after an abſence of nine years, came to *Peluſium*, loaded with the ſpoils of *Aſia*, and attended by an infinite multitude of captives of all nations. The rebel *Armais* received him with expreſſions of joy and ſubmiſſion, but having formed a deſign to cut him off and to deſtroy his family, when they had gone to reſt after a banquet, he ſet fire to ſome reeds that he had collected round their apartment. *Seſoſtris* finding his guards overcharged with liquor, and incapable of aſſiſting him, after imploring the aſſiſtance of the gods, ruſhed through the flames, and was followed by his wife and children. After performing his vows to the gods, he took revenge on his brother *Armais* or *Danaus*, who, being on this occaſion driven out of *Egypt*, is ſaid to have withdrawn into *Greece*. His return to *Egypt*.

The king having again obtained the quiet poſſeſſion of his kingdom, laid aſide all thoughts of war, and diſbanded his forces, after rewarding them according to their merit. With regard to himſelf he employed the repoſe which peace allowed him, in raiſing ſuch ſtupendous works as might immortalize his name, and contribute to the public good. He erected a temple in every city of *Egypt*, which he dedicated to the peculiar and ſupreme His works.

deity of each place, employing no *Egyptian* in the courſe of ſo univerſal an undertaking; wherefore on each of the temples there was this inſcription, *No one native laboured hereon.* In remembrance of his deliverance at *Peluſium* he raiſed ſix gigantic ſtatues, each of one ſtone, before the temple of *Vulcan* at *Memphis*, two of them, repreſenting himſelf and his wife, were 30 cubits high; the other four were in height 20 cubits, and repreſented his ſons. He likewiſe raiſed two marble obeliſks, each 120 cubits high, and inſcribed on them an account of the greatneſs of his power, the amount of his revenues, and the nations he conquered. In order to prevent the incurſions of the *Syrians* and *Arabians* he fortified the eaſt ſide of *Egypt* with a wall, running from *Peluſium* to *Heliopolis*, about 137 miles in length. He alſo raiſed an incredible number of vaſt and lofty mounts of earth, to which he removed ſuch towns as had before too low a ſituation. All the way from *Memphis* to the ſea he dug canals, which branched out from the *Nile*, thereby rendering the communication of places more eaſy, and the country almoſt impaſſable to an enemy, ſo that *Egypt*, which had hitherto been famous for her horſes and chariots was now no longer the ſame place in thoſe reſpects, and put on a new face *. In the mean time ſome of the captives, it is ſaid, grew deſperate under the intolerable ſlavery impoſed upon them, and that particularly the *Babylonians* aroſe, and reſolved at all hazards to ſhake off their bondage. After ravaging the country in their neighbourhood from a ſtrong hold which they poſſeſſed, they at laſt obtained a pardon, and built a city which they called *Babylon*. *Diodorus* relates the like of the *Trojan* captives.

His Inſolence.

The ſame author ſpeaks with applauſe of a fooliſh and inhuman action of *Seſoſtris*, which greatly tarniſhes his other virtues. When he went to the temple, or entered the capital city, he cauſed the conquered princes who waited on him with their tribute, to be harneſſed four abreaſt to his chariot inſtead of horſes, and inſolently valued himſelf upon being drawn by the lords and ſovereigns of other nations. This practice he continued, as is ſaid, till a certain day, when obſerving one of the kings who drew him along, look with great ſtedfaſtneſs back on one of the wheels, he aſked him, what his thoughts were engaged on. He anſwered, *O king, the going round of the wheel calls to my mind the viciſſitudes of fortune; for as every part of the wheel is uppermoſt and lowermoſt by turns; ſo it is with men, who one day ſit on a throne and on the next are reduced to the vileſt degree of ſlavery.* The inſulting conqueror by this anſwer was brought to his ſenſes, and thenceforth treated his captives with great humanity. He at length in his old age loſt his ſight, and laid violent hands on himſelf, after he had reigned 33 years, and left his kingdom immenſely rich; for, according to *Tacitus*,

He loſes his ſight and dies.

* Diod. ut ſupra.

the tributes paid to him, were not inferior to thoſe received by the *Romans* in the heighth of their grandeur *.

Seſoſtris was ſucceeded by his ſon *Pheron*, who is alſo ſtiled *Seſooſis* or *Seſoſtris* II. He performed no military exploits, but had the misfortune in common with his father to be ſtruck blind. Though this might be really owing to ſome infirmity derived from his parent, yet it is ſaid to have been a puniſhment inflicted on him for his impiety towards the river, which he offended by throwing a dart into it at a time when its overflowing exceeded the uſual bounds. After he had been oppreſſed by a total darkneſs for ten years, the oracle of *Butus* declared that he would recover his ſight if he paid particular devotions to the god of *Heliopolis*, and waſhed his eyes with the urine of a woman who had never known any man beſides her huſband. He began with his own wife, but receiving no benefit from her, went on from one woman to another, till at length he was relieved by a poor gardener's wife, whom he therefore made queen, ſending the adultereſſes to a city called *Erythibolus*, which together with them he burnt. *Pheron* or *Seſoſtris* II.

The ſceptre continued in the family of *Seſoſtris* for two other generations, and many ages after fell to *Amaſis* or *Ammoſis*, who treated his ſubjects with inſufferable arrogance and cruelty. After they had long groaned under his tyranny, they joined *Actiſanes* king of *Ethiopia*, who had invaded *Egypt*, and, by his aſſiſtance, drove their unnatural prince from the throne. *Amaſis.*

Actiſanes having united *Egypt* to *Ethiopia* reigned with great moderation, and behaved affectionately towards his new ſubjects. Having, by a careful ſearch, diſcovered and apprehended all the *Egyptian* thieves and robbers, he cauſed their noſes to be cut off, and baniſhed them to the remoteſt part of the deſert towards *Syria*, where they inhabited a town called *Rhinocolura*, from their maimed countenances. Though the ſoil was ſo barren that it ſcarce afforded one neceſſary of life, yet neceſſity ſuggeſted to them a means of ſupplying themſelves with food; for it is reported they made long nets of ſlit reeds, and with them caught great numbers of quails, which came in flocks from the ſea ſhore. *Actiſanes*, an *Ethiopian*, conquers *Egypt*.

Upon the death of *Actiſanes* the *Egyptians* choſe a king named *Mendes* or *Marus*, who is celebrated for the ſepulchral labyrinth he built. *Mendes* choſen king.

After an anarchy or interreign for five generations, *Cetes*, whom the *Greeks* called *Proteus*, a *Memphite* of obſcure birth, was choſen king, and according to *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* he flouriſhed in the time of the *Trojan* war. *Perizonius* rejects the teſtimony of theſe authors, and believes *Proteus* was the *Sethos* of *Manetho* and the *Typhon* of the poets. Sir *Iſaac Newton* imagines he might have been governor of ſome part of *Lower Egypt* under *Amenophis*, as *Homer* places him on the ſea coaſt, *Proteus* elected king.

* Tacit. Annal. l. 2.

and calls him the ſervant of *Neptune*. According to the *Egyptian* prieſts he was a magician, and could aſſume any ſhape or form he pleaſed, even that of fire. This fable probably owed its origin to a cuſtom among the *Egyptians*, (perhaps introduced by *Proteus*) of adorning the heads of their kings with the repreſentations of animals or vegetables, or even with burning incenſe, as ſo many enſigns of royalty to ſtrike the beholders with dread and ſuperſtition *.

Paris and *Helen* arrive in *Egypt*.

In the reign of *Proteus*, *Paris* the *Trojan*, was driven by a ſtorm into the *Nile* with *Helen* whom he was carrying to *Troy*. The king being informed of his baſe perfidy, immediately ſeized him and all that were with him. He detained *Helen* and her huſband's valuable effects, and ordered *Paris* and his companions to quit his dominions in three days, upon pain of being treated as enemies, and ten years after, when *Menelaus*, upon his return from *Troy*, called at his court, he reſtored to him *Helen* with all her treaſure. *Herodotus* proves, from ſome paſſages in *Homer*, that the voyage of *Paris* to *Egypt* was not unknown to that poet.

Rhemphis or *Rhamſinitus*.

Proteus was ſucceeded by his ſon *Rhemphis* or *Rhamſinitus*, who, according to *Diodorus*, was ſo ſordidly avaricious, that during his whole reign he acted the part rather of a mean-ſpirited ſteward than of a king, and at his death left an immenſe treaſure of 400,000 talents. Being deſirous to ſecure his treaſure, he commanded a treaſure-houſe to be firmly built; but the architect intending to have ſome ſhare of the riches, inſtead of finiſhing the building compleatly, placed one of the ſtones in ſo artful a manner that it could be taken out, and put in again by one man only. As he was prevented by death from accompliſhing his deſign, on his death-bed he gave full inſtructions to his two ſons how to execute it. After they had for ſome time plundered the treaſury, and carried off large ſums, the king, who obſerved the gradual diminution of his wealth, without being able to diſcover how the thieves had acceſs, as he found his ſeal upon the door always whole, ordered ſeveral ſtrong traps to be left in the treaſury. By this means one of the brothers was at laſt taken; but finding it impoſſible to eſcape, he preſſed his brother to cut off his head, and retire to prevent any diſcovery. The king next morning examining the ſucceſs of his project, upon finding a man without a head in the ſnare, haſtened out in the greateſt confuſion; but recovering himſelf, ordered the body to be expoſed on the outſide of the wall to the public view, charging the guards placed round it to obſerve the countenances of the ſpectators, and to ſeize thoſe who appeared ſorrowful. The ſurviving brother, urged by his mother's entreaties and threats, formed the deſign of carrying off his brother's body. Accordingly driving his aſſes thither loaded

Builds a treaſure-houſe.

Which is plundered by the architect's two ſons.

* Diod. ut ſupra.

with

with ſkins of wine, he found means, by the ſtratagem of letting his wine run out, to intoxicate and ſtupify the guards. While they were in a deep ſleep, he ſhaved the right cheek of each of them, by way of deriſion, and, in the middle of the night, carried off the body on one of his aſſes. This action ſtill more aſtoniſhed the king, who being now more earneſt to diſcover the thief, ordered his daughter to proſtitute herſelf to all comers promiſcuouſly, on condition that each ſhould previouſly confeſs to her the moſt ingenious action he had ever managed, and the greateſt crime he had ever committed. The young man reſolving again to perplex the king, went to the palace to his daughter, and confeſſed to her that he had cut off his brother's head, and afterwards carried off his body. When ſhe then offered to lay hold of him, he ſtretched out to her the arm of a dead man which he had carried in under his cloak, and, while ſhe ſeized that in the dark, made his eſcape. The king's reſentment being now converted to admiration, he promiſed a pardon and rewards to the perſon who had robbed his treaſury, if he would diſcover himſelf. The young man, upon this proclamation, immediately made himſelf known; and the king accounting him far ſuperior in wiſdom to any man then living, gave him his daughter in marriage. *Herodotus*, who relates this ſtory, does not warrant the truth of every particular.

Rhamſinitus, after this, was reported to have gone down to hell, and to have played at dice with *Ceres*, who, at his departure, preſented him with a golden bowl. The *Egyptians*, for many ages, celebrated the remembrance of this journey with great ſolemnity. To return from theſe fables to what has the air of truth and probability, this king is ſaid to have reigned with great prudence and juſtice, and to have been a ſtrict obſerver of that good order, which, till his death, had uninterruptedly ſubſiſted throughout the kingdom.

The ſeven ſucceſſors of this prince performed nothing memo- *Nilus.*
rable, excepting *Nilus*, who is celebrated by *Diodorus* for the great number of canals he dug all over the country, and for his endeavours to make the *Nile* as univerſally ſerviceable as poſſible. From thence the river, which had been hitherto called *Ægyptus*, was now called after his name.

Cheops, *Chemnis*, or *Chembes*, is by *Diodorus* reckoned the 8th *Cheops.*
from *Rhamſinitus*; but *Herodotus* places no diſtance between them. This king is branded for his impiety and tyranny. He began his reign with ſhutting up the temples, and forbidding all public ſacrifices; and then trampling on the laws, and invading the liberties of his people, reduced them to a ſtate of the moſt laborious ſlavery. He harraſſed great numbers of his ſubjects, by compelling them to dig ſtones in the mountains of *Arabia*, to tranſport them to *Egypt*, and then to build the largeſt of the three great pyramids. The execution of his vain-glorious works, however, reduced him ſo low, that he expoſed his daughter to common proſtitution. The daughter by this means procured ſo much wealth, that ſhe herſelf built a ſmall pyramid.

Cephrenus. After *Cheops* had reigned 50 years, he was ſucceeded by his brother *Cephrenes*. He likewiſe was a tyrant, reigned 56 years, and built a pyramid. Though both of them deſigned theſe pyramids for their tombs, yet neither were depoſited in them after their death; but were buried by their friends where no body could find them, to avoid the reſentment of the multitude.

Mycerinus. Upon the death of *Cephrenus*, *Mycerinus* his nephew, and the ſon of *Cheops*, ſucceeded to the throne. He was a good and merciful prince, and deteſting the impiety and injuſtice of his father and uncle, again opened the temples, reſtored the ſacrifices, and allowed the people to purſue their private affairs. His generoſity and good-nature are ſaid to have been ſo great, that if at any time complaint was made to him of a hard ſentence pronounced in matters of property, he would ſatisfy the party aggrieved, to the amount of the loſs, out of his own treaſure. Whilſt he was thus intent on the happineſs of his people, he was afflicted with the death of his favourite daughter, and the oracle of *Butus* declared that his reign would continue only ſeven years. He ordered extraordinary honours to be paid to the memory of his daughter, which were ſtill continued in *Herodotus*'s time, and expoſtulated with the oracle, why ſo long and proſperous a reign had been indulged to his impious father and uncle, whilſt his own, which he had hitherto ſpent in acts of piety and humanity, was to be ſo ſhort and unhappy? He was anſwered, that it was on theſe accounts he was to be ſo ſoon cut off; it being the will of the gods to afflict *Egypt*, during the ſpace of 150 years, as a puniſhment for its crimes; and that his reign, which was appointed to be as long as thoſe of the preceding monarchs, was ſhortened, on account of his too great lenity. Reſolving, therefore, to make the moſt of the ſmall remainder of life, he thenceforward made no diſtinction between day and night, but ſpent his time in revelling and drinking, and roved about among the groves and meadows, thinking thereby inſtead of ſix to live twelve years. He is ſaid to have built a pyramid, but much inferior in dimenſions to that of his father.

Gnefactus. After *Mycerinus*, *Herodotus* places *Aſychis*; but, according to *Diodorus*, the reign of *Gnefactus* intervened. Whether he was the immediate ſucceſſor of *Mycerinus* is uncertain. It is recorded of him, that leading an army into *Arabia*, as he paſſed the deſerts, he was in great ſtraits for want of proviſions, which obliged him to take up with the poor and ſlender diet he met with. Falling afterwards into a profound and ſweet ſleep, he was ſo delighted therewith, that he prohibited for the future all exceſs and luxury, and curſed *Menes* who introduced them, and even engraved his curſe, with the conſent of the prieſts, upon a pillar, which was ſeen in the temple at *Thebes*.

Bocchoris, or Aſychis. According to *Diodorus* he was ſucceeded by his ſon *Bocchoris*, ſurnamed *the wiſe*, who is thought to be the ſame with the *Aſychis* of *Herodotus*, and is ſaid to have been taken by *Sabbaco* the *Ethiopian*, and to have been burned alive. He was deſpicable in his perſon; but for prudence and wiſdom far beyond any of his

his predeceſſors. So high was the veneration his ſubjects paid him, that they fabled that *Iſis* ſent an aſp to deprive him of his ſight, that he might judge righteouſly. His fine qualities were ſomewhat debaſed by his great propenſion to avarice. Of *Aſychis* it is related that he built a famous pyramid of brick, and likewiſe erected the caſtern portico to the temple of *Vulcan*, with a magnificence that eclipſed the others. The law relating to loans was alſo enacted by him. His ſucceſſor *Anyſis*, a blind man, was driven from the throne by *Sabbaco*; whence it is concluded that he was not ſucceſſor but cotemporary with *Aſychis* or *Boccboris*. *Herodotus* alſo relates that *Ecus*, the father of *Pſammitichus*, was ſlain by the ſame *Ethiopian*: ſo that if *Ecus* is ſuppoſed of royal dignity, we have three kings dethroned by the ſame invader. It would from thence ſeem probable that the *Egyptians*, out of oſtentation and to ſupport their pretenſions to antiquity, placed many of their cotemporary kings in order of ſucceſſion. *Anyſis.*

Sabbaco king of *Ethiopia* was encouraged to invade *Egypt* by an oracle, which promiſed him the poſſeſſion of the kingdom 50 years. After he was firmly eſtabliſhed on the *Egyptian* throne, he governed with great clemency and juſtice. He never would conſent to the death of any criminal, though capitally condemned, commuting the puniſhment into hard labour, which conſiſted in raiſing of mounts and digging of canals; ſo that the cities of *Egypt* were raiſed higher, and rendered more commodious, than they had been by *Seſoſtris*. He built ſeveral magnificent temples, and among the reſt one in the city of *Buballis*, of which *Herodotus* gives a long deſcription. After a reign of 50 years, he voluntarily retired to *Ethiopia*, and left the throne of *Egypt* to *Anyſis*, who during this time had concealed himſelf in the fens. It is believed that *Sabbaco* was the *So* of Scripture, whoſe aſſiſtance was ſollicited by *Hoſhea* king of *Iſrael* againſt *Shalmanaſſar* the *Aſſyrian*. *Sabbaco* the *Ethiopian*.

After *Anyſis* reigned one *Sethon*, who was alſo prieſt of *Vulcan*. He not only neglected the military claſs, but even deprived them of their inheritances and privileges; which incenſed them ſo much, that they entered into a combination not to bear arms under him. *Senacherib* king of *Aſſyria* ſoon after approached to *Peluſium* with a formidable army, deſigning to invade *Egypt*. The military order, being now reſolved to ſhew their reſentment, abſolutely refuſed to march againſt the invaders. *Sethon* nevertheleſs, being encouraged by a viſion from his god, marched to *Peluſium* with a ſmall body of artificers, ſhopkeepers, and labourers; and the night after his arrival, his enemies were diſarmed and thrown into confuſion by an infinite multitude of field-rats, which entered their camp, and gnawed to pieces their quivers, bow-ſtrings, and ſhield-ſtraps. Archbiſhop *Uſher* and Dr. *Prideaux*, however, are of opinion, that *Senacherib*, what loſs ſoever he might have ſuſtained at *Peluſium*, entered *Egypt*, plundered the famous city of *No*, and on his return to *Aſſyria*, carried with him a great mul- *Sethon.*

titude of *Egyptian* captives. According to them, the prophecy of *Nahum*, on this occaſion, was fulfilled. *Yet was ſhe* (the populous *No*) *carried away, ſhe went into captivity; her young children alſo were daſhed in pieces at the top of all the ſtreets, and they caſt lots for their honourable men, and all her great men were bound in chains.* All theſe calamities befel that city, when *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* were her ſtrength; and at this time *Tirhaka* king of *Ethiopia* and *Sethon* were joined in alliance. However plauſible this opinion may be, it is attended with conſiderable difficulties. When *Sethon* next morning perceived the enemy retreating in confuſion, he purſued them with great ſlaughter, and, upon his return, cauſed his own ſtatue to be erected in the temple of *Vulcan*, holding in his right hand a rat, and theſe words iſſuing out of his mouth, *Whoſoever beholdeth me, let him be pious.* This ſtory of *Herodotus* is evidently only an alteration of the account given of the deſtruction of *Senacherib*'s army in the ſecond book of *Kings*, which was ſmote by the deſtroying angel, who in one night cut off 185,000 *Aſſyrians.* As the real fact was no-wiſe honourable to the *Egyptians*, who had been defeated by *Senacherib*, they endeavoured to turn it to their own advantage, by diſguiſing and corrupting the circumſtances of it.

Tirhaka. After the death of *Sethon*, *Tirhaka* king of *Ethiopia*, according to *Africanus*, reigned over *Egypt* 18 years; and upon his death an anarchy of two years followed, during which the kingdom was involved in great diſorder and confuſion.

Twelve cotemporary kings. Twelve of the principal noblemen conſpiring together, then ſeized upon the kingdom, which they divided into twelve governments, at the ſame time entering into a mutual and ſtrict alliance, by which means peace and happineſs was reſtored. As a monument of their union, they raiſed the famous labyrinth near the lake *Mœris*. In proceſs of time, when they were aſſembled to ſacrifice in the temple of *Vulcan*, and to offer libations, the prieſt by miſtake bringing out only eleven golden bowls, *Pſammitichus*, one of the kings, performed his libation with his helmet, which was made of braſs. The other kings were immediately alarmed; for the oracle had foretold, that which of them ſhould make a libation in that place in a brazen cup, ſhould in time be king of all *Egypt*. As they were ſatisfied *Pſammitichus* uſed his helmet inadvertently, they would not ſentence him to die, but propoſed to diveſt him of the greateſt part of his diſtrict, and to confine him to the marſhes. This diſſenſion, however, is by others attributed to envy. *Pſammitichus*, whoſe lot fell to the ſea-coaſts, they ſay, by encouraging commerce with the *Greeks* and *Phœnicians*, acquired great wealth, which raiſed the jealouſy of his colleagues, who jointly attacked him, to reduce his power; but without ſucceſs. According to the former ſtory, during his retreat in the fens, he was aſſured by the oracle of *Butus*, that brazen men would ariſe out of the ſea to avenge his cauſe: and ſoon after ſome *Carian* and *Ionian* pirates in braſs armour were driven by a ſtorm to the coaſts. *Pſammitichus*, by large promiſes, engaging thoſe

ſtrangers

strangers to ſtay with him, and joining to them ſuch *Egyptians* as were well affected to him, ſubdued the eleven kings, and remained ſole poſſeſſor of *Egypt*. The government by twelve was thus diſſolved, after it had ſubſiſted 15 years. *Pſammitichus.* Year of the flood 1678. Bef. Chriſt 670.

From this period the *Egyptian* hiſtory, which has hitherto been obſcured by pompous fables, begins a little to clear up, and to have a greater appearance of truth. *Pſammitichus* equalled any of his predeceſſors in the wiſdom and ſplendor of his government. He was of the tribe of *Sais*, and the ſon of *Ecus*, put to death by *Sabbaco*, when he fled into *Syria* to ſhun his father's fate. He fulfilled his engagements to his foreign allies, and allowed them ſettlements in *Egypt*, from which all foreigners had hitherto been excluded. Thoſe ſettlements were near the ſea, by the *Peluſian* mouth of the *Nile*, and many *Egyptian* children were ſent thither under their care to learn the *Greek* language; the *Egyptians*, from this time, having a correſpondence with the *Greeks*. According to *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, he erected ſome magnificent edifices, and was no ſooner ſettled on the throne, than he engaged in a war againſt the king of *Aſſyria*, on account of the limits of the two empires. This war continued, with various ſucceſs, ſeveral years. As he had received ſo conſiderable ſervices from foreigners, he always kept a body of them in his army; and in one of his campaigns in *Syria* even complimented them with the poſt of honour. By this proceeding he ſo highly provoked the *Egyptians*, that upwards of 200,000 of them deſerted him, and marched off in a body. Notwithſtanding his moſt earneſt ſollicitations, they proceeded to the territories of *Ethiopia*, where, in a fertile ſpot, they formed new ſettlements, and lived independant. He allows the *Greeks* to ſettle in *Egypt*.

To repair this loſs, he earneſtly applied himſelf to the advancement of commerce, and opened his ports to all ſtrangers, whom he greatly careſſed. He likewiſe entered into or renewed an alliance with the *Athenians*, and other *Greek* ſtates. His reign is in nothing more remarkable than for the long and tedious ſiege he laid to *Azotus* in *Syria*, which held out againſt the whole power of *Egypt* for the ſpace of 29 years. He behaved with great prudence and policy towards the *Scythians*, who, having ravaged all *Upper Aſia*, puſhed their conqueſts as far as the frontiers of *Egypt*. Inſtead of oppoſing them by arms, he joined them in *Syria*, and by preſents and intreaties prevailed upon them to retire. After a reign of 54 years, he died, and was buried at *Sais*. He is reported to have been the firſt king of *Egypt* that drank wine, to have ſent to diſcover the ſprings of the *Nile*, and to have made an idle experiment to diſcover which was the oldeſt nation and original language, by nurſing two children in ſuch a manner that they never heard a human voice. The children, at two years old, imitated the accents of their nurſe, which was a ſhe-goat, and uttered *bec* or *beccas*; which being found to be ſomewhat like a *Phrygian* word for *bread*, the *Egyptians*, from that time, reſigned their claim to ſeniority to the *Phrygians*.

Nechus,

Nechus. Year of the flood 1733. Bef. Chriſt 616.

Nechus, in Scripture called *Pharaoh Necho*, was the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Pſammitichus*. In the beginning of his reign he attempted to cut a canal from the *Nile* to the *Red Sea*; but after the loſs of 120,000 of thoſe employed on this work, he was warned by an oracle to deſiſt. He thenceforward turned his thoughts to warlike enterprizes, and built two fleets of galleys, one in the *Mediterranean*, and another in the *Arabian* gulph. Having procured ſome of the moſt expert *Phœnician* mariners, he ſent them upon a diſcovery of the *African* coaſts. They accordingly ſailed from the *Red Sea*, and ſteering along the coaſts ſouthwards, they doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, and the third year after their ſetting out, returned to *Egypt* through the ſtraits of *Gibraltar*.

He defeats *Joſiah* king of *Judah.*

He was not only great by ſea, but alſo formidable by land. The Scripture informs us, that he made war againſt the king of *Aſſyria*, and that in his march towards *Babylon* he was oppoſed at *Megiddo* by *Joſiah* king of *Judah*, who refuſed him a paſſage through his dominions. *Nechus* remonſtrated to the king, that his intention was not to attack *Judea*; and as his expedition, he ſaid, was undertaken by the expreſs command of God, he warned him not to incur the wrath of Heaven, by withſtanding him. *Joſiah*, however, riſking an engagement, was mortally wounded in his chariot by an arrow, and his army defeated. *Nechus* having proceeded to the *Euphrates*, and taken *Carchemiſh*, about three months after returned towards *Egypt*. At *Riblah* he put in chains *Jehoahaz*, the youngeſt ſon of *Joſiah*, whom the *Jews* had made king; and proceeding to *Jeruſalem*, he conferred the throne of *Judea* on *Eliakim*, the eldeſt brother, whoſe name he changed to *Jehoiakim*, impoſing a tribute upon him of one hundred talents of ſilver, and one talent of gold, or about half a million ſterling. *Nechus* enjoyed his new acquiſitions only a few years: for *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon* having defeated him near the *Euphrates* with a terrible ſlaughter, recovered *Carchemiſh*, and diſpoſſeſſed the *Egyptians* of all that belonged to them from that river to the frontiers of *Egypt*. After this defeat, *Nechus* entered into a confederacy with *Jehoiakim*, ſeeming as if he inclined to renew the war; however, during the four following years that he lived, he ſtirred no more out of the land of *Egypt*.

Is defeated by *Nebuchadnezzar.*

Pſammis. Year of the flood 1743. Bef. Chriſt 600.

After *Nechus* had reigned about 16 years, he was ſucceeded by his ſon *Pſammis*, who reigned only ſix years, and died in an expedition againſt the *Ethiopians*. In his reign the *Eleans*, who, about 176 years before, had inſtituted the *Olympic* games, ſent an embaſſy to *Egypt*, to have their regulations approved or amended by the *Egyptians*, who were looked upon as the wiſeſt and moſt judicious people in the world. *Pſammis* having aſſembled the wiſeſt men in the nation, after hearing their conſultations, aſked the *Elean* ambaſſadors, if their own citizens were allowed to contend at their games. They replying, that the games were open to every one, the *Egyptians* declared, that it would have been more agreeable to the rules of juſtice, not to have

have admitted their own countrymen, as their judgments would be naturally byaſſed in favour of their fellow-citizens rather than ſtrangers.

Apries. *Pſammis* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Apries* or *Aries*, who is the *Pharaoh Hophrah* of Scripture *. In the beginning of his reign, he entered into an alliance with *Zedekiah* king of *Judah*, promiſing to aſſiſt him againſt the king of *Babylon*; and about ſix years after marched with an army to the relief of *Jeruſalem*, then beſieged by *Nebuchadnezzar*. The *Chaldeans* raiſed the ſiege to meet him; but he not daring to face them, retreated back to *Egypt*, baſely abandoning his ally, and becoming, as *Ezekiel* expreſſes it, *a ſtaff of reed to the houſe of* Iſrael; on account of which perfidy, the ſame prophet denounces againſt the *Egyptians* a forty years deſolation; adding, that for the future they ſhould become a baſe nation, and no more have a prince of their own to reign over them †. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* differ in their accounts of the length of his reign; but they both agree that he was a martial prince, and ſpeak of the victories he obtained over the *Tyrians*, *Sidonians*, and *Cypriots*. He took the city of *Sidon* by ſtorm, and after vanquiſhing both the *Phœnicians* and *Cypriots* in a ſea-fight, returned with an immenſe ſpoil into *Egypt*. Whether this was before or after his ſhameful retreat from *Nebuchadnezzar*, is uncertain; but *Egypt* hitherto was probably in a very flouriſhing condition, as the *Jews* dared to confide in that kingdom againſt the moſt powerful king of *Babylon*.

Before Chriſt 594. Enters into an alliance with *Zedekiah*.

His victories.

The wealth and proſperity of *Apries* rendered him proud and infolent. *Herodotus* informs us, that he boaſted it was not in the power of the gods to dethrone him: and the prophet *Ezekiel* calls him *the great dragon that lieth in the midſt of his rivers, which hath ſaid my river is mine own, and I have made it for myſelf.* Both he and the prophet *Jeremiah*, therefore, denounce heavy judgments againſt him, which, from prophane writers we learn, were effectually fulfilled. For the *Cyrenians*, a colony of the *Greeks*, having ſeized upon a part of *Lybia*, the *Lybians*, who were not able to withſtand the invaders, implored the protection of *Apries*, who ſent a powerful army to their relief. This army, however, being defeated, and almoſt wholly cut to pieces by the *Cyrenians*, the diſcontented *Egyptians* exclaimed againſt the king, as though he had ſent the army on purpoſe to be cut off, that he might tyrannize without controul over the remainder of his ſubjects. As they aſſembled in a riotous and ſeditious manner, *Apries* ſent a truſty friend, as he jeſts rethought, called *Amaſis*, to appeaſe them. *Amaſis*, however, treacherouſly fomented the ſedition, and by his inſinuations in behalf of himſelf, prevailed on the revolters to declare him king. *Apries* finding himſelf betrayed, ſent *Paterbemis*, one of the firſt rank among his followers, to arreſt *Amaſis*; which he not being able to effect in the midſt of the revolters, returned to the king, who no

His infolence and pride.

His ſubjects revolt from him, and declare *Amaſis* king.

* Jerem. xliv. 30. Ezek. xvii. 15. † Ezek. xxix. xxx.

ſooner

ſooner ſaw him without *Amaſis*, than he ordered his ears an noſe to be cut off. This inſolent and tyrannical behaviour com pleated his ruin; almoſt all the *Egyptians*, upon beholding th mutilation of ſo noble and worthy a perſon, immediately goin over to *Amaſis*. The foreign ſoldiers ſtill adhered to *Apries*; bu not being able to oppoſe the uſurper, he was obliged to retire t *Upper Egypt*, and the borders of *Ethiopia*, taking every oppor tunity to harraſs his enemies.

Egypt ravaged by *Nebuchadnezzar*.

Nebuchadnezzar, in the mean time, after a ſiege of 13 years making himſelf maſter of *Tyre*, without finding any booty, a the inhabitants had tranſported themſelves, with all their ef fects, into a neighbouring iſland, to recompence his army fo their fatigues, reſolved to invade *Egypt*. God had promiſed him the ſpoils of this country, declaring by the prophet,—Nebuchad nezzar *cauſed his army to ſerve a great ſervice againſt* Tyrus—*ye had he no wages, nor his army, for* Tyrus—*Therefore, ſaith the Lord God, I will give the land of* Egypt *unto* Nebuchadnezzar *king of* Babylon—*and it ſhall be the wages for his army. Nebuchadnezzar* accordingly overran the whole kingdom, and ravaged it as far as *Syene*, plundering and deſtroying the moſt populous cities, killing great multitudes of the inhabitants, and carrying off an immenſe booty, and a great many captives; ſo that, according to *Ezekiel*, the kingdom was utterly waſte and deſolate, and almoſt deſtitute of inhabitants, for 40 years.

Apries endeavouring to recover the throne, is taken and put to death.

After the departure of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Apries* aſſembled an army of 30,000 *Carians* and *Ionians*, and in the fields near *Memphis* engaged his competitor; but after a long and bloody engagement, his forces were overpowered, and he himſelf was taken priſoner, and afterwards ſtrangled at *Sais*, according to the prediction of *Jeremiah*, who foretold that *God would give* Pharaoh Hophra *into the hands of thoſe that ſought his life.*

Bef. Chriſt 560.

Amaſis politically eſtabliſhes his authority.

After the death of *Apries*, *Amaſis*, without any farther oppoſition, became poſſeſſed of the whole kingdom of *Egypt*, which he held for 44 years. According to *Plato* he was a native of *Sais*, and, it is commonly allowed, of mean extraction. Obſerving that his ſubjects on this account paid him but ſlight reſpect, he took a golden ciſtern in which his gueſts were uſed to waſh their feet, and ordered it to be caſt into the ſhape of a god; which being expoſed to public adoration, was zealouſly worſhiped by great multitudes. He then called an aſſembly of the *Egyptians*, and repreſented to them, that the god they now worſhiped was made of a veſſel that had formerly ſerved for the meaneſt uſes; in like manner, though he himſelf was formerly a mean perſon, yet as they had now made him king, he expected they would pay him the reſpect due to his exalted ſtation. Every morning he gave cloſe attention to buſineſs, and the reſt of the day he diverted himſelf with his friends. As his gaiety ſometimes ſeemed to exceed due bounds, ſome of his friends were ſcandalized; to whom he replied, that it was as impoſſible for the mind to be always ſerious and intent upon buſineſs, as for a bow to continue always bent. It is ſaid of him, indeed, that

when

when a private man he was averſe to buſineſs, and ſupported himſelf in riot and luxury by thieving.

He built the great temple of *Iſis* at *Memphis*, and a magnificent portico to the temple of *Minerva* at *Sais*, removing hither likewiſe an houſe all of one ſtone, the exterior dimenſions of which were 21 cubits in front, 14 deep, and 8 high. Two thouſand mariners were employed three years in tranſporting this extraordinary room, which ſtood at the entrance of *Minerva*'s temple. *Egypt* is ſaid to have been perfectly happy during his reign in the fecundation of the *Nile*, and to have contained 20,000 populous cities. This relation, however, does not agree with the account of the deſolation by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and perhaps ought to be referred to the firſt years of the reign of *Apries*. His public works.

Amaſis enacted a law, whereby every *Egyptian* was bound once a year to enter his name in a regiſter, with his profeſſion, and means by which he earned his living, under pain of death. *Solon*, who viſited *Egypt* during his reign, inſerted this cuſtom among his laws. He had a great eſteem for the *Greeks*, and granted them full liberty to ſettle in *Egypt*, either at *Naucratis* or on the ſea-coaſts, allowing them places where they might erect altars and temples to their own deities. When the temple of *Delphi* was burnt, *Amaſis* gave the *Delphians* a conſiderable ſum towards diſcharging their quota. He likewiſe made an alliance with the *Cyrenians*, and married a wife from among them. He was the firſt king of *Egypt* who conquered the Iſland of *Cyprus*, and made it tributary. He conquers *Cyprus*.

Such were the accounts of the *Egyptian* prieſts, who loved to enhance the glory of this reign, but omitted however to make any mention of their diſgraces. *Nebuchadnezzar*, we obſerved, ravaged the whole kingdom, and according to *Xenophon*, it was alſo conquered by *Cyrus*, againſt whom, *Herodotus* informs us, a league was formed by *Amaſis* and *Cræſus*. *Amaſis* probably, after the forty years of deſolation foretold by *Ezekiel* were expired, which would be about the 40th year of his reign, and the time of *Cyrus*'s death, might throw off the *Perſian* yoke, and recover his independance. It was, perhaps, for this reaſon that *Cambyſes*, the ſon of *Cyrus*, a paſſionate and violent prince, was ſo highly incenſed againſt him. The *Perſians*, indeed, aſſign another cauſe. They ſay, that a certain *Egyptian* oculiſt, whom *Amaſis*, at the requeſt of *Cyrus*, had ſent into *Perſia*, in reſentment for being baniſhed, as he thought, from his native country, contrived to embroil *Amaſis* and *Cambyſes*. By his perſuaſions, *Cambyſes* ſent an embaſſy to the king of *Egypt*, deſiring his daughter in marriage. *Amaſis* was greatly perplexed what anſwer to return, dreading the *Perſian* power if he ſhould give a denial, and if he complied, aſhamed of the diſhonour that would be reflected on his family, as he knew his daughter would only be one of the concubines of the *Perſian* monarch. At length he ſent *Nitetis*, only daughter of *Apries*, a beautiful lady of majeſtic deportment, with all the pomp becoming Other accounts of him by the *Greeks*. *Cambyſes* from hatred to *Amaſis* reſolves to invade *Egypt*.

coming his own daughter, to *Perſia*. This lady aſſuring *Cambyſes* that ſhe was not the daughter of *Amaſis*, but of *Apries* whom he had unjuſtly dethroned and put to death, *Cambyſes* immediately vowed the deſtruction of *Amaſis*.

Soon after the rupture, *Phanes* of *Halicarnaſſus*, commander of the *Grecian* auxiliaries in *Egypt*, taking ſome private diſguſt, fled to *Perſia*. As he had great credit among the *Greeks* in *Egypt*, was a prudent and valiant commander, and perfectly well acquainted with every thing relating to the kingdom, he forwarded the intended expedition of *Cambyſes* againſt the *Egyptians*. *Amaſis*, at the ſame time, moſt imprudently ſent an herald to *Samos*, and renounced the alliance of his old ally *Polycrates*, fearing, as he ſaid, ſome diſaſter to the *Greek*, becauſe he was bleſſed with an uninterrupted courſe of proſperity. *Polycrates*, incenſed by this behaviour, entered into an alliance with *Cambyſes*, and offered to aſſiſt him with a fleet of ſhips in his invaſion of *Egypt*. *Amaſis*, before this cloud burſt on his dominions, ended his life after he had reigned 44 years.

Amaſis dies.

Bef. Ch. 525.

Pſammenitus.

Egypt conquered by *Cambyſes*,

Pſammenitus, the ſon of *Amaſis*, had ſcarcely ſucceeded to the throne, when *Cambyſes*, appeared at the head of a powerful army on the borders of *Egypt*. Before *Pſammenitus* could aſſemble an army to oppoſe him, *Cambyſes* made himſelf maſter of *Peluſium*, by placing before his army a great number of cats, dogs, and other animals that were deemed ſacred by the *Egyptians*, who rather than wound them, allowed the *Perſians* to advance without oppoſition *. From *Peluſium* the *Perſians* proceeded to *Memphis*, and on their way thither entirely routed the *Egyptian* army. *Memphis* being ſoon after reduced, and *Pſammenitus* and the chief of the *Egyptians* being taken priſoners, not only *Egypt*, but *Lybia*, *Cyrene*, and *Barcea* ſubmitted to the conqueror. *Pſammenitus*, at firſt, was treated with clemency, and an honourable penſion was allowed him; but being diſcovered to be ſecretly concerting meaſures to reaſcend his throne, he was ſoon after put to death, having reigned only ſix months. *Cambyſes* afterwards went to *Sais*, where he cauſed the body of *Amaſis* to be dug up out of his grave, and after allowing all manner of indignities to be offered to it, ordered it to be burnt. After an unſucceſsful expedition to *Ethiopia*, he alſo ſlew the *Egyptian* god *Apis*, and ordered their prieſts to be ſcourged; on which account the *Egyptians* ever afterwards bore an irreconcileable averſion to the *Perſians*.

who puts *Pſammenitus* to death,

and kills the god *Apis*.

A people ſo zealouſly attached to the inſtitutions of their forefathers, muſt needs think themſelves unhappy under ſuch governors as held their laws in deriſion: they conſulted therefore continually how they might ſhake off the intolerable yoke of their *Perſian* oppreſſors. At length, about thirty years after the invaſion of *Cambyſes*, they openly revolted; but in the ſecond year of *Xerxes* the great, they were reduced to harder

The *Egyptians* revolt from the *Perſians*.

* Polyæn. l. viii.

ſub-

subjection than before, and *Achemenes*, the brother of *Xerxes*, appointed their governor. Their deteſtation of the *Perſians*, however, being only encreaſed, about twenty-four years after they revolted from them a ſecond time, choſe *Marus* king of *Lybia* to fill their throne, and called in the *Athenians* to their aſſiſtance, who chearfully embraced this opportunity of expelling the *Perſians* from *Egypt*. The *Athenians*, who had then a fleet of 200 ſail at *Cyprus*, attacked the *Perſian* fleet, took and deſtroyed 50 of their ſhips, and then ſailing up the *Nile*, landed under the command of *Charitimis*, and joined the *Egyptians* and *Lybians* under *Inarus*. Not long after, the *Egyptians* with their allies entirely routed the *Perſians*, killing their general *Achemenides* and 100,000 of their men. They purſued the remainder, who were 200,000 in number, to *Memphis*, and quickly took poſſeſſion of great part of the city. The *Perſians*, however, fortifying themſelves in the ſtrongeſt part, called *the white wall*, ſuffered a ſiege of near three years, when they were at length relieved by another *Perſian* army under *Artabazus*, governor of *Cilicia*, and *Megabyzus*, governor of *Syria*, who entirely defeated *Inarus*, recovered *Memphis*, and almoſt all *Egypt*. *Inarus*, who was wounded in the engagement, retreated with the remains of his army to the city of *Byblus*, in the iſland of *Proſopitis*, where he held out a ſiege of a year and a half, the *Athenian* fleet being ſtationed on one ſide of the iſland. The beſiegers, to render the aſſiſtance of the fleet uſeleſs, by great labour drained that branch of the *Nile* in which it rode, which at the ſame time opened the communication with the iſland. *Inarus* now ſeeing his caſe deſperate, ſubmitted with all his *Egyptians*, and about fifty of the *Athenians*, on condition of ſecurity for their lives. The other *Athenians*, to the number of 6000, ſet fire to their ſhips, and ſtood upon their defence; but the *Perſians* not willing to engage with men ſo deſperately reſolved, offered them favourable terms of accommodation, which were accepted. An *Athenian* fleet of fifty ſail ſoon after entering the *Nile*, with the deſign of proceeding to *Proſopitis*, were almoſt wholly deſtroyed by the *Perſians*, a very few of the ſhips only eſcaping. *Sartamas* being appointed governor of *Egypt* by the *Perſians*, *Inarus* was carried a priſoner to *Suſa*, where he was crucified, notwithſtanding the promiſe formerly given him of his life *.

A ſecond revolt.

The *Perſians* again eſtabliſh themſelves in *Egypt*. Bef. Ch. 453.

The fenny parts of *Egypt*, however, being ſtill held by *Amyrtæus*, a *Saite*, he ſupported himſelf for ſeveral years by the inacceſſibleneſs of the place, and the ſuccours which from time to time he received from the *Athenians*. About 39 years after, in the 10th year of *Darius Nothus*, the *Egyptians*, by the perſuaſions of *Amyrtæus*, again revolted, and having driven the *Perſians* out of the kingdom, choſe him king. *Amyrtæus* immediately entered into a confederacy with the *Arabians*, and

The *Egyptians* revolt a third time under *Amyrtæus*. Bef. Ch. 414.

* Thycidid. l. i. Cteſias. Diod. l. ix.

reſolved

resolved to drive the *Persians* from *Phenicia*; but about six years after *Darius* marching in person into that province, the *Egyptians* were probably defeated, and *Amyrtæus* slain; for *Herodotus* tells us, that the following year *Pausiris*, the son of *Amyrtæus*, who was dead, succeeded to the kingdom of *Egypt* with the consent of the *Persians*, from whence it would appear that the *Egyptians* had again become tributary to *Darius*.

Pausiris king.

Psammitichus. According to *Diodorus*, *Psammitichus*, a descendant of the famous prince of that name, succeeded to *Pausiris*; but there is no mention of any action of importance during his reign, which continued twelve years.

Nephereus. Bef. Ch. 395. He was succeeded by *Nephereus*, who entering into an alliance with the *Lacedemonians* against the *Persians*, sent them a squadron of 100 galleys, and 600,000 bushels of corn for the subsistance of their army. The vessels loaded with the corn, by a mistake, put into the harbour of *Rhodes*, which city just before had submitted to the *Persians*; so that the supply never reached the *Lacedemonians*, but was intercepted by the enemy *.

Accoris. *Nephereus* dying after he had reigned seven years, his successor, *Accoris*, concluded an alliance with *Euagoras* king of *Cyprus*, and with the *Arabians*, *Tyrians*, and *Barceans* against the *Persians*. *Euagoras*, after a defeat came to *Egypt*, and earnestly pressed *Nephereus* to engage with all his strength in the war, but could obtain from him only a small supply of money. Soon after, however, *Artaxerxes Mnemon* having concluded an advantageous peace with the *Lacedemonians*, threatned to turn his arms against *Egypt*; which alarming *Accoris*, he made great preparations for the defence of his kingdom, and hired a great body of *Greek* mercenaries, under the command of *Chabrias* the *Athenian*. The *Persians* being slow in their proceedings, it was three years before the *Egyptian* war commenced.

Psammuthis. *Nepherotes.* *Nectanebis.* Bef. Ch. 375. *Accoris* in the mean time dying in the thirteenth year of his reign, was succeeded by *Psammuthis*, who reigned only a year. His successor, *Nepherotes*, reigned only four months, and was succeeded by *Nectanebis*, who continued the preparations against the *Persians*. By the precautions he took, the invaders, who arrived in the second year of his reign, were able to execute no enterprize of importance, and in the end were obliged to retire with loss, on account of the rising of the *Nile*. About ten years after *Nectanebis* died, having a few years before been solicited by *Agesilaus*, the *Lacedemonian*, for succours against the *Thebans*.

Tachos. Bef. Ch. 363. Upon the death of *Nectanebis*, *Tachos* succeeded to the throne of *Egypt*. He, to defend himself against the *Persians*, who still threatned another invasion, sent into *Greece* to raise mercenaries, and prevailed with the *Lacedemonians* to send him a considerable body of troops under the command of *Agesilaus* †.

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* Diod. Sic. l. xiv. Justin, l. vi. Oros, l. iii. † Plutarch Cornel. Nepos. & Diod.

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The great fame of *Ageſilaus*, who for many years had been the terror of the *Perſians*, made *Tachos* promiſe him the chief command of all his forces; but upon his arrival, finding him a plain, mean-looking, little old man, he was prejudiced againſt him, and only allowed him to command the mercenaries. To which imprudent conduct may be attributed his ruin; for, contrary to the advice of *Ageſilaus*, leaving *Egypt*, and marching with his army into *Phœnicia*, the *Egyptians*, during his abſence, revolted from him, and declared his kinſman *Nectanebis* king. *Ageſilaus*, in reſentment of the contempt of *Tachos*, joined the revolters, and depriving him of his kingdom, forced him to take refuge with the king of *Perſia*.

He had great difficulty, however, to ſecure the throne to *Nectanebis* the laſt king. Bef. Ch. 361.

Nectanebis; for another pretender roſe up in oppoſition to him, ſupported by 100,000 men. *Nectanebis* neglecting the advice of *Ageſilaus*, who urged him to attack the forces of his rival while raw and unformed, was ſoon cooped up by his enemy in one of his cities, and reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs. When the enemy had near compleated their line of circumvallation, the king at length hearkning to the counſel of *Ageſilaus*, ſallied out towards the gap, there engaged his competitor, and gained a complete victory. The reſt of the war was committed to the conduct of *Ageſilaus*, who in a few months took the other pretender priſoner, and ſettled *Nectanebis* in quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom.

In the eleventh year of his reign, the *Sidonians* and *Phœnicians* revolting from the *Perſians*, *Nectanebis* readily entered into an alliance with them, in hopes of keeping the war at a diſtance from his own dominions, and ſent them 4000 *Greek* mercenaries under the command of *Mentor* the *Rhodian*. The *Phœnicians* encouraged by this ſupply, drove the *Perſians* out of their territories, and immediately after the *Cypriots* entered into the alliance againſt *Perſia*. *Darius Ochus*, alarmed at the ſtrength of the confederacy, reſolved to head his army againſt the rebels in perſon. Upon the news of his great preparations, *Mentor*, who commanded the *Greek* mercenaries, went over to him, and in conjunction with *Temes*, king of the *Sidonians*, betrayed *Sidon* into his hands. The conqueſt and fatal end of the *Sidonians*, who burned their city and themſelves to death, ſtruck ſuch a terror into the *Phœnicians*, that they immediately ſubmitted; ſo that *Ochus*, without any oppoſition, proceeded to *Egypt*, having at the ſame time granted a ſeparate peace to the *Cypriots*.

Nectanebis, in the mean time, had been very diligent in preparing for the defence of his dominions, and had aſſembled an army of 100,000 men, which, however, did not amount to a third part of the *Perſian* army. Having garriſoned his frontier towns, he marched himſelf with the reſt of his army to guard the paſſes. But a large body of the *Perſians* having penetrated into the country by ſailing up the *Nile*, and defeated a party of the *Egyptians*, *Nectanebis*, fearing they would proceed up the

The *Perſians* invade *Egypt* under *Darius Ochus*.

Nile to *Memphis*, returned with his army, and was followed by the *Perſians*, who immediately proclaimed a pardon and ſecurity to all who would ſubmit, and threatned to cut off, without mercy, ſuch as reſiſted. On this declaration, both *Egyptians* and *Greeks* ſtrove who ſhould make the moſt humble ſubmiſſion to the invader; ſo that *Nectanebis*, deſpairing of being able to defend himſelf, took what treaſure he could carry with him from *Memphis*, and fled to *Ethiopia*, from whence he never again returned. He was the laſt *Egyptian* that reigned in *Egypt*, which ſince his time has ever been ſubject to a foreign power.

who makes a compleat conqueſt of the country. Bef. Ch. 350.

Ochus having thus made an abſolute conqueſt of *Egypt*, diſmantled its chief cities, plundered the temples, ſlew the god *Apis*, and then returned in triumph to *Babylon*, loaded with immenſe booty, having left *Pherendates*, one of his nobles, governor of the country, which henceforward continued a province of *Perſia* till that empire was ſubverted by *Alexander*, who was received by the *Egyptians* with open arms as their deliverer from their profane oppreſſors, who had treated their gods with ſo much indignity *.

The *Perſians* expelled from thence by *Alexander*. Bef. Ch. 332.

BOOK III.

The Hiſtory of the MOABITES, AMMONITES, MIDIANITES, EDOMITES, AMALEKITES, CANAANITES, PHILISTINES, SYRIANS, and PHOENICIANS.

CHAP. I.

The Hiſtory of MOAB.

The deſcent of the *Moabites*.

WE ſhall now give an account of thoſe nations with whom the children of *Iſrael* were concerned before their ſettling in *Canaan*, and after their eſtabliſhment in that country till the time of *Alexander* the great. We ſhall begin with that of the *Moabites*, the deſcendants of *Moab* the ſon of *Lot* by his eldeſt daughter. *Lot* was the ſon of *Haran*, *Abraham*'s brother, and his father dying young, his grandfather

The life of *Lot* their anceſtor.

* Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. iv. Sevr. Sulpit. l. ii. Suidas.

Terah,

Terah, when he removed from *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, took him with him to *Haran*. Upon *Terah*'s death, his uncle *Abraham* took him under his protection, and, according to *Joſephus*, adopted him, deſpairing of having any children of his own. He accompanied his uncle into *Canaan*, and from thence into *Egypt*, having at the ſame time a conſiderable property of his own in herds and flocks. Not long after, upon their returning from *Egypt* again to *Canaan*, their herds were become ſo numerous, that to put an end to diſputes that happened between their herdſmen, and for the conveniency of paſture, they agreed to ſeparate. *Lot* choſe to ſettle in the plain of *Jordan*, which was then ſo fruitful and well watered, that it was compared to the land of *Egypt*, and even to *Paradiſe* itſelf. He pitched his tent not far from *Sodom*, infamous for the unnatural wickedneſs of its inhabitants. Living afterwards in the city itſelf, he had the misfortune to be carried away a priſoner by *Chedorlaomer* king of *Elam* and his allies, who had defeated the kings of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* in the vale of *Sidim*. He was, however, reſcued by *Abraham*, who defeated the conquerors, and obliged them to abandon all their booty.

Lot returned and lived in *Sodom*, notwithſtanding the abominable wickedneſs of its inhabitants, and had periſhed in the cataſtrophe of that people, if he had not been miraculouſly preſerved, and that partly for *Abraham*'s ſake *. When he was ſitting at the gate of the city in the evening, he perceived two angels, whom he miſtook for travellers, and with great hoſpitality preſſed them to be his gueſts that night. They had not been long in his houſe when the inhabitants of the city, probably tempted by the beautiful forms they had aſſumed, demanded them to be delivered up, that they might abuſe them. *Lot* was very ſollicitous to diſſuade them from their wicked purpoſes, and rather than violate the rights of hoſpitality, offered to abandon his two virgin daughters to their mercy; but they only becoming more outrageous, and threatning to break into his houſe, the angels pulled him in from them, and ſhutting the door, ſtruck them with blindneſs. The blindneſs here ſpoken of, is generally ſuppoſed to have been a dizzineſs which diſturbed their ſight, by repreſenting objects falſely and in confuſion, as happened to the *Syrians* who were ſent to take *Eliſha*.

While the riotous inhabitants were groping about in vain, the angels acquainted *Lot* with their commiſſion, adviſing him, if he had any friends for whoſe ſafety he was concerned, to urge them immediately to depart. *Lot* accordingly went to his ſons-in-law, who had married ſome of his daughters, or, according to another interpretation, were to marry his two virgin daughters, and earneſtly preſſed them to quit the place without delay: but they thinking he mocked them, rejected

* Gen. xix. 29.

his advice. This probably had not been the firſt remonſtrance of *Lot* to his fellow citizens; for the apoſtle *Peter* informs us, that *in ſeeing and hearing he vexed his righteous ſoul from day to day with their unlawful deeds.*

When the morning appeared, the angels haſtened *Lot*; but he being ſomewhat dilatory, they even took him, his wife, and two daughters by the hand, and in a manner pulled them out of the city, commanding them not to look behind them, or to tarry in the plain, but to make a ſpeedy eſcape to the mountains. *Lot*, afraid of periſhing in the mountains, begged to be allowed to take refuge in a ſmall city then called *Bela*, but afterwards *Zoar*, not far from *Sodom*. The angels condeſcended to grant his requeſt, and for his ſake even to ſpare that city, whither he arrived about ſun-riſing. Immediately *the Lord rained upon* Sodom *and* Gomorrah, and ſome other cities of the plain, *brimſtone and fire from the Lord out of heaven*, and wholly deſtroyed all the inhabitants of them.

Lot's wife, contrary to the expreſs command of the angel, looking back, was changed into a pillar of ſalt, which *Joſephus* tells us, was remaining in his days, and that himſelf had ſeen it. What was the nature of her crime, for which ſhe was thus ſeverely puniſhed, is not agreed. Some think ſhe was puniſhed merely for diſobeying the command of the angel; and others imagine, from the mention of her by our Saviour *, it may be inferred that ſhe was unwilling to leave *Sodom*, and actually turned back. Many are of opinion, that the ſcripture does not repreſent the fate ſhe met with as a puniſhment for any crime, but as a natural conſequence of her imprudent curioſity. The horror of the ſight when ſhe looked back, they think might ſo affright her, as to ſtrike her ſtiff and motionleſs; or ſhe might periſh by ſome poiſonous vapour, or elſe by tarrying behind be overtaken by the dreadful ſhower. As to what is urged by *Joſephus* and ſome others, that this pillar or ſtatue was to be ſeen many ages after; it is anſwered, that *Joſephus* might be therein deceived, as many others daily are in things of this nature, ſince the more intelligent and credible travellers ſay they could never ſee it.

The terrible deſtruction of *Sodom*, made ſuch an impreſſion on *Lot*, that he was afraid to live in *Zoar*, and withdrew with his daughters to the mountains, where they lived together in a cave. The two young women, uneaſy at this ſtrange retirement, ſeeing no hopes of their ever being married, and deſirous of having children, as in thoſe days it was a great reproach and ſcandal to have none, plotted together to deceive their father, and have iſſue by him. They accordingly made the old man drink wine to exceſs, and then lay with him; from which inceſtuous commerce proceeded two ſons, *Moab*, the ſon of the eldeſt daughter, and *Benammi*, the ſon of the younger daughter.

* Luke xvii. 32.

The

The posterity of *Moab* settled in the country bordering on the mountain where he was born, and having driven out the old inhabitants, possessed a small territory, thence call *Moabitis*, which some authors make part of *Cœlesyria*, others of *Arabia*. Their country.

The *Moabites* were governed by kings, used circumcision, and seem to have employed themselves mostly in pasturage and breeding of cattle, wherein their riches chiefly consisted. They were one of the nations whose goods the *Jews* were forbidden to seek, nor were they to be admitted to intermarry with the *Israelites* to the tenth generation. They seem, however, to have cultivated a good understanding with that people after their settlement in *Canaan*, as appears from the sojourning of *Elimelech* there, and the reception *David* met with at *Mizpeh*. What language they used is uncertain, but probably they spoke a dialect of the *Canaanitish* or *Hebrew*. That they had once the knowledge of the true God, may be concluded not only from the piety of their great ancestor, but also from scripture: for they retained this knowledge till the times of *Moses*, even after they had monstrously corrupted their religion by introducing the worship of false gods *. Their government, customs, &c.

Their idols mentioned in scripture are *Chemosh* and *Baal-peor*, sometimes simply *Peor*, or according to the Septuagint *Phegor*. St. *Jerom* supposes that they were both names of one and the same idol; and from the debaucheries into which those fell who defiled themselves with their worship, several ancient and modern writers have represented them as obscene deities not much different from *Priapus*. *Selden* and others however imagine, that though the *Israelites* and *Solomon* were enticed to worship those idols, it does not thence follow that any immodest ceremonies were used in their worship. *Vossius* supposes *Baal-peor* to be *Bacchus*; Dr. *Cumberland* says he was properly called *Meon*, and takes him to be the same with *Menes* or *Osiris*. *Chemosh* seems to have been a different idol. Their religion.

Very little can be said of their religious rites and ceremonies. We have observed, that some authors charge them with obscenity; but the Psalmist in speaking of those who were joined to *Baal-peor*, says only, that they *eat the offerings of the dead*; by which words he may either mean, that the idol which they impiously honoured with divine worship, was no more than a dead man; or else, that their oblations were made to the infernal gods. They sacrificed both in the open air on mountains dedicated to that service, and in temples built to their idols in their cities; and besides oxen and rams on extraordinary occasions, they offered human victims.

The land of *Moab* was first inhabited by the *Emims*, (which in *Hebrew* signifies *the terrible*) a great and powerful people, and of extraordinary strength and stature. Those *Emims* pro- The *Moabites* drive out the *Emims*.

* Numb. xxv. 11.

bably were descendants of *Ham*, and of the same gigantic race with the *Anakims* and *Rephaims*. Having suffered greatly by the incursion of *Chedorlaomer* when *Lot* was taken prisoner, they became the easier conquest to the *Moabites*, who drove them out and took possession of their country; but about what time, is uncertain. They did not, however, keep their new dominions long entire; for in the days of *Moses*, *Sihon* king of the *Amorites*, their eastern neighbours, took from the predecessors of *Balak* all the land to the north of the river *Arnon* *. The *Israelites*, a few years after, subdued *Sihon*, and encamped in that part of his territories which had formerly belonged to the *Moabites*, and was called *the plains of* Moab. *Balak*, who was then king of *Moab*, terrified at the approach of the *Israelites*, whom he was not in a condition to resist, and not knowing that God had forbidden them to attempt the conquest of his remaining territories, assembled the nobles and also the princes of the *Midianites*, and acquainted them with his apprehensions that the *Israelites* should *lick up all that were round about them as the ox licketh up the grass of the field*. The assembly, not daring to trust to their arms alone, agreed to send for *Balaam*, the son of *Beor*, a famous prophet or diviner, that he might curse the people, which gave them so much uneasiness.

Balak king of *Moab* hires *Balaam* to curse the *Israelites*. Bef. Ch. 1451.

What was the true character of *Balaam*, has been greatly disputed. The *Jews* think he was an astrologer; but according to several ancient fathers, he was only a common soothsayer, who pretended to foretell future events by no justifiable arts. *Origen* thinks he was no prophet, but a sorcerer, who enquired of the devil. The apostle *Peter*, however, expressly calling him a prophet, some later writers are therefore of opinion, that he had been once a good man and a true prophet, till loving the wages of unrighteousness, and prostituting the honour of his office to covetousness, he apostatized from God, and betaking himself to idolatrous practices, fell under the delusion of the devil. At this juncture, however, it might consist with God's wisdom, when the preservation of his people was concerned, to appear to him, and vouchsafe him revelations. Though he appears to have been a man of no great probity, yet he must be deemed a true prophet of God; for he addresses his prayers to the supreme God, and expresses no surprize at receiving answers and instructions from him. Supernatural gifts, particularly of prophecy, did not always sanctify the heart and affections; for we read, *the heads of the house of* Jacob *judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money* †.

Balaam at this time lived at *Pethor*, a city of *Mesopotamia*, and upon receiving the embassy of the king of *Moab*, consulted God how he should act. Being prohibited by God to go to *Moab*, or to curse a people whom he had blessed, *Balaam*,

* Numb. xxi. 26. † Mic. iii. 11.

next

next morning, told the ambaſſadors that God would not permit him to go with them, and ſo diſmiſſed them. *Balak*, however, ſending a ſecond embaſſy of perſons of greater dignity, with large promiſes of riches and high preferment, *Balaam* again addreſſed God, and obtained leave to go, with the reſtriction of acting there ſolely by his direction. Next morning he began his journey; but his intentions being diſpleaſing to God, he ſent an angel to oppoſe him in the way. The aſs on which he rode perceiving the angel, attempted three times to turn out of the way; and being thereupon as often ſtruck by him, God miraculouſly opened her mouth, and ſhe expoſtulated with him for his unſeaſonable ſeverity. *Balaam*, in the heat of his paſſion, gave no attention to the prodigy; but the angel at length appearing to him, he fell proſtrate on his face, and offered to return home. He was permitted, however, to proceed with the above-mentioned reſtriction. The king of *Moab* received him with great reſpect, and after entertaining him with his princes and nobles, next day took him to the high places of *Baal* on mount *Abarim*, where he might have a full proſpect of the camp of the *Iſraelites*, whom he had hired him to curſe. There *Balak*, by the prophet's directions, built ſeven altars, in which number there might perhaps be ſome ſuperſtition; but the altars, as it appears, were built to the true God, to whom a bullock and a ram was offered on each altar, which was repeated afterwards in two other places on the mountain. The two firſt times *Balaam* ſought for inchantments, or uſed ſuch means as he was able, to obtain leave of God to curſe the *Iſraelites*. He was commanded, however, to bleſs them, fore againſt his own inclinations, and to the great mortification of *Balak*. Upon offering the third ſacrifice, he omitted his former arts of going round the altars eaſtward and weſtward, but turning his face towards the wilderneſs, he not only bleſſed the *Iſraelites* a third time, but pronounced thoſe curſed who ſhould utter any imprecations againſt that people. *Balak*, enraged at this diſappointment, ordered him to depart immediately; but he in hopes of gratifying the king, or acquiring ſome reward before his departure, inſtructed him how he might diſtreſs the *Iſraelites*. *Joſephus* indeed ſays, that he did not think of his wicked council till he came to the *Euphrates*, and that he then adviſed *Balak* and the *Midianites* to ſend the moſt beautiful women they could find to the *Iſraelites* camp, to tempt that nation to idolatry and diſobedience, which would be a ſure method to deprive them of the aſſiſtance of that God who protected them. This was put in execution; and the chief men among them making no ſcruple to proſtitute their daughters on this occaſion, the ſtratagem ſucceeded but too well. For the *Iſraelites* were deluded by theſe fair idolatreſſes not only to commit whoredom with them, but to worſhip their falſe gods; on which account 24,000 of them were deſtroyed by a plague. For this reaſon alſo a *Moabite* was not allowed to enter into the congregation of the Lord to the tenth generation. We ſhall

find afterwards, that the *Midianites* were more grievously punished, and that *Balaam* himself, who lived among them, did not escape the sword of the *Israelites*.

Bef. Ch. 1343. The next action recorded of the *Moabites*, is their conquest of the *Israelites* after their settlement in the land of *Canaan*. That people, on the death of the judge *Othniel*, returning again to idolatry, God raised up *Eglon* king of *Moab* to punish them. *Eglon* entering into an alliance with the *Ammonites* and *Amalekites*, invaded the *Israelites*, and kept them in subjection eighteen years. Upon their returning to God, he at length raised them up a deliverer, a *Benjamite*, named *Ehud*, who being sent with a present to *Eglon*, pretended, upon his way home, that he had something to impart to him in private, and returning was admitted to his presence alone, when he stabbed him in the belly with a dagger that he had concealed under his garment. Before the servants of *Eglon* had discovered the death of their king, *Ehud* had escaped beyond *Jordan*, where he immediately assembled what forces he could, and attacking the *Moabites* that were garisoned on the west of the river within the land of *Canaan*, slew 10,000 of them. By this unexpected and vigorous assault, he broke the power of *Moab*, and freed the *Israelites* from the yoke of that nation. From this time there is no mention made of the *Moabites* till the time of *Saul*, who warred against them with success. The enmity which subsisted between him and this nation, probably induced *David*, when persecuted by that prince, to ask the king of *Moab*'s protection for his parents, which the *Moabite* readily granted, and treated them with great hospitality, while *David* lay in the cave of *Adullam*. However, when he came to the crown, the *Moabites* entered into a confederacy against him, with several of the neighbouring nations. *David*, upon the news of this alliance, declared war against them, and having obtained a signal victory, *measured them with a line*, says the sacred historian, *even with two lines to put to death, and with one full line to keep alive*; by which is meant, that he put two thirds of his prisoners to death. Those who remained alive, became his vassals and tributaries *.

Ref. Ch. 897. They continued from this time subject to *Solomon* and *Rehoboam* till the revolt of the ten tribes, when it seems they became tributaries to the kings of *Israel*, though they had all along kings of their own, who were little better than viceroys. *Mesha*, one of them, paid *Ahab* a yearly tribute of 100,000 lambs, and as many wethers with the wool; but upon the death of *Ahab*, he rebelled against his son *Ahaziah*, whose short reign not permitting any attempt to reduce him, his brother and successor *Jehoram*, assisted by *Jehoshaphat* king of *Judah*, and the king of *Edom* his tributary, entered the territory of *Moab* with an army. As they had marched seven days through the desert of *Edom*,

* 2 Sam. viii 2. 1 Chron xviii. 2. Joseph. Antiq. l. viii. c. 5.

they

they at length had almoſt periſhed for want of water, if the prophet *Eliſha*, who was in the army, had not obtained a miraculous ſupply by a land flood. The *Moabites*, in the mean time, advanced againſt the invaders, and drawing near their camp, perceived the water, which not ſuſpecting any in that dry deſart, they miſtook for blood, as it appeared red by reflexion of the morning ſun. Concluding the confederate princes had turned their arms againſt one another, they ran in confuſion to the camp of *Iſrael*, but ſoon found their miſtake, and were entirely routed with great ſlaughter. After the victory the *Iſraelites* advanced into their country, which they laid waſte, and reduced all their cities, except *Kir-haraſeth*, whither the king had retired. *Meſha* finding himſelf cloſely preſſed by the beſiegers, in the height of deſpair took his eldeſt ſon, who ſhould have ſucceeded him on the throne, and offered him for a burnt ſacrifice on the wall; which barbarous act raiſed ſuch horror and indignation in his enemies, that they immediately raiſed the ſiege and returned home.

A few years after the *Moabites*, to revenge the loſſes they ſuffered in this invaſion, entered into an alliance with the *Ammonites*, the *Edomites* of mount *Seir*, and other neighbouring nations, and entered *Judah* with a numerous army. *Jehoſophat* recurring to God, the invaders were ſeized with a kind of panic phrenzy, and with great fury attacked and cut each other to pieces.

After this the *Moabites* ſeem not to have diſturbed the *Iſraelites* for many years. However, before the time of the prophet *Amos*, who flouriſhed about a century afterwards, the *Moabites* had conquered their neighbours of *Edom*, and inhumanly burnt their king (whether alive or dead, is not ſaid) and reduced his bones to aſhes; for which cruelty, the ſame prophet denounces ſevere judgments againſt them. On the declenſion of the kingdom of *Iſrael*, they ſeem to have retaken from the tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*, great part of the land that had been formerly conquered by *Sihon* king of the *Ammonites*; for the prophets *Iſaiah* and *Jeremiah* mention ſeveral cities in thoſe territories as then belonging to the *Moabites*, or to the *Ammonites*, who were probably their confederates in oppreſſing the *Iſraelites*. The proſperity of the *Moabites* filling their minds with pride and inſolence, God, by ſeveral of his prophets, threatned them with utter deſtruction; and *Iſaiah*, in the firſt year of *Heſekiah*, foretold, that within three years *Ar* and *Kir-haraſheth*, two of their principal cities, ſhould be deſtroyed, and the reſt of their country brought to contempt and deſolation. This prophecy muſt have been executed the very year that *Samaria* was beſieged by *Shalmanezer* king of *Aſſyria*, who probably, in the beginning of his expedition, reduced the *Moabites*. After the dreadful deſtruction of the army of *Senacherib*, the ſon of *Shalmanezer*, the *Moabites* frequently revolted from the *Aſſyrians*, but at length were entirely ſubdued by *Nebuchadnezzar*, who, according to the prophecy of *Jeremiah*, took their king priſoner, the fifth

year

year after he had deſtroyed *Jeruſalem*. From this time th *Moabites* were ſubject to the great empires, and at length be came one people with the neighbouring nations which inhab the deſerts of *Syria*, at leaſt were ſo conſidered by the *Gre* and *Latin* hiſtorians. *Joſephus* indeed relates, that the *Moabite* even in his time, were a numerous nation. But from *Orig* it appears, that in the third century after *Chriſt*, they had lo their ancient name, and were comprehended under the gener denomination of *Arabians*.

CHAP. II.

The Hiſtory of the AMMONITES.

The *Ammonites* deſcended from *Ben-Ammi*.

BEN-AMMI, otherwiſe called *Ammon*, the ſon of th younger daughter of *Lot*, was the progenitor of this peo ple, who inhabited the country called *Ammonitis*, toward the north of the land of *Moab*, having expelled the ancien inhabitants who were called *Zamzummims*, and were giants Their manners and cuſtoms are almoſt utterly unknown. They had kings, and were circumciſed *, and ſeem to have been principally addicted to huſbandry. They alſo were among the nations whoſe peace or proſperity the *Iſraelites* were not to diſturb, but were not to be admitted into the congregation of the Lord to the tenth generation, becauſe they came not out to relieve them in the wilderneſs. They for ſome time probably retained the religion of their great anceſtor; but at length they ſwerved from it, and degenerated into the moſt ſtupid, and, as is generally ſuppoſed, the moſt cruel idolatry. Their chief and peculiar deity in ſcripture is called *Moloch*, and is alſo thought to be underſtood under the names of *Baal*, *Milcom*, *Melech*, *Adrammelech*, *Anammelech*, and the like; which names or titles ſignify no more than lord or king. His image is ſaid to have been hollow, and divided into ſeven receptacles; the firſt for receiving an offering of fine flour; the ſecond for turtles; the third for a ſheep; the fourth for a ram; the fifth for a calf; the ſixth for an ox, and the ſeventh for a child. It had the head of an ox, and the arms of a man ſtretched out in the act to receive. The number of theſe ſeven receptacles (which by ſome are called ſeven chapels placed before the image) correſponding with the number of planets, has given room to ſuppoſe that they worſhipped the ſun. *Chemoſh* was alſo one of their gods.

Their cuſtoms and religion.

* Jeremiah ix. 25, 26.

The

There is great diverſity of opinions among authors concerning the ſuperſtitions paid to *Moloch*. Some take the expreſſion of ſcripture, *that the* Ammonites *paſſed their ſeed through fire to* Moloch, in a literal ſenſe; others think, that *by paſſing through the fire*, is meant *burning*. The *Jewiſh* writers and *Voſſius* are of opinion, that the children were only carried or led between two fires by way of purification; but *Selden* and many others think that they actually burnt their children by way of ſacrifice. Near *Jeruſalem* this horrid cuſtom was obſerved in a place called *the valley of the ſons of Hinnom*, ſo named from the ſhrieks of the children ſacrificed. It was alſo called *Tophath*, from the *Hebrew* word *Toph*, ſignifying a drum or tabret, uſed among other inſtruments to drown the outcries of the unhappy victims.

At what time they expelled the *Zamzummims* from the lands which they poſſeſſed, is not mentioned. They themſelves, in the days of *Moſes*, were diſpoſſeſſed by *Sihon* the *Amorite*, who drove them into the mountains. There is no account of the tranſactions of their firſt kings, whoſe names are not even recorded. We find they aſſiſted *Eglon*, king of *Moab*, to conquer *Iſrael*; but who was their leader at that time, is not ſaid. The *Ammonites*, about 150 years after, made an irruption under one of their kings into the territories of the *Iſraelites* beyond *Jordan*, which they reduced, and kept the inhabitants in ſubjection eighteen years. They even at length paſſed over the *Jordan*, in order to fall upon the tribes of *Judah*, *Benjamin* and *Ephraim*. The *Iſraelites*, in the mean time, turning to God, were inſpired with courage to oppoſe them, and aſſembling at *Mizpeh*, conferred the chief command on *Jephthah*, who was ſo ſucceſsful as to defeat them, and to take from them twenty cities.

They drive out the *Zamzummims*.

In the days of *Saul*, another of their kings, named *Nahaſh*, *Nahaſh* invaded *Iſrael*, and beſieged *Jabeſh*. He was ſo confident of their king. ſucceſs, that he rejected the offers of ſubmiſſion made to him by the inhabitants of the country, and propoſed to them cruel and barbarous terms: but while he was exulting in ſecurity, his army was ſurpriſed and cut to pieces by *Saul*; ſo that after a ſlaughter of ſeveral hours, his troops were ſo diſperſed, that two of them were no where to be ſeen together. Bef. Ch. 1095.

This king, or at leaſt one of the ſame name, we find lived in friendſhip with *David*, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Hanun*. *Hanun* king. *David*, from his regard to his father, ſent an embaſſy to him to congratulate him upon his acceſſion, and to condole with him for the loſs of his father. *Hanun*, who appears to have been a weak prince, and to have been ſurrounded with ignorant counſellors, moſt imprudently treated the ambaſſadors in a diſreſpectful manner, being abſurdly perſuaded they were ſpies. In contempt of *David*, and in open defiance of the laws of nature, hoſpitality, and gratitude, he gave orders to ſhave off half of their beards, and to cut away their garments ſhort, and then diſmiſſed them, which involved him in a war which brought deſtruction on him and his kingdom.

The

The *Ammonite* ſoon perceived his error in irritating a powerful king, and being informed that *David* was reſolved to revenge the affront, he ſent to the neighbouring princes to ſollicite troops to defend his territories from the invaſion with which they were threatned. The ſcripture varies a little in the account of his auxiliaries. In *Samuel* we are told, that *Hanun* obtained from the *Syrians* of *Bethrehob* and *Zobah* 20,000 footmen, from the king of *Iſhtob* 12,000, and from the king of *Maachah* 1000: but according to the *Chronicles*, *Hanun* hired 32,000 chariots from *Meſopotamia*, beſides the men of *Maachah*. *Hanun* raiſed alſo an army of his own ſubjects, and being come in view of the *Iſraelites*, who were commanded by *Joab*, he drew up the *Ammonites* and the auxiliaries in two diſtinct bodies at a ſmall diſtance from each other. *Joab*, to prevent himſelf from being ſurrounded by them, divided his army into two bodies, and while he with one attacked the *Syrians*, he ordered his brother *Abiſhai* with the other to oppoſe the *Ammonites*. The *Syrians* were ſoon routed by *Joab*, which the *Ammonites* no ſooner perceived, than they fled before *Abiſhai*. The year following the *Syrians*, aſhamed of their late defeat, again took the field; but being utterly routed by *David* in perſon, they declined any more concern in the war. The *Ammonites* being thus left to the reſentment of the conquerors, *Joab* entered their country at the head of an army the following campaign, and after ravaging great part of their territories, beſieged *Hanun* in *Rabbah*, the capital of his kingdom. The city, after holding out near two years, was at length ſtormed by *David* in perſon, who came to have the honour of completing the work. In the aſſault *Hanun* was ſlain, and his crown, which weighed a talent of gold (near 114 pounds of our troy weight) and was adorned with precious ſtones, was taken off his head by *David*, who treated the priſoners with the utmoſt ſeverity. He ordered them to be put to death by torments, to be harrowed, ſawn, hacked with axes, and paſſed through the brick-kiln, deſtroying and levelling the city of *Rabbah* with the ground. The ſcripture ſays, that this dreadful uſage extended to all the cities of *Ammon*; but we ſuppoſe the expreſſion means only, all that held out obſtinately, and defied the king of *Iſrael*. The *Ammonites* probably felt the effects of this dreadful calamity many years. In the reign of *Jehoſaphat* king of *Judah*, we find they had ſo far recovered as to aſſiſt the *Moabites* in their expedition againſt that king; but we have already ſeen, that inſtead of attacking the *Jews*, they were miraculouſly confounded, and turned their arms againſt each other. About 100 years after the *Ammonites* became tributary to *Uzziah*, or *Azariah*, king of *Judah*; but revolting from his ſon *Jotham*, they were overthrown by him in battle, and obliged to pay a tribute of 100 talents of ſilver, 10,000 meaſures of wheat, and as many of barley, in all about 160,000 of our buſhels. They payed this tribute for three ſucceſſive years.

Ahaz the idolater ſucceeding *Jotham* on the throne of *Judah*, and the kingdom of *Iſrael* about the ſame time being involved in anarchy and without a head, the *Ammonites* probably recovered their independance; and about 130 years after we find their king lived in friendſhip with *Zedekiah*, the laſt king of *Judah*, who at the ſame time entertained the ambaſſadors of the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Tyrians*, and *Sidonians*, perhaps with the deſign of forming an alliance againſt their moſt powerful enemy *Nebuchadnezzar*. When *Jeruſalem*, a few years after, was deſtroyed by that conqueror, the *Ammonites* exulted at the calamity of the *Jews*, for which they were ſeverely threatned by the prophet *Ezekiel*. However, their king *Baalis* received all the *Jews* that then fled into his dominions, and among thoſe one *Iſhmael*, of the royal blood, whoſe intereſt he pretended to have much at heart. By his advice *Iſhmael* was perſuaded to return to *Judah*, and aſſaſſinate *Gedaliah*, whom the *Babylonians* had appointed governor. But inſtead of aſſuming the government, he was obliged to return a fugitive to *Baalis*, who not long after was attacked by the *Babylonian* general *Nebuzaradan*, and after beholding the utter deſtruction of his country, was carried into captivity, with moſt of the nobles of *Ammon*, as had been propheſied by *Amos*.

About ſeventy years after they are mentioned as uſing all their endeavours to prevent the rebuilding of the temple of *Jeruſalem*, but by the vigilance of *Nehemiah*, their deſign to attack the city was fruſtrated. In the days of *Judas Maccabeus* they again began to be conſiderable, and under their governor *Timotheus*, aſſembled a very great army againſt that general. *Judas*, however, defeated them in ſeveral engagements, and at length the *Jews* took and plundered ſeveral of their cities, putting the men to death, and carrying the women and children into captivity. Thus ended what ſeems their laſt warfare with the *Iſraelites*. However, they were ſtill reckoned a conſiderable nation for more than a century after *Chriſt* *: but about 100 years after that their name vaniſhed, and they became blended with the *Arabians* †.

CHAP. III.

The Hiſtory of MIDIAN, *or* MADIAN.

MIDIAN, the fourth ſon of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, is generally ſuppoſed the progenitor of the *Midianites*, who were ſo called from his name. He received large gifts from his father, The *Midianites* deſcended from *Abraham*'s ſon *Madian*.

* Juſt. Mart. dial. cum Tryph. † Origen in Job.

father, who ſent him into the eaſt country, to be at a prope diſtance from *Iſaac*. The *Midianites*, in the time of *Joſeph* were evidently confounded with the *Iſhmaelites*, and many age after they are mentioned in conjunction with the *Nabathea* and *Kedarenes*, the poſterity of *Iſhmael*'s ſons. They were alſ ſo incorporated with the *Moabites*, that *Moſes* almoſt conſider them as one nation *. Their religion was the ſame, and they acted in the ſtricteſt concert together againſt him and the *Iſ raelites*.

In the infancy of their nation they not only kept flocks, bu applied themſelves to traffic; for in the days of *Joſeph*, com. panies of their merchants travelled to *Egypt*. By this means they ſoon became exceeding rich, not only in cattle, but alſo in jewels and gold, as appears by the immenſe booty taken from them by the *Iſraelites* on their way to *Canaan*.

Their learning, &c.

They may juſtly be ſuppoſed to have been early acquainted with the uſe of writing, which art it is plain was not unknown to *Job*. Their merchants alſo muſt have underſtood ſome kind of arithmetic; and as their ſouthern boundary reached to the Red Sea, it is probable they were tempted to build ſhips, which ſeem to have been uſed ſo early as the days of *Jacob*. From hence it is natural to allow them a competent ſkill in geography, geometry, and aſtronomy.

religion,

How ſoon they forſook the worſhip of the true God is uncertain. In the days of *Moſes*, thoſe of them who lived next the *Moabites* ſeem to have been groſs idolaters, and worſhipers of *Peor*; to worſhip which idol, their women ſeduced many of the *Iſraelites*. The *Midianites* towards the ſouth part, however, appear at that time to have ſtill adhered to the true religion of their anceſtors, as a proof of which we need only mention *Jethro*, who is commonly ſtiled the prieſt of *Midian*, and by ſome thought to have been one of their chiefs. Theſe *Midianites* offered up praiſes, thankſgivings, and ſacrifices to the true God; but it is remarkable they could not bear circumciſion †. Their government is repreſented rather as ariſtocratical than monarchical; but their chiefs nevertheleſs are ſtiled kings.

and hiſtory.

There is no mention of any tranſactions of the *Midianites* till the time of *Joſeph*, whom they purchaſed from his brethren for twenty pieces of ſilver, and ſold in *Egypt* to *Potiphar*, one of *Pharaoh*'s chief officers.

Jethro.

Many years after, in *Midian* by the Red Sea, lived a prieſt or prince named *Ruel*, or *Jethro*. In his time *Moſes* flying from *Pharaoh*, arrived in *Midian*. As he was reſting near a well, the ſeven daughters of *Jethro* came thither to water their father's flocks, but were at firſt inſulted and driven away by ſome ſhepherds. *Moſes*, however, taking their parts, obliged the ſhepherds to retire, and aſſiſted them in watering their flocks.

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* Gen. xxxvi. 35. † Exod. ii. iii. iv. xviii.

By this means he was introduced into their father's houſe, and *Jethro* was ſo well pleaſed with his behaviour and conduct, that he committed the care of his flocks to him, afterwards gave him his daughter *Zipporah* in marriage, and kept him with him forty years. At length he allowed him to depart with his wife and children for *Egypt*. On the road, a diſpute ariſing betwixt *Moſes* and his wife about circumciſing a child, *Zipporah* returned, or was ſent back by her huſband, with her two ſons.

Not long after, *Jethro* hearing of the mighty things which the Lord had done through *Moſes*, who with the children of *Iſrael* had arrived in the wilderneſs in his neighbourhood, he went with his daughter *Zipporah* and her two ſons, and his own ſon *Hobab*, to his ſon-in-law, to congratulate him and reconcile him with his daughter *Zipporah*. They were all received very affectionately by *Moſes*; and *Jethro* hearing from him the wondrous works that had been done for *Iſrael*, bleſſed God for the ſame, and acknowledged him to be far ſuperior to all other gods. He then took a burnt offering and ſacrifices for God, and *Aaron* and all the elders of *Iſrael* came to aſſiſt at the ſolemnity, and to pay him the reſpect due to ſo venerable a perſon.

Next day, *Jethro* obſerving the great weight of buſineſs which *Moſes* charged himſelf with, in hearing complaints and deciding differences among ſo numerous a people, blamed him for undertaking ſo burdenſome a taſk, too much for any one man, and adviſed him to ſubſtitute under him a certain number of officers, men of parts and men of courage, ſuch as *feared God, and hated covetouſneſs*, to be rulers, ſome over thouſands, ſome over hundreds, ſome over fifties, and ſome over tens, and to abſtain from every buſineſs himſelf that was not of the higheſt moment. *Moſes* approving of the advice of his father-in-law, put it in execution with the firſt opportunity.

Jethro returned to his own land, but his ſon *Hobab* (A) continued in the *Iſraelites'* camp, and by large promiſes was perſuaded to remain with them, and to ſerve them as a guide thro' the wilderneſs. His poſterity, or at leaſt ſome of the deſcendants of *Jethro*, were called *Kenites*; and we find afterwards that they joined the children of *Judah*, and marched with them from *Jericho*, or the city of Palm Trees, into the wilderneſs of *Judah*, where they dwelt together *. Upon the taking of *Hebron*, *Joſephus* ſays, they were rewarded with a large portion of ground. *Heber*, the huſband of *Jael*, who killed *Siſera*, was of this family †. *Saul*, we find, when he intended to extirpate the *Amalekites*, warned the *Kenites* to move off from them, in

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* Judg. i. 16. † Judg. iv. 11.

(A) In the fourth chapter of *Judges*, *Hobab* is called the father-in-law of *Moſes*, from whence ſome have concluded that *Jethro* was ſo called: but in the tenth chapter of *Numbers*, *Hobab* is called the ſon of *Moſes'* father-in-law.

remem-

remembrance for their former kindneſs to *Iſrael*. Being then preſerved, they fixed their ſeat upon a rock, and there poſſeſſing a ſtrong hold, they grew wanton and preſumptuous; but were in the end carried away into captivity by the *Aſſyrians*, together with the ten tribes of *Iſrael*, as *Baalam* had propheſied long before.

When *Moſes* conquered *Sihon* the *Amorite*, *Evi*, *Rekem*, *Hur*, *Zur*, and *Reba* were kings or dukes of *Midian*, perhaps tributary to *Sihon*, as in *Joſhua* we find them called dukes of *Sihon*. Being alarmed by the overthrow of *Sihon*, they conſulted with *Balak* king of *Moab* about proper meaſures for their ſecurity, and, as we have already obſerved, in conjunction with that prince hired *Balaam* to curſe *Iſrael*. That expedient failing, the *Midianites* were very forward to follow *Balaam*'s wicked advice, and ſent their moſt beautiful women to ſeduce the *Iſraelites*, *Zur*, one of the kings, not ſcrupling on this occaſion to proſtitute his daughter *Cozbi*, who was led by *Zimri* to the *Iſraelitiſh* camp, where they were both ſlain by the ſame weapon and the ſame blow.

Though the *Midianites* by this means brought a great deſtruction upon the *Iſraelites*, yet their triumph was of very ſhort continuance; for very ſoon after *Phineas* invaded their country with 1000 men out of every tribe, and took and deſtroyed all their cities and goodly caſtles, which they laid in aſhes. All the males of every age and degree were put to the ſword, and among the reſt *Balaam*. All the females that were not pure virgins were alſo ſlain. The virgins, to the number of 32,000, were carried into captivity. The booty, beſides a great quantity of jewels and gold and ſilver ornaments, amounted to 675,000 ſheep, 72,000 oxen, and 61,000 aſſes.

Thus a branch of the northern *Midianites* was utterly cut off. Their country, however, was again peopled with others of their nation, who about 150 years after became a ſevere ſcourge to the *Iſraelites*, who had then forſaken the inſtitutions of God. *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*, two princes of *Midian*, being joined by the *Amalekites* and *Arabians*, oppreſſed the *Iſraelites* for ſeven years. Every ſummer they entered their country with their camels and their cattle, and were as graſs-hoppers for multitude. The *Iſraelites* not daring to withſtand them, fled to the mountains, where they made caves and fortreſſes, while the enemy poſſeſſed the plains, and entirely conſumed the fruits of the earth.

God at length raiſed up *Gideon*, who delivered the *Iſraelites* from their oppreſſors. The victory was miraculouſly obtained; for though *Gideon* was only followed by 300 men, the *Midianites* and their allies, who were very numerous, were ſtruck in the night with ſuch amazement and terror, that after fighting for ſome time againſt each other, they fled with the greateſt precipitation. *Zeba* and *Zalmunna* eſcaped over *Jordan* to *Karkor* with 15,000 men; but by the ſlaughter which happened in the camp and in the purſuit, 120,000 of the invaders had been cut off, and *Oreb* and *Zeb*, two princes of *Midian*, had fallen

Zeba and *Zalmunna*. Bef. Ch. 1245.

fallen into the hands of the *Ephraimites*, who put them to death. *Gideon*, with his 300 followers, paſſed the *Jordan*, and ſurprizing *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*, routed their party and took them priſoners, putting them to death with his own hand when he returned home. The *Midianites* ſuffered ſo much by this dreadful overthrow, that thenceforward they never attempted any conqueſts, the ſacred hiſtorian telling us, *they lifted up their heads no more.* This ſlaughter was ſo memorable, that the prophet *Iſaiah*, to illuſtrate a compleat deliverance, compares it to *the day of Midian*, and *the ſlaughter of Midian at the rock of Oreb.* The plunder obtained by the *Iſraelites* on this occaſion was immenſe, the very ear-rings alone weighing 1700 ſhekels. The *Midianites*, many ages after, were a conſiderable nation, and are mentioned by *Iſaiah* and *Habakkuk* for their induſtry, riches, and the magnificence of their tents: but in the firſt century of *Chriſt*, they began to be conſidered only as a part of the *Arabians*.

CHAP. IV.

The Hiſtory of the EDOMITES.

The *Edomites* deſcended from *Eſau*.

THIS people was deſcended from *Eſau* or *Edom*, the ſon of *Iſaac* by *Rebekah*. He was twin-brother to *Jacob* and the elder of the two. Theſe twins contended while yet in their mother's womb, which, according to the explanation of God to the mother, was an early preſage of the ſtrife that would afterwards ſubſiſt between them and their deſcendants. *Eſau* was born with red hair all over, like a hairy garment, or, according to the interpretation of the Septuagint, like a ſhaggy ſkin, and, as he grew up he proved to be a very ſtrong and active perſon, and delighting in the chace became a man of the field, by which means providing plentifully and deliciouſly for his father's table, he won his particular affection. *Jacob*, who was of a mild diſpoſition, became the favourite of his mother.

One day when *Jacob* had made him ſome lentil-pottage, *Eſau* came home quite ſpent with hunger and fatigue, and earneſtly begged his brother to let him eat with him. *Jacob*, taking advantage of his brother's diſtreſs, offered to relieve him, provided he made over his birth-right to him, to which propoſal *Eſau*, who thought himſelf at the point of death, readily conſented and confirmed the bargain by an oath; and thus, he is ſaid to have deſpiſed his birthright. *Eſau* from this tranſaction was called *Edom*, which ſignifies red, for ſuch was the colour of the pottage he ſo dearly purchaſed. He ſeems however not

to have considered the value of what he transferred to his brother till after the exchange was made (A).

When he was 40 years of age *Esau* married two of the daughters of the *Hittites*, *Judith*, the daughter of *Beeri*, and *Bashemath* the daughter of *Elon*, which alliance gave great trouble and grief to his parents. In time however his father *Isaac* received him again into favour; and being old and dim-sighted, he one day called him to him, told him he knew not how near he might be to his end, and therefore desired him to get him some venison, and dress it in a savoury manner as he had often done, *that his soul might bless him before he died*. *Esau* obeyed; but while he was absent his mother who heard the words that had passed between his father and him, dressed her son *Jacob* in *Esau*'s clothes, and preparing a dish of savoury meat, sent him in with it to his father, who pronounced the irrevocable blessing over *Jacob*. He was scarce got out of the tent, when *Esau* coming in with his venison, *Isaac* discovered the imposition that had been put upon him, and in an agony told *Esau*, that another had already obtained the blessing, which he neither could nor would revoke. *Esau* hearing the words of his father wept bitterly, and having upbraided his brother for supplanting him two times, first in the birth-right, and now in the blessing, by his entreaties prevailed at length on his father to bless him also to this effect, *That his dwelling should be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above; that he should live by the sword, and should serve his brother; but that he should shake off the yoke at last*. The former part of this blessing by some is supposed to mean that the lot of *Edom* was to be in a barren land, which they think is confirmed by the latter part, that he was to live by rapine and violence. We think however there is very little ground for this interpretation, as it is almost contrary to the direct sense of the words, which by no means imply that the blessing of *Esau* was equal to that of his brother. *Esau* had now conceived a bitter resentment against *Jacob*,

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(A) The privileges of the birth-right are supposed to have been very considerable. The first born was consecrated to the Lord, (Exod. xxii. 29.) had a double portion of the estate allowed him, (Deut. xxi. 17.) had a dignity and authority over his brethren, (Gen. xlix. 3.) succeeded to the government of the family or kingdom, (2 Chron. xxi. 3.) and as * some imagine, succeeded to the priesthood. He had a right to challenge the particular blessing of his dying parent. He had the covenant consigned to him which God made with *Abraham*, that from his loins *Christ* should come. Besides, the prerogatives of the primogeniture were not confined to the person on whom the first blessing was conferred, but descended to his latest posterity, in case they comported themselves so as to deserve them.

* Pool's Annot, Le Clerc's and Patrick's Comment. Lightfoot's Observat.

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and determined to kill him as ſoon as their father ſhould die, which reſolution *Rebekah* being informed of, ſhe ſent him away to *Padan Aram*, under pretence of getting him a wife there from among her own kindred. But *Eſau* cooled again, generouſly forgot all that had paſſed, and finding that *Iſaac* and *Rebekah* had a great averſion to the daughters of *Canaan*, he went over to *Iſhmael*, and took his daughter *Mahalath*, adding her to the wives he had before. By this it would appear either that he paid no regard to the divine revelation, or was firmly perſuaded that *Jacob* was now heir to the promiſes made to *Abraham*; for the deſcendants of the bondwoman *Hagar* could not inherit theſe promiſes. After this match *Eſau* removed with his family to *Mount-Seir*, and in a few years became a very conſiderable perſon. For when *Jacob* was on his return from *Padan Aram*, he went out to meet him with a train of 400 followers, and unmindful of all former injuries, received him with tears of joy, and the moſt tender and brotherly affection. He nobly refuſed the preſents with which his brother would needleſly have bribed him to a reconciliation; and preſſed him to go and live in his neighbourhood at *Mount-Seir*. *Jacob* however ſtill dreading his reſentment, artfully declined all his kind offers, and went and dwelt in *Sichem*. By this generous treatment of his brother it may be concluded, that *Eſau* was not ſo bad a man or ſo great a reprobate as ſome have unreaſonably repreſented him. According to the learned *Shuckford* he was a plain, generous, and honeſt man, as appears by his diſintereſtedneſs, and his ſpeedy and utter oblivion of the injuries and ſlights he received from his brother. Though *St. Paul* calls him *a profane perſon*, and ſays that he was *hated by God*; yet all that is meant by the word *hatred* is no more than a bare ſeclusion, the apoſtle intending to ſhew that God had all along beſtowed the favours regarding the *Meſſiah*, on whom he pleaſed, on *Abram* not on *Lot*, on *Jacob* not on *Eſau*, on the *Gentiles* not on the *Jews*. He might be called *profane*, not that he was more wicked than other men of his age, but becauſe he ſeemed to have been leſs mindful of the promiſes made to his family than *Jacob* *.

Eſau returning to *Mount Seir*, continued there till he heard that his father *Iſaac* was either dead or at the point of death, when he went to *Mamre*, where he aſſiſted *Jacob* at the funeral of their deceaſed parent. Having then taken poſſeſſion of his inheritance, he parted from his brother *Jacob*, and returned to *Mount Seir*, where his deſcendants afterwards ſettled.

The firſt inhabitants of this country that we have any account of were the *Horites* or *Horims*, who we find were ſmitten by *Chedorlaomer*, in the days of *Abraham*. The poſterity of *Eſau* afterwards poſſeſſing the land, were diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Edomites*, and according to *Joſephus*, were a bold and

The firſt inhabitants of this country.

their countrymen.

* Shuckford's Connect. vol. ii. p. 174, &c.

The character of the *Edomites.*

daring people, delighting in broils and tumults; they were alſo a trading nation. From their behaviour towards *Moſes* it appears, that they defended their rights with ſpirit and bravery; but according to the former author, who perhaps might be ſomewhat prejudiced, they made no ſcruple of frequently violating the rights of others.

Their cuſtoms, arts, &c.

Their arts and ſciences for that early period were doubtleſs conſiderable. For we find the invention and uſe of the conſtellations were known to them in the days of *Job*. Sir *Iſaac Newton* even ſuppoſes the ſciences and arts to have flouriſhed firſt among the *Edomites*, and it has been a common opinion of the learned, that the ſecrets and beauties of nature, that morality and much ſublime and truely uſeful knowledge were cultivated among them. Like the other nations in their neighbourhood they in time forſook the true religion of their anceſtors, and became idolaters; for we find that *Amaziah* king of *Judah* brought deſtruction upon himſelf by worſhiping their idols *. They alſo in time dropt the rite of circumciſion, till they were afterwards incorporated with the *Jews*, by *Hircanus*.

Their hiſtory.

When *Eſau* ſettled in *Mount Seir*, his family and domeſtics were probably very numerous. Though he would then only be conſidered as a private perſon and the chief of his own houſe, yet his poſterity in a few generations obtained the dominion of the country, *deſtroying the Horites, and dwelling in their ſtead, as Iſrael did in the land of his poſſeſſion* †.

The *Horites* appear to have had kings very early, who ſucceeded each other by election. Their firſt king was *Bela* the ſon of *Beor*, who is ſuppoſed by biſhop *Cumberland* to have been choſen ſupreme chief of their nation after the invaſion of *Chedorlaomer*.

Upon his death, *Jobab* the ſon of *Zerah* of *Bozrah* ſucceeded. From a ſimilitude of names, he is taken by ſome for the holy and patient *Job*.

Huſham, of the land of *Temani*, ſucceeded *Jobab*.

After him reigned *Hadad* the ſon of *Bedad*, who ſmote *Midian* in the field of *Moab*.

Then ſucceeded *Samlah* of *Maſrekah*, in whoſe reign probably *Eſau* came into the country.

The three following kings were *Shaul* of *Rehoboth*, *Baal-Hanan* the ſon of *Achbor*, and *Hadar*. In the reigns of theſe laſt three kings, the poſterity of *Eſau* became ſo powerful, that we find ſome of his ſons and his grandchildren diſtinguiſhed by the title of Dukes *in* the land of *Edom*. Their wealth and power probably made them aſſume this title, their authority however, extending only over their own families. Beſides the kings of *Edom* already mentioned, there appears to have been among the *Horites* ſeven dukes, all the ſons of *Seir*, or *Hori*

* 2 Chron. xxv. † Deut. ii. 14.

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but whether theſe governed before the kings, or under them, is uncertain.

The next generation of *Eſau*'s poſterity are ſtiled dukes of *Edom*, and are placed by the ſacred hiſtorian immediately after *Hadar* the laſt king of the *Horites* *; ſo that about this time probably the *Horites* were ſubdued, and the country began to be called *Edom*. The names of the dukes were *Timnah*, *Alvah*, *Jetheth*, *Aholibamah*, *Elah*, *Pinon*, *Kenaz*, *Teman*, *Mibzar*, *Magdiel*, and *Iram*. During their government the children of *Iſrael* coming into the wilderneſs †, they, for their greater ſecurity againſt ſo numerous a people, united under one head or king ‡, to whom, or perhaps to his ſucceſſor, meſſengers came from *Moſes* to intreat a paſſage through his country for him and his people. This king, though it was remonſtrated to him that the *Iſraelites* were his brethren, and if allowed a paſſage thro' his country, would keep the highway, and not offer the leaſt injury to his people or their poſſeſſions, nevertheleſs peremptorily refuſed their requeſt. When he was ſollicited a ſecond time, and the *Iſraelites* promiſed to pay for every thing they ſhould need on the way, he ſtill gave them an abſolute denial; and not knowing they were under a ſtrict injunction not to attack his ſubjects, he immediately aſſembled a powerful army to oppoſe them in caſe they ſhould attempt to force their paſſage. However, he made no ſcruple of aſſiſting them as far as he could, when he thought there was no hazard of damage to himſelf, and furniſhed them, for money, with what his country afforded, perhaps to prevent their growing deſperate.

After this tranſaction, their hiſtory is involved for ſeveral ages in abſolute obſcurity, no mention being made of them again till the time of king *David*. During this period, however, they had extended their dominion, applied themſelves to trade and navigation, and ſeized on the empire of the *Arabian* gulf and the trade thereof. They dealt, it ſeems, in very rich commodities, pure gold, gold of *Ophir*, the topaz of *Ethiopia*, coral, pearls and the like, and are ſuppoſed to have become a very conſiderable kingdom.

In the height of their proſperity, a war breaking out between them and king *David*, the occaſion of which is not mentioned by the ſacred hiſtorians, after a dreadful overthrow their country was conquered and ravaged by the *Iſraelites*. *Abiſhai*, one of *David*'s generals, ſlew 18,000 of them in *the valley of Salt*, and his brother *Joab* continued in their country ſix months, and put all their males to death. Many, however, eſcaped to foreign countries, and among theſe *Hadad* of the royal blood, then a boy. They that had the care of him firſt retired to *Midian*, and from thence to *Egypt*, where they were received with great kindneſs by *Pharaoh*, who ſome time after gave the young king the queen's ſiſter in marriage. Bef. Ch. 1040.

* 1 Chron. i. and Gen. xxxvi. † Exod. xv. 15. ‡ Numb. [illegible]

While *Hadad* escaped to *Egypt*, others fled to the *Philistines*, and fortifying *Azotus*, proved a considerable accession of power, and of very singular benefit to that people. At the same time others that dealt in shipping, to avoid the rage of the conqueror, trusted themselves to the sea, and sailed towards or into the *Persian* gulf *. In a word, they were dispersed into all parts, there being no safety for them in their native country. This dispersion of the *Edomites* is supposed by Sir *Isaac Newton* to have been very beneficial to the several nations among whom they took refuge. The *Egyptians*, he thinks, received from the followers of *Hadad* their knowledge of letters, astronomy, navigation and the like; and the *Philistines* improved the arts of navigation and commerce from the refugees among them. *Herodotus* indeed says, the *Phœnicians* came from the Red Sea; and according to *Stephanus*, the fugitives that fled from the same gulf built *Azotus* †.

After *Hadad* had lived many years in the *Egyptian* court in great ease and splendor, he at length formed a design to attempt the recovery of his dominions, seizing an opportunity of the dotage of *Solomon*. Accordingly leaving *Egypt*, he returned to *Idumea*; but the *Jewish* garisons being very powerful, his endeavours to raise an insurrection proved fruitless. He, perhaps, afterwards established himself in *Syria*, where we find the royal family bore the name of *Hadad*. By his *Egyptian* wife he had a son named *Genubath*, who had a princely education in the palace of *Pharaoh*.

The kingdom of *Edom* continued subject to the *Jews* till the reign of *Joboram*, being governed by deputies or viceroys appointed by the kings of *Judah*. The king of *Edom*, whom we mentioned as having assisted *Jehoshaphat* in his expedition against the *Moabites*, was not an ally but a vassal; for we are told, in *Jehoshaphat's reign there was no king in Edom, a deputy was king* ‡.

Ref. Ch. 889. We have now seen *Esau*, according to the prophesy, a servant to his brother. In a short time, however, he broke his yoke from off his neck. For we find in the days of *Joboram*, the *Edomites* revolted from the dominion of *Judah*, and made themselves a king. Being informed that *Joboram* was advancing with a powerful army to reduce them, they marched towards him, and found means to surround him on all sides. *Joboram*, however, attacking them in the night, entirely defeated them with great slaughter. Notwithstanding this advantage, we find he was not able again to reduce them, but they continued ever after independant of the *Jews*. After they had enjoyed their independancy about sixty years, they were defeated by *Amaziah* king of *Judah* in the valley of *Salt*, who slew 10,000 of them, and took as many prisoners, whom he afterwards put to death

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* Chron. of antient Kingdoms amended. † Herod. l. i. c. 1. l. vii. c. 89. Steph. in Voccm ἄζοτος. ‡ 1 Kings xxii. 47.

by

by throwing them from the precipices at *Selah* their capital, which he took by ſtorm, and afterwards called *Jokthael*.

The *Edomites*, whether after or before this is uncertain, engaged in a war with their neighbours the *Moabites*, which proved unſucceſsful; for their king falling into the hands of the enemy, was burnt by them, whether dead or alive we know not, till his bones were reduced to aſhes.

In the third century, after their defeat by *Amaziah*, they became ſubject to the king of *Babylon*, to fulfil what ſeveral prophets had threatned them with, for their enmity and deſpite againſt the *Jews*. When *Jeruſalem* was taken, the *Edomites* Bef. Ch. ſeized that opportunity of wrecking their vengeance againſt 587. the *Jews*, by cutting off thoſe who attempted to eſcape. They vented their rage alſo on the ſad remains of the temple, which, as ſoon as the *Chaldeans* were withdrawn, they conſumed with fire. They even attempted to level the whole city with the ground, inſulting the God of *Iſrael* with horrid blaſphemies, and promiſing themſelves the pleaſure of ſeeing ſhortly an end of the whole *Jewiſh* race. For this inhumanity, they were threatned by the prophets with a ſevere retaliation, namely, that they ſhould behold their land become utterly deſolate, when that of their depreſſed enemies ſhould again be in a flouriſhing condition *.

Accordingly, ſoon after they fell into dreadful confuſion and violent inteſtine commotions, ſo that great numbers of them abandoned their own country, and ſettled in the empty land of *Judea*, particularly in the ſouth-weſtern parts †. Thoſe who ſtayed behind in *Edom*, joined the children of *Nebaioth*, and were called ever afterwards *Nabatheans*; ſo that the ancient kingdom of *Edom* now loſt its name, which was transferred to that part of the land of *Judea* which the refugees had ſettled in, and which had never been any part of their old kingdom, but the lot of the tribes of *Simeon* and *Judah*. This alſo is the *Idumea*, and theſe the *Idumeans* mentioned by *Pliny*, *Ptolomy*, *Strabo*, and other ancient writers. The *Edomites* having now loſt their name, their country, according to the prophecies, in great meaſure became a deſert, *ſtrangers from the ſouth poſſeſſed it*, and thenceforward it was never to riſe, but to be called *the border of wickedneſs* ‡. Concerning thoſe *Edomites* who ſettled in *Judea*, we find that a decree was iſſued out againſt them by *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, commanding them to deliver up all they had belonging to the *Jews*; but what effect the decree had, is not mentioned §.. After the death of *Alexander*, they became ſubject to the *Seleucidæ*, when their ancient averſion to the *Jews* reviving, they warred againſt that nation under the conduct of *Gorgias* their governor, for *Antiochus Epiphanes*. They were

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* Iſaiah xxi. xxxiv. Jer. ix. xxv. xxvii. xlix. Lam. iv. Ezek. xxv. xxxii xxxv. xxxvi. Joel iii. Amos i. ix. Obad. i. Pſal. cxxxvii.
† Strabo, l. xvi. ‡ Malach. i. § 1 Eſdr. iv. 50.

however conſtantly worſted by *Judas Maccabeus*, who at laſt took and ſacked their chief city *Hebron*. That valorous commander, after cutting off 20,000 of them in ſeveral aſſaults, and reducing almoſt all their ſtrong holds, beſieged a reſidue of about 9000 men in two ſtrong towers, which he at length alſo forced, and put the beſieged and other *Idumeans* to death, again to the number of 20,000. After the death of *Judas*, they ſeem to have been agitated by broils and wars till they were conBef. Ch. 130. quered by *John Hyrcanus*, who reduced them to the neceſſity of embracing the *Jewiſh* religion, or quitting their country. They choſe the former, and ſubmitting to be circumciſed, became incorporated with the *Jews*, and thenceforth were reputed as one and the ſame people; the ancient names of *Edomites* and *Idumeans* ceaſing to be appropriated to them, though ſtill preſerved by the *Jewiſh* Rabbins, and figuratively applied to the Chriſtians *.

CHAP. V.

The Hiſtory of AMALEK.

The ancestor of the *Amalekites* not known.

DUKE *Amalek*, the ſon of *Eſau*'s firſt born *Eliphaz* by his concubine *Timna*, is generally ſuppoſed the father of the *Amalekites*, whoſe country was called *Amalekitis*. What time his family ſeparated from the other deſcendants of *Edom*, is uncertain. It is even doubtful whether the *Amalekites* were deſcended from him. We find them ſtiled by *Balaam* the *firſt* or *beginning* of nations. *Chedorlaomer*, in the days of *Abraham*, is ſaid to have ſmote all the country of the *Amalekites*; they are no where called by *Moſes* the brethren of *Iſrael* or *Edom*, and the *Edomites* never held any confederacy with them in all their wars, but ſuffered them to be almoſt extirpated by *Saul*, without lending them any aſſiſtance; laſtly, they are always mentioned and involved in the ſame curſe with the *Amorites*, *Philiſtines*, and other *Canaaniti/h* nations; from all which it may be concluded, they were rather a tribe of the *Canaanites*, than deſcendants from a grandſon of *Eſau*.

According to ſome *Arabian* writers, *Amalek*, the progenitor of the *Amalekites*, was the fourth in deſcent from *Ham*, or from *Shem*, according to others. Some even make him the grandſon of *Shem*; and *Le Clerc*, in his commentary, thinks the *Amalekites* were a great nation before the days of *Abraham*.

As we are in the dark about their deſcent, ſo likewiſe their religion and civil cuſtoms are unknown to us. If *Eſau* was

* Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17 Prid. Connect. b. v. p 433.

their

their progenitor, we may ſuppoſe they uſed circumciſion, and that the decree for extirpating them was owing to the outrages they committed on the diſtreſſed *Iſraelites*: but if of the *Canaanitiſh* race, their horrid idolatries ſubjected them, without all doubt, to one common doom with the *Canaanitiſh* nation. Their arts and trade alſo can only be gueſſed at. Probably their knowledge and commerce was much the ſame with that of their neighbours the *Edomites*, the *Egyptians*, and thoſe of the ſea-coaſts of *Canaan*.

Their religion, cuſtoms, &c.

It appears that their government was monarchical, and that the firſt, or at leaſt one of the firſt, of their kings was called *Agag* *, which was alſo the name of their laſt king †; from whence it has been imagined, that all their intermediate princes bore the ſame appellation.

Their hiſtory.

The *Amalekites* quickly roſe to ſuch a height of power and ſplendor, that their king is ſpoken of as far above all others. *Balaam*, to expreſs the future majeſty of the *Jewiſh* ſtate, ſays, that their king *ſhall be higher than Agag*. He alſo ſtiles the *Amalekites the firſt of the nations*, which if ſuppoſed to expreſs their dignity, ſeems to countenance the extraordinary things related of them by the *Arabians*; as that they conquered *Egypt*, and poſſeſſed the throne of that kingdom many generations. The *Iſraelites* had no ſooner croſſed the Red Sea, than the *Amalekites* reſolved to cut them off. *Joſephus* relates, that they were commanded by five kings; but however that be, they were defeated after a long and bloody battle by *Joſhua* at *Rephidim*, *Moſes*, on the top of a hill, being a ſpectator of the victory. For this outrage, a heavy doom was denounced againſt them, that their name ſhould be utterly put out from under heaven. It pleaſed God, however, afterwards to make uſe of them in conjunction with ſome of the *Canaanites* to puniſh the diſobedience and preſumption of the *Iſraelites*, when attempting to enter *the land of Promiſe*, contrary to his expreſs decree, that for their murmuring and diſbelief, none of them above twenty years of age ſhould enter it. The *Amalekites*, after this, ſeem to have ſeized all opportunities of harraſſing the *Jewiſh* nation. They confederated with *Eglon* king of *Moab*, and the *Ammonites*, and afterwards with the *Midianites*, to root out the *Iſraelites* and poſſeſs their land; but how they were miraculouſly put to flight and purſued by *Gideon*, we have already related.

Ref. Ch. 1095.

After this overthrow, there is no mention of the *Amalekites* till the days of *Saul*, when the nation was grown ripe for the utter extirpation they had been threatned with about 400 years before. As a prelude to it, the *Kenites*, or deſcendants of *Jethro*, who were ſettled among them, were warned to quit their country, God ſparing them on account of the humanity of their progenitor. The *Kenites* accordingly removing, the *Amalekites* were invaded by *Saul* at the head of 210,000 men, who in a

* Numb. xxiv. 7. † 1 Sam. xv. 8.

ſhort

ſhort time laid the country deſolate, and cut off the whole n tion, ſparing neither mother nor ſucking child. *Agag* the kin and the beſt of the cattle only, were ſuffered to live, and fou very few eſcaped or concealed themſelves in places where the were not diſcovered. *Agag*, upon his arrival at *Judea*, pe ſuaded himſelf that *the bitterneſs of death was paſſed*; howev he was hewed in pieces at *Gilgal* by the prophet *Samuel*, wh was greatly offended with *Saul* for not compleatly executin the command of God.

The poor remains of the *Amalekites* that eſcaped the ſword *Saul*, again ſettled in their country near the *Geſhurites* and *Ga zerites*, two nations on their weſt borders, of whom there is n further mention. They did not long enjoy tranquility; fo Ref. Ch. 1055. *David*, when perſecuted by *Saul*, being allowed by *Achiſh* kin of the *Philiſtines* to ſettle with his followers at *Ziklag*, invade them from thence, and left neither man nor woman of thoſ who fell into his hands alive, laid waſte the country, an carried off all the cattle. The *Amalekites* who remained, in re ſentment for this injury, ſoon after ſurprized *Ziklag*, whic they deſtroyed by fire. They however ſlew none of the inha bitants, which is not a little ſurprizing, conſidering what the had ſuffered ſo lately from *David*. They only carried awa the ſpoil and the women and children captives, and returne with great expedition towards their own country; but bein overtaken by *David*, they were ſurprized by him after a de bauch, and all cut to pieces excepting 400 men, who eſcape by the ſwiftneſs of the camels on which they rode. The *Ama lekites* at length we find were utterly extirpated in the days o *Hezekiah* by the *Simeonites*, who took poſſeſſion of their coun try, and there fixed their ſettlements, fulfilling the propheſy o *Balaam*, *Amalek was the firſt of the nations, but his latter end ſha be that he periſh for ever*. Afterwards *Haman* the *Agagite*, o *Amalekite*, would have taken ample revenge on the *Jews*, ha not God as it were miraculouſly interpoſed. This ſpiteful tho fruitleſs conſpiracy, may be reckoned the laſt act of th *Amalekites*.

CHAP. VI.

The Hiſtory of CANAAN.

Canaan the ſon of *Ham* the progenitor of the *Canaanites*.

THE inhabitants of this country were in general calle *Canaanites*, from *Canaan* the fourth ſon of *Ham*, an grandſon of *Noah*. *Canaan* had eleven ſons, *Sidon* or *Zido Heth*, *Jebuſi*, *Emori* or *Amori*, *Gergaſi* or *Gergaſhi*, *Hivi* o *Hevi*, *Archi* or *Arki*, *Sini*, *Aruadi*, *Zemari*, and *Hamathi*, wh were the fathers of the following tribes or nations, the *Sidon* an

nas, the *Hittites*, the *Jebuſites*, the *Amorites*, the *Gergaſhites*, the *Hivites*, the *Arkites*, the *Sinites*, the *Arvadites*, the *Zemarites*, and the *Hamathites*. Five of theſe, namely, the *Hittites*, the *Jebuſites*, the *Amorites*, the *Gergaſhites*, and the *Hivites* were known to have dwelt in the land of *Canaan*, and with two others, namely, the *Perizzites* and the *Canaanites*, were doomed to be expelled, extirpated or ſubjected by the *Iſraelites*, in conſequence of the curſe denounced againſt their ungodly anceſtor *Ham*. From whence the *Perizzites* and *Canaanites* were ſo called, or how they came to be diſtinct tribes, cannot be aſcertained.

Whether the nations deſcended from the other ſix ſons of *Canaan* were alſo doomed to the ruin which was to light on the other ſeven tribes, has been greatly queſtioned. They are not mentioned as concerned in the wars which *Joſhua* and his ſucceſſors had with the other *Canaanites*, who are particularized always by themſelves; therefore it may be concluded their territories were not deſigned as part of the conqueſt of the *Iſraelites*.

The ſeven nations, namely, the *Hittites*, the *Jebuſites*, *Amorites*, *Gergaſhites*, *Hivites*, *Perizzites*, and *Canaanites*, at the time they were invaded by the *Iſraelites*, were ſubdivided into a great many little kingdoms; for within the narrow limits of *Joſhua*'s conqueſts, there are mentioned no leſs than thirty one kings.

Their cuſtoms, &c.

The different nations of the *Canaanites* being deſcended from the ſame progenitor, had doubtleſs a great intercourſe with each other, and a ſimilitude in their religions, cuſtoms, manners, arts, ſciences, and language. In ſome points, however, they may be ſuppoſed to differ, according as their ſituation led them into different courſes of life. The *Canaanites* on the ſea-coaſt were merchants, in which capacity we ſhall afterwards conſider them when we come to ſpeak of them as *Phœnicians*, by which name it is commonly agreed they were afterwards known to the *Greeks*. The other *Canaanites*, who had an inland ſituation, were partly employed in paſturage and partly in tillage, and in the exerciſe of arms, in which they will be ſeen to be well verſed. It will alſo be perceived by their hiſtory, that when invaded, they were ready to join in the common cauſe, that they were very well appointed for war, and their towns were ſtrongly fortified; that in the field they were well furniſhed with weapons, and particularly uſed armed chariots, ſo dreadful among the antients; that they were daring, obſtinate, politic, crafty, and almoſt invincible. The language they ſpoke was, it ſeems, well underſtood by *Abram*, who without any difficulty converſed with them upon all occaſions, as he did alſo with the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*. And as it appears the art of writing was early known to their neighbours, it cannot be ſuppoſed they were ignorant of it.

Their religion.

They retained the pure religion quite down to the days of *Abraham*, who acknowledged *Melchizedek*, a *Canaanite* and king of

of *Salem*, to be prieſt of the moſt high God. As we find *Abraham* met with no diſturbance from them on account of his religion, we may reaſonably conclude their religion was not different from his. The *Philiſtines* alſo then worſhiped the true God, as appears from the conſcientious behaviour of *Abimelech* the king of *Gerar*. Corruptions in religion might, however be then beginning to appear among them; for *Abraham* was at firſt perſuaded the fear of God was not in *Gerar*. In the days of *Iſaac* they ſeem to have been groſsly corrupted; for the alliance of *Eſau* with the *Hittites* was the averſion of *Iſaac* and *Rebekah*, and a few generations later they were become incorrigible idolaters; for *Moſes* commands the *Iſraelites to deſtroy their altars, and break down their images, and cut down their groves, and burn their graven images with fire*; from this it is concluded by Sir *Iſaac Newton*, that they had no temples. The *Iſraelites* are alſo ſtrictly enjoined not to intermarry with them, but to ſmite them and utterly deſtroy them. They are accuſed of the cruel cuſtom of ſacrificing men, and are ſaid to have paſſed their ſeed through the fire to *Moloch*. Their morality was no leſs corrupt than their doctrine; for they are charged with the ſins of adultery, beſtiality of all ſorts, profaneneſs, inceſt, and all manner of uncleanneſs; as a puniſhment for which the calamities they ſuffered were brought upon them.

Their government.

As to their government, it appears that at firſt they tranſacted all their buſineſs in popular aſſemblies. *Abraham*, we find, did not addreſs himſelf to *Ephron* king of the *Hittites*, but *bowed himſelf to the people of the land, even to the children of Heth*; and when *Ephron* and he bargained, their agreement was ratified by a popular council. *Hamor* alſo, king of *Shechem*, would not give a final anſwer to the propoſals made to him by *Jacob*'s ſons, till he had *communed with the men of his city*. If exorbitant ambition and a luſt to rule had prevailed among them, it is not indeed likely that ſo many petty kingdoms would have been ſtanding when *Joſhua* invaded them.

Their hiſtory.

The beginnings of their hiſtory are very dark and obſcure, the hypotheſes and illuſtrations of the learned giving but ſmall lights to them for want of genuine records. Conſidering the ſituation and diſtance of the country, we may reaſonably conclude, that upon the diſperſion it was directly peopled by *Canaan* and his deſcendants. An old tradition indeed ſays otherwiſe, and tells us, that it was aſſigned to *Seth* and his deſcendants by *Noah*, who made a diviſion of the earth; but that *Seth*'s deſcendants were diſpoſſeſſed by the children of *Canaan*. *Hieronymus* relates, that the *Phenician* ſhepherds or *Canaanites* made an irruption into *Egypt*. At what period this happened, is uncertain. Some have therefore conjectured, that ſo early as the days of *Mizraim*, the ſouthern *Canaanites*, ſtraitened for want of room, or diſliking their firſt ſettlement, proceeded to *Egypt*, erected a ſeparate kingdom on the *Arabian* ſide of that country, and continuing at enmity with the *Egyptians*, were

at length expelled by them in the days of *Abraham*. There ſeems however no ſolid foundation for this account *.

The firſt action concerning this people, we find for certain was the invaſion of the vale of *Siddim*, where *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* then ſtood, by *Chedorlaomer* king of *Elam*, who reduced the inhabitants of the valley, and obliged them to pay him a tribute. About four years after *Abraham* arrived in the land, where he was received with great hoſpitality, the *Canaanite*, we are expreſsly told, being then in the land; but the country ſoon after his arrival being oppreſſed by famine, he proceeded to *Egypt*. This famine being of no long continuance, *Abram* returned to *Canaan*, when it was ſaid the *Perizzite* was alſo in the land. From theſe remarks regarding the *Canaanite* and *Perizzite*, ſome have thought that they were ſpoken of as new comers, and that they had lately been expelled from *Egypt*, or had voluntarily forſaken that kingdom, *Canaan* becoming thereby more populous; ſo that *Abram* and *Lot*, upon their return from *Egypt*, were ſtraitened for want of room, and obliged to ſeparate. Bef. Ch. 1912.

The five kings of the vale of *Siddim* revolting from *Chedorlaomer*, in the thirteenth year after they had been ſubdued, the year following *Chedorlaomer*, with his allies, marched hither again, and defeated them in a pitched battle with great ſlaughter; after which he pillaged *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, and among his priſoners carried off *Lot*, who was ſoon reſcued by his uncle *Abram*. The whole booty was alſo recovered by *Abram*, who having routed and diſperſed the enemy upon his return, was preſented by *Melchiſedek* king of *Salem*, and prieſt of the moſt high God, with bread and wine, who bleſſed him in the name of the moſt high God, poſſeſſor of heaven and earth, and received from him the tythes of all.

It has been greatly diſputed who this *Melchiſedek* was. The *Jews*, unwilling to own that their progenitor had any ſuperior among the *Canaanites*, will have him to have been *Shem*, who was alive ſeventy years after this tranſaction. Biſhop *Cumberland*, *Grotius*, and ſome other Chriſtian writers, are alſo of this opinion. The learned *Patrick*, however, thinks ſuch a notion evidently deſtroyed by the apoſtle to the *Hebrews*, who ſays, that the pedigree of *Melchiſedek* was not counted from the *Jews* †. *Abram*, he ſays, could not be ſaid *to dwell in Canaan*, if his noble anceſtor had been king there; nor is it likely that *Shem* would reign in a country in poſſeſſion of his brother's ſon. *Joſephus* expreſly calls *Melchiſedek* a potentate of the *Canaanites*, and the *Arabians* make him a deſcendant of *Peleg*.

The king of *Sodom*, who was preſent at the interview between *Abram* and *Melchiſedek*, generouſly deſired *Abram* to keep the booty to himſelf, and only aſked the perſons of his ſubjects;

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* Cumberland on Sanchoniatho, and Bedford's Scripture Chron.
† Heb. vii. 6.

but

but *Abram*, with great magnanimity and diſintereſtedneſs, re fuſed to keep even the ſmalleſt part belonging to him; at th ſame time leaving his three *Amorite* confederates, *Aner*, *Eſhco* and *Adamre*, to take their portion if they pleaſed.

The inhabitants of the vale of *Siddim*, particularly of *Sodom* after this deliverance, abandoned themſelves to ſuch a degree o wickedneſs, that they left no room for mercy, and were ac cordingly, about fifteen years after, utterly deſtroyed, excep *Zoar*, by a dreadful judgment from God. The whole val being conſumed by brimſtone and fire, or by thunder and light ning, became thenceforward *the dead or ſalt ſea*, or *lake Aſphal tites*. The vale, we are told, was full of ſlime pits, or place from which *naptha* and *bitumen* were extracted; whence it i ſuppoſed the lightning flaſhing along the ſurface of the ground ſet fire to the combuſtible matter, which had the dreadful effect of turning this once inchanting paradiſe into a loathſome lake. The ſin for which the inhabitants ſuffered has, from the chief city of that vale, *Sodom*, ever ſince borne the name of *ſodomy*.

About 38 years after this memorable event, *Abram* treated with the *Hittites* for the purchaſe of a burying-place at *Mach pelah*. That tribe, in the moſt reſpectful terms, offered him the choiceſt of their ſepulchres, where he might depoſit his dead; and *Ephron* the ſon of *Zoar*, their chief, upon being applied to for the cave of *Machpelah*, generouſly offered to make him a preſent not only of the cave he wanted to purchaſe, but of the field adjoining; but, ſuch was the noble ſpirit of *Abram*, he was obliged to ſell the field and the cave to him for 400 ſhekels, which, from his great regard to the patriarch, he looked upon as a matter of ſmall conſideration between them.

Bef. Chr. 1731. *Hamor* king of *Sechem*, a poor and weak kingdom, about 60 years after this, was very ſollicitous that *Jacob* ſhould allow his children to intermarry with his people, and offered him a ſettlement in his country. *Hamor*'s ſon *Shechem*, a little before, had deflowered *Dinah*, *Jacob*'s daughter; but having a real paſſion for her, and ſenſible of the wrong he had done her, he intreated his father *Hamor* to uſe his endeavours that he might have her for his wife. They accordingly applied to *Jacob* and his ſons; and *Shechem* offered to agree to any ſatisfaction required, if they would but grant him *Dinah* in marriage. *Jacob*'s ſons were highly exaſperated at the injury done to their ſiſter, and meditated a moſt bloody revenge; but, diſguiſing their reſentment, declared they would grant his ſuit, if he, and all of his tribe or city, would conſent to be circumciſed. *Hamor* and *Shechem* with joy conſented to this condition, and, by their zealous perſuaſions, prevailed on all their tribe likewiſe to be circumciſed. But the third day after, when the pain and anguiſh of the operation was greateſt, and the *Shechemites* were thereby feveriſh and very much indiſpoſed, they were all ſurprized and cut off by two of *Jacob*'s ſons, *Simeon* and *Levi*, who, after the bloody maſſacre, deſtroyed their city, and carried off their wives, children, cattle, and all their effects: for which outrage againſt an helpleſs, and

and to all appearance innocent people, their father *Jacob*, on his death-bed, propheſied, that their deſcendants ſhould have no particular inheritance, but be ſcattered in *Iſrael*.

Near three centuries afterwards, when *Moſes* drew towards the borders of *the promiſed land*, the *Canaanites* advanced to their frontiers, and being joined by the *Amalekites*, who it may be ſuppoſed were eager to wipe off the diſgrace of the action ſome years before at *Rephidim*, they attacked the *Iſraelites* attempting to enter their territory againſt the expreſs decree of God, and repulſed them, with great ſlaughter, quite to *Hormah*.

Much about the ſame time, probably a few years before, *Sihon* king of the *Amorites* invaded the children of *Moab* and *Ammon*, and diſpoſſeſſed them of part of their country on the eaſt ſide of *Jordan* and the *Dead Sea*; which conqueſt is celebrated by the moſt ancient poem that is extant among prophane writers *. *Arad* was king in the ſouth-eaſt part of *Canaan* when *Moſes* and the *Iſraelites* had, a ſecond time, reached the borders of *the promiſed land*; and being informed of their coming by *the way of the ſpies*, he attacked them, and took ſeveral of them priſoners: but fortune changing, he was vanquiſhed by them, and his country utterly deſtroyed.

Soon after this, *Sihon* the *Amorite*, who reſided in his new conqueſt, venturing to act offenſively againſt the *Iſraelites*, was totally routed by them at *Jahaz*, and loſt all his territories, which were immediately poſſeſſed by the conquerors. *Sihon* and *Og* defeated and killed by the *Iſraelites*. Bef. Chr. 1452.

Og, another king of the *Amorites* †, who is alſo ſtiled king of *Baſhan*, his kingdom being ſo named from the hill of *Baſhan*, ſince called *Batanea*, attempted likewiſe to oppoſe the *Iſraelites*. He was the laſt of the race of the giants, or *Rephaims*, and his iron bedſtead was nine cubits in length. His kingdom was populous and beautiful; for it contained no leſs than ſixty walled towns beſides villages, and the country afforded an excellent breed of cattle and ſtately oaks ‡. Preſuming upon his ſtrength, he engaged the *Iſraelites* at *Edrei*; but being routed and killed, the conquerors, after deſtroying all his people, ſeized his kingdom.

The overthrow of *Og* and *Sihon* no doubt greatly alarmed the *Canaanites*; but a few years after, when they heard that God had dried up the waters of *Jordan* before the children of *Iſrael*, they were ſeized with great terror and conſternation. *Jericho* firſt became a prey to the invaders. Its walls were miraculouſly overturned; after which it was reduced to aſhes, and the man curſed that ſhould ever attempt to rebuild it, its inhabitants being all put to the ſword, except the harlot *Rahab* and her family, who had been inſtrumental in ſaving the ſpies ſent thither by *Joſhua*. The *Jews*, immediately after, made an unſucceſsful

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* Numb. xiv. 43. xxi. 27. † Deut. iii. 8. 11. ‡ Idem. Joſ. xiii. 30. Joſeph, Deaut. xxxii. 14. Pſal. xxii. Iſa. ii. 13.

attempt upon *Ai*, the king of which city, to ſecure himſelf from a ſecond aſſault, ordered the men of *Bethel*, who were his ſubjects, to join him. *Joſhua*, however, by a ſtratagem, having drawn him out of the city, another body of *Iſraelites*, that lay in ambuſh, ſeized upon it, ſet it on fire, and intercepted the return of the enemy; who finding themſelves attacked on all ſides, were thrown into confuſion, routed, and all put to the ſword, except their king, who was taken alive, but immediately hanged. The *Iſraelites* then plundered and burned what remained of the city, and cut to pieces all who were found in it; the number of the ſlain in all amounting to about 12,000.

The *Gibeonites*, by craft, ſecure the protection of the *Iſraelites*.

The ſad cataſtrophe of *Jericho* and *Ai* alarmed all the *Canaaniti/h* kings, who entered into a general confederacy againſt *Joſhua*. The inhabitants of *Gibeon*, a city of the *Hivites*, however, choſe a more prudent counſel, and, declining the general alliance, ſecured the friendſhip and protection of the *Iſraelites* by a ſtratagem. They ſent ambaſſadors to the *Iſraeliti/h* camp, dreſſed in old tattered garments, and with ſuch a worn-out equipage, as made them appear to have come from a far diſtant country; ſo that the *Iſraelites*, without conſulting God, haſtily gave credit to their deceitful words, and concluded an alliance with them. Three days after the artifice was diſcovered; but as the treaty had been ſolemnly ratified by an oath, the *Iſraelites* entered their cities as friends. Agreeable to the treaty, they ſpared their lives; but becauſe they had acted deceitfully, they condemned them to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation; that is, to be ſlaves, or little better.

Adonizedek defeated by *Joſhua*.

The *Gibeonites*, by their ſubmiſſion to *Joſhua*, greatly irritated their countrymen againſt them; and *Adonizedek* king of *Jeruſalem*, with the kings of *Hebron*, *Jarmuth*, *Laci/h*, and *Eglon*, joined forces together, and beſieged *Gibeon*. *Joſhua*, who ſtill continued in his camp at *Gilgal* on the banks of the *Jordan*, being ſollicited by the beſieged to come to their relief, and encouraged by God, immediately marched to *Gibeon*, attacked the beſiegers, and, after a great ſlaughter, put them to flight, and purſued them to *Bethhoron*. The *Canaanites* were not only cut to pieces by the *Iſraelites*, but killed in greater numbers by a ſhower of immenſe hailſtones that fell upon them about *Bethhoron*; and the ſun being miraculouſly ſtopped, for almoſt a whole day, the purſuit was thereby rendered more bloody; the *Iſraelites* having full time to avenge themſelves of the enemy. The five kings concealed themſelves in a cave near the city of *Makkedah*; but being diſcovered, they were taken from thence and put to death.

After this overthrow, the cities of *Makkedah*, *Libnah*, *Laci/h*, *Eglon*, *Hebron*, and *Debir*, were taken and deſtroyed by *Joſhua*, who alſo cut off *Horam* king of *Gezer*, and his people, and ſmote all the country of the hills ſouthwards, utterly deſtroying

Jabin I. all that breathed. *Jabin* king of *Hazor*, alarmed at this rapid progreſs of the *Iſraelites*, prevailed on *Jobab* king of *Madon*, on the kings of *Shimron* and *Achſhaph*, on the kings on the north of th

the mountains, and thoſe in the plains ſouth of *Cinneroth*, and in the valley, and on the borders of *Dor* on the weſt, on the *Canaanites* peculiarly ſo called, on the *Amorite*, the *Hittite*, the *Perizzite*, the *Jebuſite* in the mountains, and the *Hivite* under *Hermon* in the land of *Mizpeh*, to join their arms to oppoſe *Joſhua*. According to the ſacred hiſtorian, they were as ſand on the ſea-ſhore for numbers, and very ſtrong in horſes and chariots; and, by the account of *Joſephus*, their army conſiſted of 300,000 foot, 10,000 horſe, and 20,000 armed chariots. While they were encamped at the waters of *Merom*, ſince called the lake *Samachonitis*, they were ſuddenly attacked by *Joſhua*, who, after driving them from their camp, forced them to diſperſe, purſuing ſome of them weſtward to *Zidon the great*, and *Mizrephoth-Maim*, and another body of them eaſtward towards the valley of *Mizpeh*. They were almoſt all cut to pieces in the purſuit; after which *Joſhua* returned and took *Hazor*, which he utterly deſtroyed, putting the king *Jabin* and all the inhabitants to the ſword. The inhabitants of the other cities concerned in this confederacy were alſo all cut off: the cities, however, were ſuffered to ſtand, as they were only dependant on *Hazor*.

The *Canaanites*, notwithſtanding theſe great loſſes, abſolutely refuſed to think of peace, and continued for ſix years to oppoſe *Joſhua* with great obſtinacy, though in the end their country was almoſt wholly reduced by the *Iſraelites*. Great numbers of them, in the mean time, are thought to have left their country, and to have ſettled in the diſtant parts of *Africa*. In their way thither they are ſuppoſed to have ſeized on *Lower Egypt*, and to have poſſeſſed that country under ſeveral ſucceſſive kings of their own, till they were at length overpowered by the *Egyptians*, and obliged to proceed farther weſtward; which ſome imagine correſponds with the account of the invaſion of *Egypt* by the *Phœnician* paſtors.

After the *Canaanites* were reduced, the *Anakims*, who inhabited ſome of the mountains of the land, a fierce, barbarous, and gigantic race, of an origin, as it is thought, diſtinct from the *Canaanites*, were invaded and cut off; and the greateſt part of the country being then in poſſeſſion of the *Iſraelites*, the war was for ſome years ſuſpended, till the diviſion of the land was regulated, according to the number and particular ſtrength of the tribes.

The diviſion being made, the *Canaanites* were, on all ſides, again invaded by the tribes of *Iſrael*, who wanted each to drive them out of their reſpective lots. The tribes of *Simeon* and *Judah* accordingly cut off 10,000 of the *Canaanites* and *Perizzites* in *Bezek*; and taking their king *Adonibezek* priſoner, cut off his thumbs and his great toes, which he himſelf confeſſed was a juſt retaliation for his former cruelty, he having cut off the thumbs and toes of 70 captive kings, whom he had obliged to receive their meat under his table like ſo many dogs. He was then carried to *Jeruſalem*, where he died, the children of *Judah*

having ſome time before taken and burnt that city, and cut off the *Jebuſites*, the inhabitants * (E).

The *Canaanites*, immediately after this, were invaded in ſeveral other parts, particularly in *Hebron* and *Debir*, two cities formerly deſtroyed by *Joſhua*; which ſhews the reſolution of this people, and their reluctance to quit their poſſeſſions. Though the inhabitants at this time were expelled from the mountains in many different places, yet thoſe who reſided in the plain, we are told, could not be driven out, becauſe they had chariots of iron. The tribe of *Joſeph* ſurprized and took the city of *Bethel*; but the tribes of *Manaſſeh*, *Ephraim*, *Zebulon*, *Aſher*, *Naphtali*, and *Dan*, were not able to expel the ancient inhabitants. To ſome of theſe the *Canaanites* became tributaries; others again, particularly the *Aſherites* and the *Danites*, ſeem to have been confined to certain limits by the old inhabitants. The *Amorites*, we are told, forced the children of *Dan* into the mountain, and would not ſuffer them to come down into the valley, and even kept the mountain *Heres*; though in time they were obliged to become tributaries, the houſe of *Joſeph* aſſiſting the *Danites* to reduce them.

The *Canaanites*, notwithſtanding great multitudes of them were ſlain in the wars with *Joſhua*, and that many of them, as is rationally ſuppoſed, fled to diſtant countries, in queſt of more ſure and quiet abodes, ſeem, after all their calamities, to have been little inferior to the *Iſraelites*, their remaining number, valour, or ſuperior ſkill in war, being conſidered. Not one tribe of them after this is miſſed, except the *Girgaſhites*, who, we are expreſsly told, fled into *Africa* †.

Thoſe *Canaanites* who remained in the land, and alſo thoſe on the borders, were left to prove the *Iſraelites*, whether or not they would continue to ſerve the true God. The ſecond generation of thoſe who were conducted by *Joſhua*, we find, ſoon forgot their great deliverer, and were enſnared by the *Canaanites* that remained, to intermarry with them, and to worſhip their idols; on which account God delivered them into the hands of

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* Judg. i. 8. † Gamar. Hieroſolymit. ad lit. Shebitih.

(E) The fortreſs of *Zion*, however, we find was poſſeſſed by the *Jebuſites* in the days of *David*, who expelled them from thence *. According to *Joſephus*, in the time of *David* the *Jebuſites* had both the city and fortreſs in their own hands. It is generally ſuppoſed that the *Iſraelites* were in poſſeſſion of the city even after this expedition of the two tribes, while the *Jebuſites* held the fortreſs; but as we find the *Canaanites* recovered many cities taken from them by *Joſhua*, it may alſo be ſuppoſed the *Jebuſites* retook *Jeruſalem*; it not being likely that they would content themſelves with the fortreſs alone.

* 2 Sam. v. vi.

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the ſpoilers. They were *greatly diſtreſſed* by different nations, and particularly by the *Canaanites*.

Jabin king of *Canaan*, that reigned in *Hazor*, a powerful prince, maſter of no leſs than 900 chariots of iron, held the *Iſraelites* in ſubjection 20 years. Some think that this *Jabin* was the ſon of the king of the ſame name, that was put to death about 140 years before by *Joſhua*; which does not appear probable. He inhabited the ſame city with the former, which we are told was, in the time of *Joſhua*, the capital of ſeveral neighbouring ſtates, and ſeems now to have been again very flouriſhing, though utterly deſtroyed by *Joſhua*. *Siſera* was captain of the hoſt of *Jabin*; and being informed that the *Iſraelites*, at length provoked by the cruel oppreſſion of the *Canaanites*, had revolted, and 10,000 of the tribes of *Naphtali* and *Zebulun* had taken arms under *Barak* and *Deborah* the propheteſs, he ordered a general rendezvous of all his fighting men, and marched with them againſt the revolters. The number of his troops, according to *Joſephus*, was very large; however, at the waters of *Megiddo* he was intirely routed and purſued by *Barak* with great ſlaughter, his whole army being intirely cut off. *Joſephus* tells us, that in the beginning of the engagement a furious tempeſt of hail, wind, and rain, quite diſabled the *Canaanites* for action; which account is greatly countenanced by the Scriptures, where we are told, *the Lord diſcomfited* Siſera; *and they fought from heaven, the ſtars in their courſes fought againſt* Siſera. In the hurry and confuſion of the flight, *Siſera* quitted his chariot, and fled on foot to the tent of *Heber* the *Kenite*, who was at amity with *Jabin*. He was kindly invited in to repoſe himſelf by *Jael*, *Heber*'s wife; but he had no ſooner fallen aſleep, than ſhe drove a tent-nail into his temples, and by that means killed him. After this victory the children of *Iſrael* prevailed againſt *Jabin*, until they had deſtroyed him. *Joſephus* tells us, that *Jabin* himſelf was afterwards defeated by *Barak*, who proceeded to *Hazor* the capital, took the city, and levelled it with the ground.

Jabin II. A. Ch. 1285.

There is no mention of the tranſactions of the *Canaanites* after this for a long ſeries of years. We find they had been able to maintain their ground in ſeveral parts, and particularly in *Jeruſalem*, till the reign of *David*, who, when he came to beſiege the fortreſs of *Zion*, was at firſt inſulted by them. They were ſo confident of the ſtrength of their walls and ſituation, that they told the beſiegers unleſs they could take away the lame and the blind, whom they placed on their walls as their defenders, they would never take the place. The real meaning of this paſſage is very obſcure. According to *Joſephus*, who is followed by *Bochart*, they were perſons actually blind and lame, placed on the walls in contempt of the enemy. Dr. *Gregory*, who has a whole diſſertation on the paſſage, thinks that by the blind and the lame are underſtood the gods of the *Jebuſites*, which they placed on the walls, by their power or influence to keep off the enemy, as the *Trojans* thought their city impregnable while the *Palladium* remained with them. The vaunting or confidence of the *Jebuſites*,

Zion taken from the *Jebuſites* by *David*. Bef. Chr. 1048.

buſites, however, was ſoon at an end; for *David* quickly made himſelf maſter of the place by ſtorm. According to *Joſephus*, who ſays the *Jebuſites* at this time were in poſſeſſion of *Jeruſalem*, *David* only took the lower city, and the fortreſs, ſome time after, was taken by *Joab*.

The *Canaanites*, not long after, were invaded by *Pharaoh*, who took and burnt the city of *Gezer*, and put the inhabitants to the ſword; but upon what provocation is utterly unknown. The city was afterwards repaired or rebuilt by *Solomon*, who had it with his wife, *Pharaoh*'s daughter.

The *Amorites*, *Hittites*, &c. reduced to ſlavery. Bef. Chr. 1112.

The *Iſraelites*, under the reigns of *David* and *Solomon*, riſing to a very high pitch of wealth and power, the remnant of the *Amorites*, *Hittites*, *Perizzites*, *Hivites*, and *Jebuſites*, were no longer able to maintain their liberty and independance, or even pay tribute, eſpecially as they had been alſo lately aſſaulted by the *Egyptians*. It is therefore ſuppoſed that by a compact or capitulation they became ſlaves to *Solomon*, and embraced the *Jewiſh* religion, and were employed by that king in the heavy labour of carrying on his vaſt and ſumptuous works. After they became proſelytes, it is thought they were diſtinguiſhed from the *Jews*, and reckoned of a more ignoble blood, and as born to drudgery, their poſterity, it would ſeem, being alſo long after accounted ſervants or ſlaves *. *Solomon*, it is ſaid, *levied a tribute of bond-ſervice unto this day upon the remnant of the* Canaanites. And when thoſe who returned at the captivity are mentioned by *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, there is notice taken alſo of *the children of* Solomon's *ſervants*, who are thought by commentators to be the deſcendants of the *Canaanites* that ſubmitted to be ſlaves to *Solomon*. This ſuppoſition is not without its difficulties; however, from the account of *Joſephus* it appears very probable.

It may be obſerved that among the tribes of the *Canaanites* enumerated above as ſlaves to *Solomon*, the *Canaanites* peculiarly ſo called are not mentioned. We may therefore conclude that they bore none of the burden, but remained whole and independant in their poſſeſſions on the ſea-coaſt; where, by improving themſelves in navigation, commerce, and the uſeful arts, they roſe afterwards to great fame, under the appellation of *Phœnicians*.

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* 1 Kings ix. 16. 20. Ezra ii. 55. Nehem. xi. 3.

CHAP

CHAP. VII.

The History of the PHILISTINES.

THIS people, who we have already obſerved were ſuppoſed to be deſcended from *Caſluhim* the ſon of *Ham*, were firſt ſeated in *Egypt* *. *Moſes* tells us that they drove out the *Avim*, or *Avites*, even unto *Azzah*, or *Gaza*, and ſettled there; but when this expulſion happened is quite uncertain. Their origin.

Their firſt governors, we find, were kings, who were dignified with the title of *Abimelech*; but their authority, like that of the other kings in their neighbourhood, was very limited. In the days of *Moſes* their monarchy was changed into an ariſtocracy of five lords, who, though in a great meaſure independant of each other, ſeem however to have been obliged to act in concert for the common cauſe. After this they were again governed by kings, who, like the former, were called *Abimelech*, and ſometimes *Aciſh*, and ſeem alſo to have had a very limited authority. This ſecond race of kings, during their beſt times, held their reſidence at *Gath*, which was afterwards removed to *Aſcalon*, and from thence to *Gaza*. The different forms of government.

The *Philiſtines* may be ſaid to have had ſtrong notions of liberty. They did not circumciſe, and in their earlieſt times, at leaſt, held adultery in the greateſt abomination. In the days of *Abraham* and *Iſaac* they were, without all doubt, a righteous and hoſpitable nation, and ſo in a great meaſure they may have been under their firſt race of kings. When idolatry began to prevail, then probably immorality and profligacy would alſo take place. In Scripture they are conſtantly mentioned as ſtrangers; and though they poſſeſſed a conſiderable part of the *land of promiſe*, yet God would never ſuffer them to be driven out, as they were by deſcent *Egyptians*, and not original natives, whoſe land only was promiſed to *Abraham* and his ſeed. They were a very warlike people, and beſides diſtinguiſhed themſelves greatly by their induſtry. They ſeem to have borne a moſt irreconcileable enmity to the *Iſraelites*, which appears alſo to have begun very early, even in the days of *Ephraim*, ſome of whoſe ſons were ſlain by the men of *Gath*; on which misfortune *Ephraim*, we are told, was comforted by his brethren. The ſons of *Ephraim*, according to our tranſlation, would have taken away the cattle of the *Gathites* †, miſcomputing, as the *Jews* will have it, the time when they were to take poſſeſſion of the *Holy Land*. Dr. *Lightfoot*, however, thinks the *Gathites* were the aggreſſors, and that the *Ephraimites* were only attempting to recover their own. They appear to have entertained a very fond veneration for their cities, notwithſtanding they were eye-witneſſes of the ſhame Their character, cuſtoms, language, arts, &c.

* Amos ix. 7. † 1 Chron. vii. 21.

and ignominy that befel them in the preſence of the captive ark. They doubtleſs early addicted themſelves to commerce, and in later times acquired ſo great a reputation as merchants, that the *Greeks* preferred them in that reſpect to all other nations, and from them called the whole country round them *Paleſtine*. In the days of *Abraham* and *Iſaac* they ſeemed to have had one common language with thoſe patriarchs, with perhaps a ſmall variation of dialect, which ſeems not to have differed greatly for ages afterwards. The arts and ſciences known to their neighbours were doubtleſs common alſo to them, and ſome of them, perhaps, in greater perfection. They had giants among them; but whether of the race of the *Anakims* is uncertain. They are ſaid to have invented the bow and arrow, wherewith they armed their ſtouteſt men, whom they called *Cherethites*, a name which ſometimes included the whole nation.

Their religion.

During their firſt race of kings, they ſeem to have had the ſame religion with the *Hebrews*; for both the kings that treated with *Abraham* and *Iſaac* acknowleged the true God. Different kinds of idolatry and ſuperſtition in after-times prevailed among them, each of the five capital cities ſeeming to have had an idol of its own. *Marna*, *Marnas*, or *Marnaſh*, was worſhiped at *Gaza*, and is ſaid to have been adored under the name of *Jupiter* by the *Cretans*, who are thought to have been originally a colony of the *Philiſtines* particularly from *Gaza*, their name being only a contraction of that of *Cherethites*, a frequent appellation of the *Philiſtines*. *Dagon*, who ſeems to have been their greateſt, moſt ancient, and moſt favourite god, was worſhiped at *Azotus*, and was ſaid to have been the inventor of bread-corn, or of agriculture. It is commonly ſuppoſed that he was repreſented a monſter, half man, half fiſh; but as we read of his hands, his head, and his feet, it is more probable that the idol was in ſhape wholly like a man *. Next to *Dagon* was *Baalzebub* the god of *Ekron*, called in the New Teſtament *Beelzebub* and *the Prince of Devils*. His name is interpreted *Lord of Flies*, which ſome think is only a mock appellation beſtowed upon him by the *Jews*, and that his true name was ſome other bordering on the word *Baalzebub*, ſuch as *Baalſhamim*, *Lord of Heaven*, or *Baalzebaoth*, *Lord of Armies*. Under what form he was worſhiped is uncertain. Some paint him as a fly, and others attire him like a king, and place him on a throne. Not to dwell on this obſcurity, it appears that he had prieſts of his own, and became an oracle of the higheſt repute for omniſcience and veracity; and we find *Ahaziah*, when on his death-bed, inſtead of enquiring of God, was anxious to conſult him †. At *Aſcalon*, *Diodorus* informs us, the goddeſs *Derceto* was worſhiped under the repreſentation of half a woman, half a fiſh ‡: but whether ſhe was peculiar to this city, or only the ſame figure

* Fuller's Piſgah Sight, b. ii. c. x. ſect. 32. † 2 Kings i. 2.
‡ Diod. l. iii.

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with *Dagon*, as ſome ſuppoſe, cannot be determined. *Aſhtaroth* or *Aſtarte*, the goddeſs of the *Sidonians*, the Scripture informs us, was worſhiped by the *Philiſtines*. She is, therefore, by ſome thought to have been adored in a peculiar manner at *Gath*, which was the neareſt city on the coaſt of the *Philiſtines* to *Sidon*. They preſented their gods with the chief of their ſpoil, and carried them about to war with them; and from the hiſtory of *Samſon* it ſeems they erected ſpacious temples, or very wide halls, for the celebration of their ſolemn feſtivals, and that their religious offices were attended with much pomp, and a great concourſe from all parts.

When the *Philiſtines* left *Egypt*, or upon what motive they abandoned their original ſettlement in that country, is not known. When they firſt ſeized the country of the *Avims* on the *Canaaniti/h* coaſt, they were not probably very numerous; for we find their kings jealous of the riſing power and grandeur of *Abraham* and *Iſaac*, both of whom they in a manner acknowleged their ſuperiors, and conſulted their ſecurity, by making alliances with them. Their hiſtory.

Their firſt king *Abimelech*, who was an holy and juſt man, and appears to have had ſome intercourſe with God, reſided at *Gerar* when *Abraham*, after parting from *Lot*, arrived in his kingdom. By the too great caution of *Abraham*, he had like to have been drawn into a very fatal ſnare. For *Abraham* declaring that *Sarah* was only his ſiſter, *Abimelech* ſent and took her, with the intention of making her his wife; however, being warned by God in a viſion to reſtore the woman to her huſband, upon pain of death, he immediately ſent her back, excuſing himſelf to God upon his integrity and the innocency of his intentions, and chiding *Abraham* in a friendly manner for miſleading him into ſo dangerous an error. He then made conſiderable preſents to *Abraham* and *Sarah*, and upon the prayers of *Abraham*, he and his whole houſe were reſtored to their natural faculties, of of which they had been deprived for *Sarah*'s ſake, the Lord having rendered the men impotent and the women barren. After this tranſaction, *Abimelech* obſerving the great proſperity of *Abraham*, prevailed on him to enter into a mutual alliance with him, including alſo his ſon and grandſon; to which *Abraham* very readily conſented. *Abimelech* I. Bef. Chr. 1897.

Abimelech the ſon of *Abimelech*, and therefore called the ſecond of that name, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of the *Philiſtines*, and reigned alſo at *Gerar*. In his days *Iſaac* came to *Gerar* with his wife *Rebekah*, and, in imitation of his father, he made her paſs for his ſiſter. So great was the hoſpitality of the nation, and the purity of their morals, that *Rebekah* was unmoleſted by ſuitors of any ſort, and *Iſaac* had no occaſion to complain upon her account. *Abimelech* from his window one day obſerving *Iſaac* careſſing *Rebekah* in ſuch a manner as convinced him they were much nearer related than they pretended to be, called *Iſaac*, and remonſtrated to him how unkindly he had acted, as ſome of his people ignorantly might have enjoyed her, *Abimelech* II. Bef. Chr. 1797.

and thereby involved the whole nation in a moſt dangerous ſin. To prevent this, he immediately charged all his people, upon pain of death, not to touch *Iſaac* or his wife. Nothing can well be added to give us a more favourable idea of this upright king, than his behaviour in this caſe. He was doubtleſs no ſtranger to what had happened, on a like occaſion, to his father; and having the judgments of God before his eyes, believed and dreaded them. *Iſaac* continued for ſome time in his country; but being bleſſed with great proſperity, the *Philiſtines* began to envy him; and *Abimelech* himſelf taking umbrage at his power, ſent him a poſitive order to remove. Not long after, *Abimelech* being informed, that *Iſaac*, after removing from ſeveral places to avoid contentions betwixt the *Philiſtines* and his herdſmen, had ſettled at *Rehoboth*, he went to him with his friend *Abuzzath*, and *Phicol* the chief captain of his hoſt, and prevailed on him to renew the alliance which their fathers had formerly entered into.

The hiſtory of the *Philiſtines*, after this tranſaction, is involved in obſcurity for a long ſeries of years, during which it appears they diſſolved their ancient form of government, and contracted an averſion to the *Iſraelites*. We do not, however, read of any war they had with *Joſhua*; but after his death *Gaza*, *Aſkelon*, and *Ekron*, with their territories, were taken from them by the united tribes of *Judah* and *Simeon*. In a ſhort time, we find them again in poſſeſſion of thoſe places: but whether they recovered them by force of arms, or they were reſtored to them by the conquerors, is not ſaid.

Bef. Chr. 1325. About 120 years after the reduction of the three cities above-mentioned, the *Philiſtines* held the *Iſraelites* under the yoke, till they were delivered by *Shamgar*, who ſlew 600 of them with an ox-goad, or, according to the *Vulgate*, with a plough-ſhare. Near a hundred years after they themſelves were oppreſſed by the *Midianites* under *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*, who, at the time they invaded *Iſrael*, ravaged their territory as far as *Gaza*.

In the days of *Jephthah* the *Philiſtines*, in conjunction with the *Ammonites*, oppreſſed the *Iſraelites* a ſecond time.

Bef. Chr. 1156. A third time, in the days of *Samſon*, they held the *Iſraelites* in ſubjection 40 years. When *Samſon* was grown up, he married a damſel of their country who dwelt at *Timnath*; and at the celebration of the nuptials, thirty young *Philiſtines*, probably according to the cuſtom of the country, attending on him, he propoſed a riddle to them concerning a lion he had killed, in the carcaſe of which he had afterwards found honey. It was agreed, that if they unravelled his riddle in ſeven days, he ſhould give each of them a ſuit of apparel: but if they could not then anſwer him, they ſhould each of them give him the ſame. After long puzzling themſelves with the riddle, they deſpaired of overcoming the difficulty, and therefore had recourſe to his bride, and by threats urged her to obtain a diſcovery of the myſtery from her huſband, and explain it to them. Having by this means ſucceeded, they claimed the prize, which they indeed obtained,

obtained, tho' not without a misfortune to the *Askelonites*, *Samson* slaying 30 men of that city, and giving their garments to the expositors of his riddle.

This was not the only loss the *Philistines* suffered in consequence of this marriage. *Samson*'s father-in-law, thinking his daughter slighted by her husband, who had absented himself several months, gave her away to another, and when *Samson* returned, denied him all access to her; but, to pacify him, offered him another, who, he said, was younger and handsomer. *Samson*, however, by no means mollified by this offer, meditated revenge, and getting together 300 foxes, tied them two and two by the tails with a lighted torch between each pair, and turning them into the standing corn, by that stratagem not only consumed the corn, but also the vines and the olives. Where he could find so many foxes, has been made a great question. According to *Bochart*, the lot of the *Gadites* abounded so much with foxes, that from them several places took their names; and it may be supposed that under the name of foxes was comprehended other animals very much like them called *Thoës*, which go in such herds, that 200 of them have been seen together at once; so that *Samson*, by the assistance of a few servants, might in a few weeks catch a great number of them *. The *Philistines*, exasperated at this terrible outrage, revenged themselves on *Samson*'s father-in-law and his wife, whom they burnt to death; but not without a second misfortune to themselves, a great many of them, on this account, being cut to pieces by *Samson*, who afterwards retreated to the rock *Etam* in the tribe of *Judah*. A great body of the *Philistines* going thither after him, the men of *Judah* dreading their displeasure, brought him to them bound with two cords. *Samson*, upon drawing near the *Philistines*, broke his cords, and seizing the jaw-bone of an ass, assaulted the invaders with it, and killed 1000 of them. Def. Chr. 1136.

The *Philistines*, deeply affected by these injuries, sought for an opportunity to be revenged on *Samson*, and about 20 years after the last slaughter, the *Gazites* thought they had him secure in their city. Having observed him go in to a harlot, they watched him, and made fast their gates, with a design to kill him next morning. *Samson*, however, probably being informed of their design, rose at midnight, took the doors of the gate of the city and the two posts, and carried them away, bar and all, towards *Hebron*.

The lords of the *Philistines* hearing afterwards that *Samson* was enamoured of another harlot of their nation † in the valley of *Sorek*, whose name was *Dalilah*, promised her each 1100 pieces of silver if she could entice him to discover wherein his extraordinary strength lay, and how he might be deprived of it.

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* Stackhouse Hist. of the Bible. † Pool's Annot. Patrick's Comment.

Being corrupted by the bribe, ſhe baſely reſolved to betray him, and by her deceitful wiles, obtaining from him the ſecret that his ſtrength lay in his hair, ſhe cut it off as he lay aſleep, and delivered him a helpleſs prey to the *Philiſtines*, who put out his eyes, bound him with fetters of braſs, and carrying him to *Gaza*, there made him grind in the priſon-houſe. Some time after the *Philiſtines* aſſembled in *Gaza* to the number of many thouſands, to celebrate a ſolemn feſtival to their god *Dagon*, and to offer him thanks, praiſes, and ſacrifices for delivering their enemy *Samſon* into their hand. The temple, theatre or hall where they were aſſembled was ſo large, as to accommodate about 3000 people upon the roof. In the height of their jollity they ſent for the blind *Samſon* to make ſport with him, probably to inſult his miſery, and ſee ſome of his feats of ſtrength, as his hair by this time was pretty well grown again.

Bef. Ch. 1117. *Samſon*, after entertaining them for ſome time, was placed by the main pillars of the building which ſupported the roof. Thinking he had now an opportunity of revenging himſelf, after a prayer to God, he gave the pillars ſuch a ſhake, that the houſe fell upon the whole aſſembly, among whom were almoſt all the chiefs of the *Philiſtines*.

By this ſudden and unexpected calamity, the *Philiſtines* muſt have been brought to a very low condition, as their governors were at one blow cut off, which would occaſion great tumult and confuſion through all their cities. The *Iſraelites* taking advantage of their conſternation, immediately aſſembled an army and marched againſt them to *Ebenezer*; but the *Philiſtines*, notwithſtanding the great loſs they had ſuſtained, drew their troops together, and engaging the enemy, drove them into their camp, with the loſs of 4000 men. The *Philiſtines* ſoon after, by the rejoicings in the *Hebrew* camp, underſtanding that they had brought the ark of the Lord to the field, were at firſt greatly diſpirited, and ſeized with deſpondency; but afterwards taking heart, and animating each other to do their utmoſt rather than become ſlaves to the *Iſraelites*, in the following engagement they fought with ſuch deſperation, that they totally routed the enemy, killed 30,000 of their foot, and, to crown all, took the ark of God. This they doubtleſs accounted a complete victory, and carrying the ark in triumph to *Aſhdod*, placed it in the temple of their idol *Dagon*. Next morning when they entered the temple, *behold Dagon was fallen upon his face before the ark of the Lord*, which they attributed probably to ſome accident, and therefore taking him up, they ſet him in his place again. The day after, however, upon entering the temple, they not only ſaw their god fallen down to the earth, but his head, hands and feet broken off and lying upon the threſhold, the ſtump only remaining entire; whence came a ſuperſtitious cuſtom among the *Philiſtines*, that neither prieſt nor people would ever tread upon the threſhold of the temple. Their concern for their god was quickly diverted by a more lively ſenſe of their own real calamities, their whole country being ſmitten

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with a ſudden plague, of which many died, and thoſe who ſurvived were grievouſly tormented with *emerods*. The men of *Aſhdod*, to be relieved from their calamity, conſulted with the lords of the *Philiſtines* what was to be done with the ark. They ordered the ark to be removed to *Gath*, ſuppoſing, as is thought, that *Aſhdod* was a place unacceptable to it; but the ſame judgments following it to *Gath*, the *Gathites* ſent it to *Ekron*. The *Ekronites* knowing what *Gath* and *Aſhdod* had already ſuffered by detaining it, cried out, that the ark of the God of *Iſrael* was ſent to deſtroy them; and immediately applying to the lords of the *Philiſtines*, begged that the ark might be ſent to its place. In the mean time they ſuffered grievouſly by the diſtemper of the emerods, and likewiſe by a waſteful peſtilence which carried off great numbers of them. What was the effect of their remonſtrance, is not ſaid. The ark was probably removed from them to the country which was now laid waſte by extraordinary ſwarms of mice. The *Philiſtines* finding no end of their calamities for detaining the ark, conſulted with their prieſts and diviners after what manner they ſhould ſend it away. They were adviſed by them not to ſend it away empty, but to place by it in a coffer five golden emerods and five golden mice, as a treſpaſs offering, according to the number of the lords of the *Philiſtines*, the ſame plague having been common to them all. They were alſo directed to place it and the coffer on a new cart, to which they were to yoke two milch kine that had never drawn before, and to obſerve which way the kine went. The kine proceeding directly to *Judea*, they from thence concluded the calamities they had had ſuffered had been inflicted by the God of *Iſrael*.

Several years after, when *Samuel* had gathered an aſſembly of the *Iſraelites* at *Mizpeh* on a religious account, the *Philiſtines*, who had hitherto held them in ſubjection, thinking they intended to revolt, aſſembled an army, and came upon them unawares. *Samuel* interceding with God in behalf of the *Iſraelites*, the attempt of the *Philiſtines* was miraculouſly fruſtrated: for as they marched on to battle, they were broken, diſperſed, and thrown into the utmoſt confuſion by a moſt dreadful ſtorm of thunder and lightning. The *Iſraelites* taking advantage of their conſternation, purſued them as far as *Bethcar*, and cut off ſo many of them, that they were no longer able to maintain their dominion over the *Hebrews*, who took from them all the cities they were in poſſeſſion of, from *Ekron* even unto *Gath*.

About three years after the *Philiſtines* began to recover from their panic, and hearing that *Jonathan* the ſon of *Saul* had ſurpriſed and taken one of their fortreſſes called *Geba*, they aſſembled 30,000 chariots, 6000 horſe, and foot as the ſand of the ſea, and entering the territories of the *Iſraelites*, encamped at *Michmaſh*, occaſioning ſo general a conſternation, that the people hid themſelves in caves, in thickets, and among rocks. The chariots above-mentioned, conſidering their number, cannot well be ſuppoſed war chariots; for *Mithridates*, in his vaſt army, Bef. Ch. 1093.

army, had but 100 of that kind, *Darius* but 200, and *Antiochus Epiphanes* but 300. It has therefore been ſuppoſed, that either an error has crept into the text, or that chariots are only meant for the baggage of the army, and for carrying off the plunder of the country they invaded. What increaſed the terror of the *Iſraelites*, was their want of arms; for during their ſubjection to the *Philiſtines*, no ſmith had been allowed to reſide in their country, ſo that there was neither ſword nor ſpear to be found among them, having, with great indolence, neglected to provide themſelves with thoſe weapons ſince their late victory over the *Philiſtines*.

From *Michmaſh* the *Philiſtines* ſent out three parties to ravage the country. No enemy appearing, they became confident and ſecure, and one of their out guards, in an inſulting manner, invited *Jonathan* and his armourbearer to come up to their poſt. *Jonathan* with his attendant accordingly advancing, ſlew about twenty of them, which occaſioned ſuch a conſternation thro' their whole army, that without examining the matter, they fled with the utmoſt precipitation, beating down each other in their flight. Their confuſed and tumultuous retreat being obſerved by *Saul* and the other *Iſraelites*, they purſued after them, and coming up with them, perceived them ſlaughtering one another. Some *Iſraelites* that had joined them when encamped at *Michmaſh*, at the ſame time declaring for *Saul*, the purſuit became very bloody, and would have been moſt fatal to the *Philiſtines*, if *Saul* had not imprudently prohibited his army to ſtop to take the leaſt refreſhment, ſo that becoming faint, they could only purſue the *Philiſtines* to *Ajalon*, who nevertheleſs, according to *Joſephus*, in their flight loſt 60,000 men.

Though the *Philiſtines* were thus viſibly defeated by the hand of heaven, yet in a few years they again invaded the *Iſraelites* with a numerous army, and advanced to a hill within a few leagues of *Jeruſalem*, where they continued encamped ſeveral weeks, while *Saul* with his army lay on another hill facing them. In the army of the *Philiſtines* there was a giant from *Gath*, named *Goliah*, who was in height ſix cubits and a ſpan, or about twelve feet and a half, and clad in a compleat armour of braſs. The weight of his coat of mail alone was 159 pounds, and of the head of his ſpear 22 pounds, the ſtaff of which was like a weavers beam. This gigantic perſon, by his own ſuggeſtions, or at the ſollicitations of his countrymen, came out of the camp of the *Philiſtines* for forty days ſucceſſively, and challenged any of the *Iſraelites* to a ſingle combat, and by that means to decide which of the two nations ſhould rule and which obey. His appearance ſtruck the *Iſraelites* with conſternation, and none were found that dared to encounter him. At length when both armies were advancing againſt each other in battle array, *Goliah* again, in a vaunting manner, repeated his defiance, when he was ſurprized to ſee a handſome ruddy youth, in the habit of a ſhepherd, make his appearance from the *Iſraelites*. Obſerving him unarmed, with a ſtaff in his hand, he

was fired with indignation, and thinking himſelf highly inſulted, he curſed his young antagoniſt *David* by his gods. *David* no way diſmayed, aſſured him he came againſt him in the name of the Lord of hoſts, and running up to him, ſlung a ſtone at him with ſuch force, that it ſunk into his forehead, and he fell on his face to the earth. When he fell, *David* advanced and drew the giant's ſword, and with that cut off his head, which he carried in triumph to his countrymen. The *Philiſtines* perceiving their champion dead, immediately fled, and were purſued by the *Hebrews* with great ſlaughter as far as the gates of *Gath* and *Ekron*.

Soon after 200 *Philiſtines* being ſlain by *David*, who wanted to preſent their foreſkins to *Saul* as a condition of receiving one of his daughters in marriage, the lords of the *Philiſtines* again took the field to revenge this injury; but with what ſucceſs, is not mentioned. The *Philiſtines* not long after were overthrown in battle by *David* with great ſlaughter, and ſome remarkable change ſeems to have happened about this time in their government; for we now read of a king they had whoſe name was *Achiſh*, and who reſided at *Gath*. In the *Pſalms* we find him called *Abimelech*, the antient appellation of their firſt kings. *David*, to avoid the perſecution of *Saul*, fled to *Gath*, but not meeting with the reception he expected from *Achiſh*, he feigned himſelf mad, and by that means eſcaped. He afterwards attacked and routed a party of *Philiſtines* that were beſieging *Keilah*, and plundered the country in its neighbourhood. The *Philiſtines*, however, again made an irruption into the territories of *Iſrael*; but *Saul*, who was then purſuing *David* in the wilderneſs of *Maon*, marching againſt them, they were obliged to return.

Achiſh king of *Gath*.

Achiſh the ſon of *Maoch* king of *Gath*, after this received *David* into his protection with his followers, to the number of 600 men and their wives. Some have doubted whether this *Achiſh* was the ſame king that *David* had formerly fled to, or a ſucceſſor. It may reaſonably enough be ſuppoſed that it was not a new king; for though *Achiſh* before took no notice of *David* when he came to him without attendants, as a diſcarded court favourite, yet when he was now followed by 600 men, and the enmity *Saul* bore to him was publicly known, he might protect him with the politic view of weakning *Saul*, and keeping up a diverſion among the *Iſraelites*. He ſeems alſo to have influenced the *Philiſtines* on this account to drop the reſentment of their former wrongs; and to prevent *David* from thinking of a reconciliation, he gave him and his followers the city of *Ziklag*, which ever after was claimed by the kings of *Judah*.

David, upon returning from an expedition againſt the *Amalekites*, having perſuaded *Achiſh* that he had been making an inroad againſt his own countrymen, won the confidence of that king, who ſoon after carried him with him in an expedition againſt *Saul*. When they had advanced as far as *Aphek*, the lords of the *Philiſtines*, in a general review, obſerving *David* Bef. Ch. 1056.

and

and his men, and greatly ſuſpecting their fidelity, obliged *Achiſh* to ſend them back, leſt in the day of battle they ſhould join their countrymen, and by that means purchaſe their peace with *Saul*. *David* and his followers accordingly returning towards *Ziklag*, the *Philiſtines* proceeded to *Gilboa*, where they gained a moſt complete victory over the *Iſraelites*, and drove them before them with great ſlaughter. *Jonathan*, *Abinadab*, and *Malchiſhua*, the ſons of *Saul*, were among the number of the ſlain; and *Saul* himſelf being ſore wounded, and filled with deſpair, diſpatched himſelf in his flight by his own ſword. Next day the *Philiſtines* finding the body of *Saul*, they cut off his head, and ſtripped him of his armour, which they dedicated in the temple of *Aſhtaroth*, and hung his body, and thoſe of his ſons, upon the walls of *Bethſhan*. In conſequence of this deciſive victory, they took poſſeſſion of a great many cities of the *Iſraelites*, which were forſaken by the terrified inhabitants. The men of *Jabeſh Gilead* however, who had lately been ſaved from the *Ammonites* by *Saul*, in gratitude for that deliverance, reſolved, notwithſtanding the general conſternation, to attempt to recover the body of their late king, and at the hazard of their lives fetched it away, and thoſe of his ſons, and gave them a more honourable burial in their own city.

After the battle of *Gilboa*, *David* removing from *Ziklag*, was proclaimed king at *Hebron* by part of the tribes; but *Iſhboſheth*, *Saul*'s ſon, being proclaimed king by another party, there was war between them for ſeven years. During this time we do not find that *David* was diſturbed by the *Philiſtines*, which perhaps was owing to the interpoſition of *Achiſh*, who might ſtill continue his regard for him. The *Philiſtines*, however, no ſooner heard that *David* was acknowledged king by all *Iſrael* and *Judea*, than they began hoſtilities againſt them; but what was the occaſion of the rupture, is not mentioned. His friend *Achiſh*, perhaps, was dead, or they might be jealous of his great

Bef. Ch. 1047. power. They entered the territories of the *Iſraelites* with a numerous army, but were ſo totally overthrown by *David* at *Baal-perazim*, that they fled and left their baggage, and even their gods, behind them. They ventured, however, ſoon after, to make a ſecond incurſion, which proved alſo unſucceſsful. God diſcomfited them in the valley of *Rephaim*, and *David* purſued them from *Geba* to *Gazer*. Not long after the *Philiſtines*, we find, were invaded by *David*, who took from them *Metheg-Ammah*, or *Gath*, and its territory *. The war being again renewed between the two nations, the *Philiſtines*, to ſtrike a terror into their enemies, took with them to the field *Iſhbi-benob*, one of the ſons of the giant *Goliath*, who, like his father, was was of an extraordinary ſtature. In an engagement he had like to have ſlain *David*, but was himſelf ſlain by *Abiſhai* the ſon of *Zeruiah*, who came up to the aſſiſtance of the king.

* 2 Sam. viii. 1. 1 Chron. xviii. 1.

Three

Three other ſons of *Goliath*, we are told, were ſlain by the ſervants of *David* in three different engagements, two at *Gob*, and one at *Gath*.

From henceforward the affairs of the *Philiſtines* are more ſlightly touched on, whence we may conclude that their power was greatly weakned, and accordingly it is ſaid, *their horn was broken aſunder* by theſe unfortunate wars with *David*, who in the end made them his tributaries *. Perhaps alſo finding themſelves exhauſted by their continual wars, they began to loſe their reliſh for arms, and to apply themſelves to the advancement of their nation by commerce, eſpecially as great numbers of *Edomites*, well ſkilled in naval affairs, about this time took refuge among them, as we have before related. By the advice and aſſiſtance of the *Edomites*, Sir *Iſaac Newton* ſuppoſes the *Philiſtines* now took poſſeſſion of *Sidon*, with a view to extend their trade; but according to *Juſtin*, they had conquered *Sidon* more than a century before †. In the beginning of the reign of *Solomon*, we find their country open to the *Iſraelites*, *Achiſh* the ſon of *Maachah* then reigning at *Gath*. Whether he was the ſame with the *Achiſh* who was ſo kind to *David*, is uncertain. About fifty years after the *Philiſtines* were haraſſed by *Nadab* king of *Iſrael*, who laid ſiege to one of their cities called *Gibbethon*. The ſame city, a few years after, was again beſieged by the *Iſraelites* in the reign of *Ela*; but by the confuſions occaſioned by the murder of *Ela* by *Zimri*, they were obliged to raiſe the ſiege. Bef. Ch. 953.

The *Philiſtines* appear to have been awed by the power of *Jehoſhaphat*, and voluntarily brought him the tribute which they had neglected to pay for ſeveral reigns ‡. Obſerving the weak government of *Jehoram*, *Jehoſhaphat*'s ſon, they revolted from him, and in conjunction with the *Arabians*, broke into his kingdom, rifled his palace, ſlew all his children except *Ahaziah*, and carried off a great number of captives, ſome of whom they ſold to the *Edomites* and *Grecians* §. About eighty years after their country was invaded by *Uzziah*, who diſmantled *Gath*, *Jabneh*, and *Aſhdod*, and built cities of ſtrength among them, which muſt have reduced them to a kind of ſlavery. It may be ſuppoſed they groaned under this ſubjection during the long reign of *Uzziah*, and that of his ſon *Jotham*; but in the days of *Ahaz* they were encouraged by the diſtracted ſtate of his affairs, to invade *Judah*, and ſeizing upon the cities of *Beth-ſhemeſh*, *Ajalon*, *Gedoroth*, *Shochoh*, *Timinah*, and *Gimzo*, with their territories, fixed their ſettlements there. This large and fine acquiſition however was a very ſhort time in their hands; for *Hezekiah*, the ſon of *Ahaz*, we find, over-ran their whole country, which a few years after was alſo invaded by the *Aſſy-* Bef. Ch. 889. Bef. Ch. 740.

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* Eccluſ. xlvii 8. Joſeph. Antiq. † Juſtin, l. vii, c. 3. Newt. Chron. ‡ 2 Chron. xvii. 2. § 2 Chron. xxi. 19, 17. Amos, i. 6. Joel, iii. 6.

rians

rians under *Tartan*, who took *Aſhdod* *. By this invaſion they were reduced to the loweſt ebb: for they not only loſt their liberties, but their country became the ſeat of a long and obſtinate war between the *Aſſyrians* and the *Egyptians*. *Pſammitichus*, king of *Egypt*, to check the power of the *Aſſyrians*, reſolved to drive them from *Paleſtine*; but though he marched large armies into this country, he was twenty-nine years employed in beſieging *Aſhdod*, or *Azotus*, before it ſurrendered to him, the natives, in the mean time, being expoſed to the ravages of both the foreign nations.

The *Phenicians* from henceforward were tributary to the great monarchies as they ſucceeded each other. The *Egyptians*, we are told, ſmote *Gaza*, which is the laſt event hiſtory takes notice of concerning them. What was at length their fate, may be learned from the threats of the prophet, *Gaza ſhall be forſaken, and Aſkelon a deſolation: they ſhall drive out Aſhdod at the noon day, and Ekron ſhall be rooted up. Wo unto the inhabitants of the ſea coaſt, ye nation of the Cherethites the word of the Lord is againſt you: O Canaan, the land of the Philiſtines, I will even deſtroy thee, that there ſhall be no inhabitant; and the ſea coaſt ſhall be dwellings and cottages for ſhepherds and folds for their flocks* †.

CHAP. VIII.

The Hiſtory of the antient SYRIANS.

Syria from whence ſo called.

SYRIA was originally called *Aram*, from *Aram* the youngeſt ſon of *Shem*. From whence the name of *Syria* was given to this country, is uncertain; but the moſt common and beſt grounded opinion ſeems to be, that *Syria* is a contraction of *Aſſyria*, the antients uſing the two names indifferently. *Lucian* particularly, who was a *Syrian* of *Samoſata*, calls himſelf an *Aſſyrian* ‡. Both the name of *Aram* and *Syria* were formerly of very wide extent, and the bounds of the countries deſigned by them, were far from being fixed or determined. *Syria* proper, to which we ſhall confine ourſelves, lay between the *Mediterranean* on the weſt, the *Euphrates* on the eaſt, mount *Taurus* on the north, which divides it from *Capadocia* and *Armenia*, and *Arabia Petræa* and *Phenicia* on the ſouth.

Its diviſions.

At firſt it was, without doubt, parcelled out into ſeveral ſmall juriſdictions, and in after times it ſeems to have been di-

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* 2 Kings xviii. 8. Iſa. xx. 1. Jerem. xlvii. Ezek. xxv. Zach. ix. 5. Amos i. c. 63 Julin l. i. c. 2. Selden de dea Syr.

† Zeph. ii. 4—6. Joel. iii.

‡ Herod. l. vii.

vided

vided into four principal kingdoms, *Zobah*, *Damascus*, *Hamath*, and *Geshur*; others mentioned in scripture, such as *Bethreboh*, *Ishtob*, *Maacha*, appear to have been only subdivisions. The whole country was afterwards divided into two parts only, *Coelosyria* and *Phenice*. After the death of *Alexander*, *Syria*, in the great extent of its name, was thus divided, *Commagene*, *Seleucis* or *Syria*, *Coelesyria*, *Phenice*, and *Judea*. This is the division of *Strabo*, who nevertheless elsewhere distinguishes *Phenice* from *Syria*. According to *Ptolemy*, the proper *Syria* was divided into *Commagene*, *Pieria Cyrristica*, *Seleucis*, *Castetis*, *Chalybonitis*, *Chalcidice* or *Chalcidene*, *Apamene*, *Laodicene*, *Phœnicia Mediterranea*, *Coelesyria*, and *Palmyrene*.

Commagene was the north corner of *Syria*, and contained *Samosata*, the metropolis, upon the *Euphrates*, *Antiochia ad Taurum*, *Germanicia*, *Singa*, *Chaonia*, and several other cities formerly of great note, but long since utterly destroyed. On the west, on the north, and the east, it had mount *Amanus*, mount *Taurus*, and the *Euphrates*; but how far it extended southwards, is uncertain. *Commagene.*

Pieria, *Seleucis*, and *Castetis*, are all three comprised by *Mela* and *Pliny* under the general name of *Antiochene*, which also sometimes comprehended *Commagene* and *Cyrristica*, having its west boundary on the *Mediterranean* as far south as the island *Aradus*. This part of *Syria* contained a great number of famous cities, the chief of which were *Myriandrus*, *Rhosus*, *Seleucia*, *Pieria*, *Posidonium*, *Heraclea*, and *Laodicea Gubala*. *Seleucia*, so called from *Seleucus Nicator*, borrowed the name *Pieria* from the province, to distinguish it from the other eight cities to which *Seleucus Nicator* gave the same name. It was seated on the coast of the *Mediterranean*, and was one of the most renowned of all the cities of the same name. *Alexandria*, on the northern part of the *Syrian* sea, is placed by *Ptolemy*, in this province: but as it stood without the *Pylæ Syriæ*, it is reckoned by *Pliny*, and most other geographers, in *Cilicia*. In the inland part of *Seleucis* stood the famous *Antioch*, on the *Orontes*, the metropolis of all *Syria*, and the usual residence of the *Macedonian* kings. *Strabo* tells us, it consisted of four parts, or rather cities, each separated from the rest by its own wall, and all inclosed by a common one. Besides *Antioch*, there were *Apamea*, so called from *Apama* the wife of *Seleucus Nicator*; *Emesa*, anciently a city of great note, and the birthplace of the emperor *Heliogabalus*; *Epiphania*, *Larissa*, *Arethusa*, &c. *Seleucis.*

Cyrrhestica lay between *Seleucis*, *Commagene*, and the *Euphrates*. It was so called from its metropolis *Cyrrhus*, and *Cyrrhus* from a city of the same name in *Macedon*. The other cities in this part of *Syria* of most note were, *Zeugma* and *Hierapolis*, anciently called *Bambyce*, and by the *Syrians Magog*. The name of *Hierapolis*, or the *holy city*, was given to it by *Seleucus*, probably on account of the worship that was there paid to the *Syrian* goddess. There were besides *Beræa*, in room of which is *Cyrrhestica.*

thought to have ſucceeded the preſent city of *Aleppo*, or *Chalcb*, as the *Greek* writers of the middle ages ſtile it.

Chalcidene. *Chalcidene* was wholly an inland province, lying between *Seleucis*, *Cyrrheſtica*, *Chalybonitis*, and *Cæleſyria*. It took the name of *Chalcidene* from its metropolis *Chalcis*, the only city of note in this province, though commended by *Pliny* as the moſt fertile of all *Syria*.

Chalibonitis. *Chalybonitis* extended from *Cæleſyria* to the *Euphrates*, and was ſo called from *Chalybon*, the only city it contained worthy of notice.

Palmyrene. *Palmyrene* was a ſpacious province, partly fertile and partly deſert, having *Chalybonitis* on the north, *Cæleſyria* to the weſt, the *Euphrates* to the eaſt, and *Arabia deſerta* to the ſouth. The chief cities of this province were *Palmyra* and *Thapſacus*. *Palmyra* having revolted from the *Romans*, was razed to the ground by the emperor *Aurelian*, who ſoon after repenting, ordered it to be rebuilt, though it never roſe again to its former ſplendor. *Thapſacus*, in the time of the *Macedonian* kings, was known by the *Greek* name *Amphipolis*. *Cyrus* the younger, *Xenophon* tells us, here forded the *Euphrates* with his whole army. *Darius* alſo here croſſed the ſame river on a bridge when marching into *Cilicia* againſt *Alexander*, flying from that conqueror likewiſe by the ſame city, which ſeems even to be mentioned in holy writ. For where *Solomon*'s empire is ſaid to have extended from *Thipſach* to *Gaza**, the *Greek* has *Thapſa* and the Vulgate *Thaphſa*, and the river mentioned there as the boundary, by the *Chaldee*, *Bonfrerius* and *Grotius*, is thought the *Euphrates*, as *David* extended his empire to the banks of that river.

Cæleſyria. According to *Strabo*, *Cæleſyria*, properly ſo called, lay between the mountains *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, and was thence called *Cæleſyria*, or the hollow *Syria*, though ſome think it was ſo named from the inequality of the ſurface of the ground. The principal cities in this part were *Heliopolis*, or the city of the Sun, near the head of the *Orontes*, now known by the name of *Balbek*, *Abila*, *Damaſcus*, and *Laodicea Cabioſa*, or *ad Libanum*. *Damaſcus* was once the metropolis of *Syria*, and in *Strabo*'s time was a moſt conſpicuous city. The moſt general opinion is, that it was founded by *Uz*, *Aram*'s eldeſt ſon; but however this be, it appears to have been a very antient city, and to have been known in the days of *Abram*. *Laodicea*, which ſtood not far from *Libanus*, gave a name to the adjoining territory.

Caſiotis and Apamene. *Caſiotis* and *Apamene*, were two ſmall provinces lying between *Antiochene* and *Cæleſyria*. We ſhall take notice of *Phenicia Mediterranea* hereafter.

Under the *Roman* empire the proper *Syria* we find was divided into *Comagena*, *Palmyrena*, and *Phenicia Libani*. The *Arabs* reckon *Paleſtine*, and even *Cilicia*, in *Syria*, which by

* 1 Kings iv. 24.

them

them is called *Shamach*; and *Abulfeda* divides the whole into five *junds* or provinces.

Syria is mostly a plain country, covered with a deep rich soil. It abounds with all things both for the profit and delight of man, and yields in fertility to no spot on earth that lies under the same happy parallel. The largest river in this country is the *Orontes*, a rapid and muddy stream with waters not fit to drink, and fish unfit to eat. From the *Antilibanus* rises the *Barrady*, formerly the *Chrysorrhoas*, which after watering *Damascus* in several streams, unites and loses itself in a bog. The *Abana* and *Pharpar* are thought to have been branches of this river. Its fertility.

Among the natural rarities of this country, the chief may be reckoned the two valleys of salt, one in the neighbourhood of *Aleppo*, and the other near *Palmyra*, which shoot forth that mineral in surprising abundance, the soil, to a considerable depth, being strongly impregnated therewith. There are found several medicinal springs near *Palmyra*, and in several other parts of *Palmyrene*. Among the remarkable things of this country may also be counted the few cedars now standing upon *Lebanon*, or *Libanus*, in the midst of snow, not far from a christian monastry, near the highest part of the mountain. One of the largest of the old ones, which in number are only sixteen, being measured, was found to be twelve yards six inches in girt, yet perfectly sound. About six yards from the ground it divided itself into five branches, each equal to a great tree. The few that are left of those cedars, which make so noble a figure in the Old Testament, are held in the greatest veneration by the present inhabitants, who, upon the day of transfiguration, repair thither, and celebrate that festival under them with great solemnity. Natural rarities.

As we have been particular in describing the *Egyptian* monuments of antiquity, we shall also take notice of the chief of those found in this country, which will be found equally deserving our admiration. It must be acknowledged, indeed, they do not so properly belong to this first and most antient period of the *Syrian* history, as they are in the most correct stile of the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*; but we shall not separate them from the present chorographical account of the country, especially as the time when they were built cannot be ascertained. Artificial rarities.

Though there are still many noble vestiges of the antient magnificence of *Syria*, we shall dwell on two only, *Balbec*, formerly *Heliopolis*, and *Palmyra*, or *Tedmor*, in the wilderness; the superb ruins of both which places have lately been elegantly and amply described by some learned and judicious gentlemen of our own country, who travelled thither a few years ago *.

The *Arabian* writers mention *Balbec* as the wonder of *Syria*, and our late travellers who visited it declare, that they look

* Ruins of Palmyra and Balbec, by Mr. Wood, in 1750.

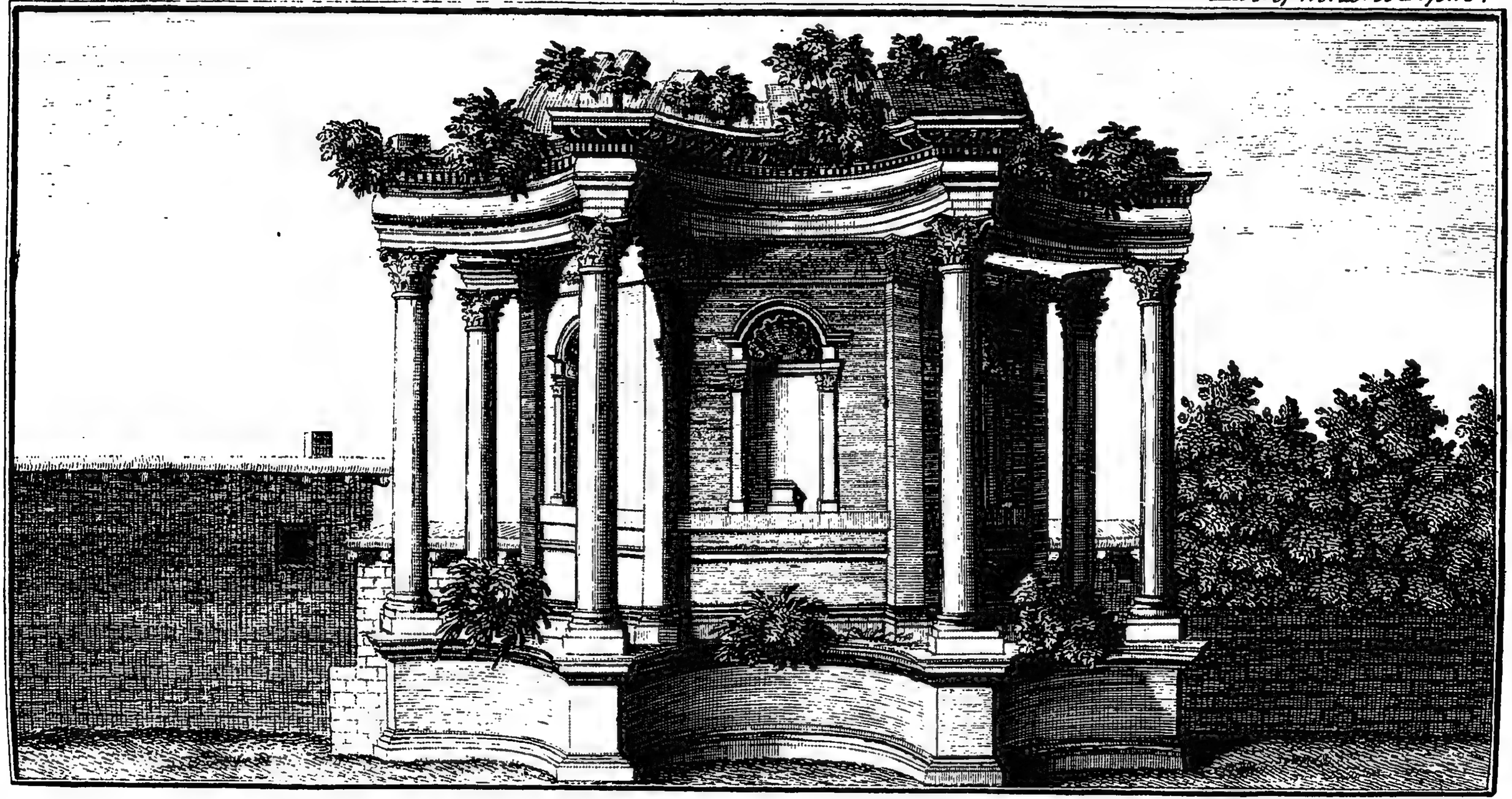
The ruins of *Heliopolis*, or *Balbec*.

upon the ruins there as the remains of the boldeſt plan they ever ſaw attempted in architecture. The city is pleaſantly ſituated near the north-eaſt extremity of the vale of *Becai*, which extends from thence almoſt to the ſea, and with a little care might be made one of the richeſt and moſt beautiful ſpots in *Syria*, its breadth between *Libanus* and *Antilibanus* being in ſome places four leagues, and in others about two. It ſtands about ſixteen hours diſtant from *Tripoli* of *Syria*, and from *Damaſcus*, and at preſent contains about 5000 poor inhabitants. In the middle of the city ſtands a ſmall circular temple of great elegance, its inner diameter being 32 feet, and its external about 64. Its form is heptagonal, but the ſtair occupied the room of the ſeventh pillar. The edifice is moſtly of marble, and the order without is *Corinthian*, and within both *Corinthian* and *Ionic*. The ſhafts of all the columns are of one piece. The lower or *Ionic* ſtory within is at preſent converted into a *Greek* church, and for that purpoſe ſeparated from the higher or *Corinthian* ſtory. The roof is almoſt wholly demoliſhed, and alſo great part of the *Corinthian* cornith on the outſide.

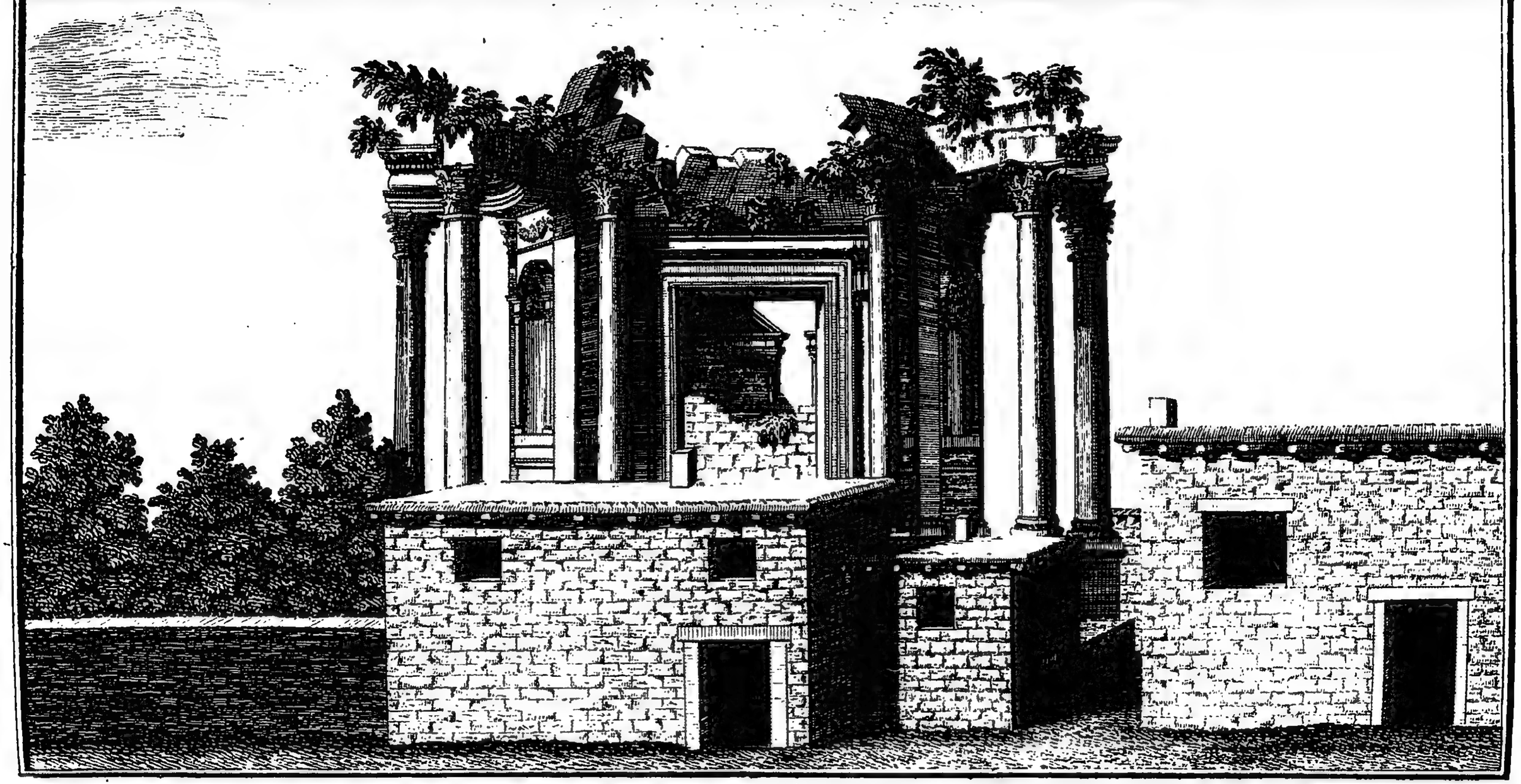
About 200 paces north-weſt from this rotonda ſtands a moſt magnificent temple, which having reſiſted the injuries of time and the madneſs of ſuperſtition, is yet almoſt entire (A). The length of the ſubaſſment on which it is built is, according to the lateſt obſervations, 270 feet, and the breadth 120 feet. The depth of the veſtibule from the top of the ſtair to the entrance of the temple, is about 75 feet. The whole body of the temple is ſurrounded by a noble periſtyle of 8 columns in front, and 15 in flank, of the *Corinthian* order. The diameter of the pillars is 6 feet 3 inches, and their height about 54 feet. Their diſtance from each other is 9 feet, and near as much from the wall of the temple. The ſhaft of each is compoſed of two and ſometimes three pieces, nicely joined, not by any cement, but by ſtrong iron pins about a foot long and a foot diameter, for which ſockets were exactly cut in each piece. In the baſes generally there were two ſockets, one round and the other ſquare. The architrave and corniſh ſupported all round by theſe pillars is exquiſitely carved, and the roof of the ſpace between the pillars and the temple is formed by great ſtones hollowed out archwiſe, and afterwards ornamented with an alternate ſucceſſion of one hexagon and four rhombs, incloſing figures and heads in alto relievo, with carved ornaments in the intermediate triangular ſpaces. The rhomboid pannels contain heads of gods, heroes, and emperors, and in the hexagons are alſo heads of the ſame ſubjects, and ſometimes entire figures relative to antient mythology, as *Leda*, *Ganymede*, &c. and all round the foot of the wall of the temple is a double border of marble, the loweſt part of which is

(A) The ruins of *Balbec* are now ſaid to be entirely demoliſhed by a terrible earthquake, which deſtroyed that and many other cities on the coaſt of *Aſia* in 1760.

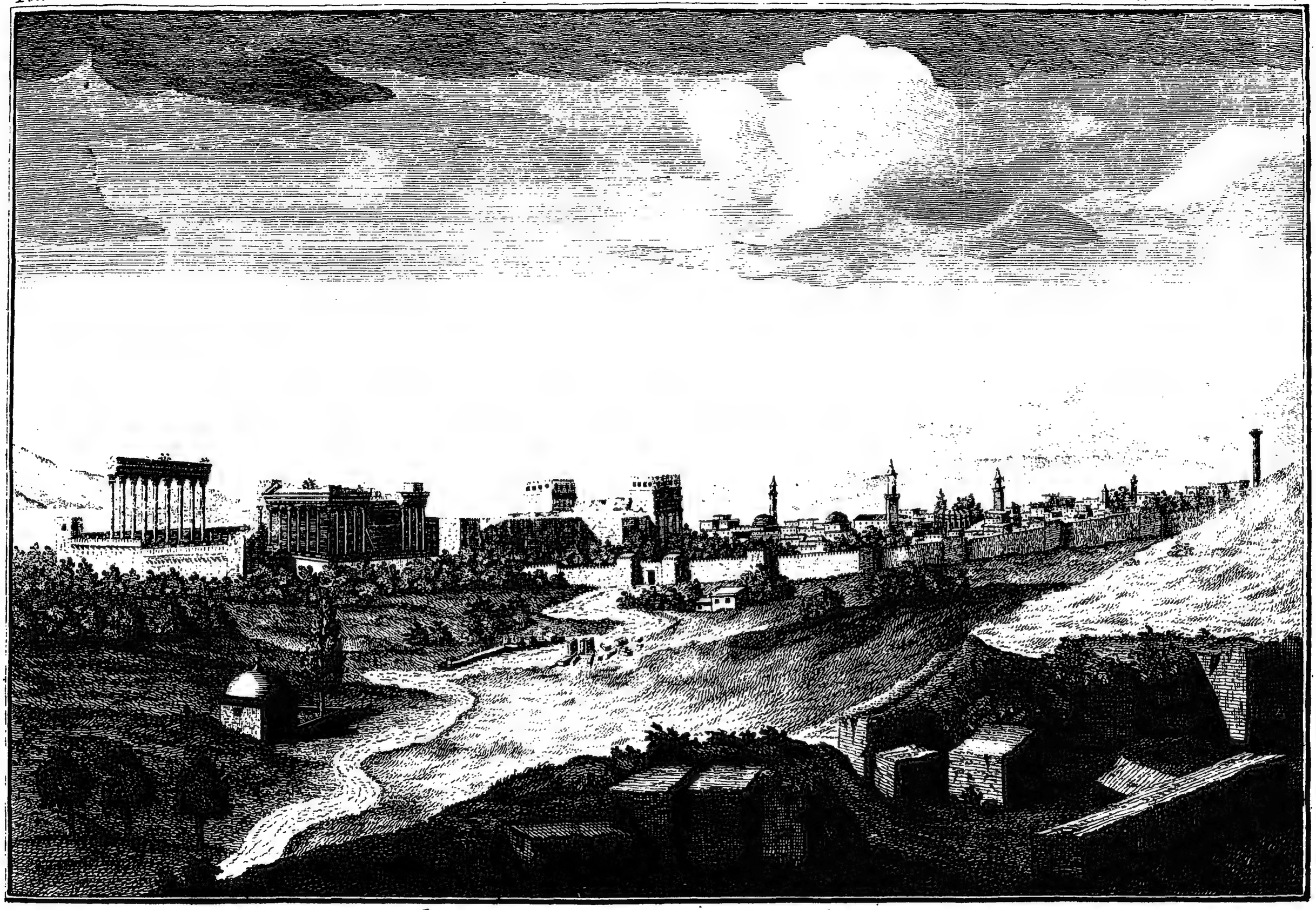
a cor-



A back view of the Circular Temple.



A front View of the Circular Temple.



A View of the City of Balbec from the South.

a continued bas relieve in miniature, expreſſing heathen myſteries and ceremonies.

The aſcent to the temple is by 30 ſteps, which determine the height of the ſubaſſiment, and this is ſolidly built, and projects two feet beyond the baſes of the columns it ſupports. The ſteps on each ſide are bounded by a wall which terminates in a pedeſtal, on which, probably, a ſtatue formerly ſtood. The pillars of the veſtibule are ſomewhat ſmaller than thoſe of the periſtyle, their frieze and architrave being on a level with the capitals of the other. Six of them ſtand immediately behind the front pillars of the periſtyle, about the diſtance of 9 feet, and 9 feet farther in are placed two others at the extremities, on a line with the ſide walls of the temple, both which advance from the door 24 feet and a half, and terminate in a ſquare pillar, diſtant about 9 feet and a half from the laſt mentioned pillars. The door of the temple, including its ornaments, which are extremely rich, is about 50 feet high, and 29 feet and a half broad, the opening being 21 feet 4 inches wide. The ſide architraves are of one piece of marble each, and the ſuperior architrave of three pieces. The workmanſhip of the door, which is very delicate, is not compleatly finiſhed, and the ſame was obſerved by our travellers with regard to the flutings of ſome of the pillars of the veſtible, which is a proof that the building of the temple, on ſome account or other, was interrupted.

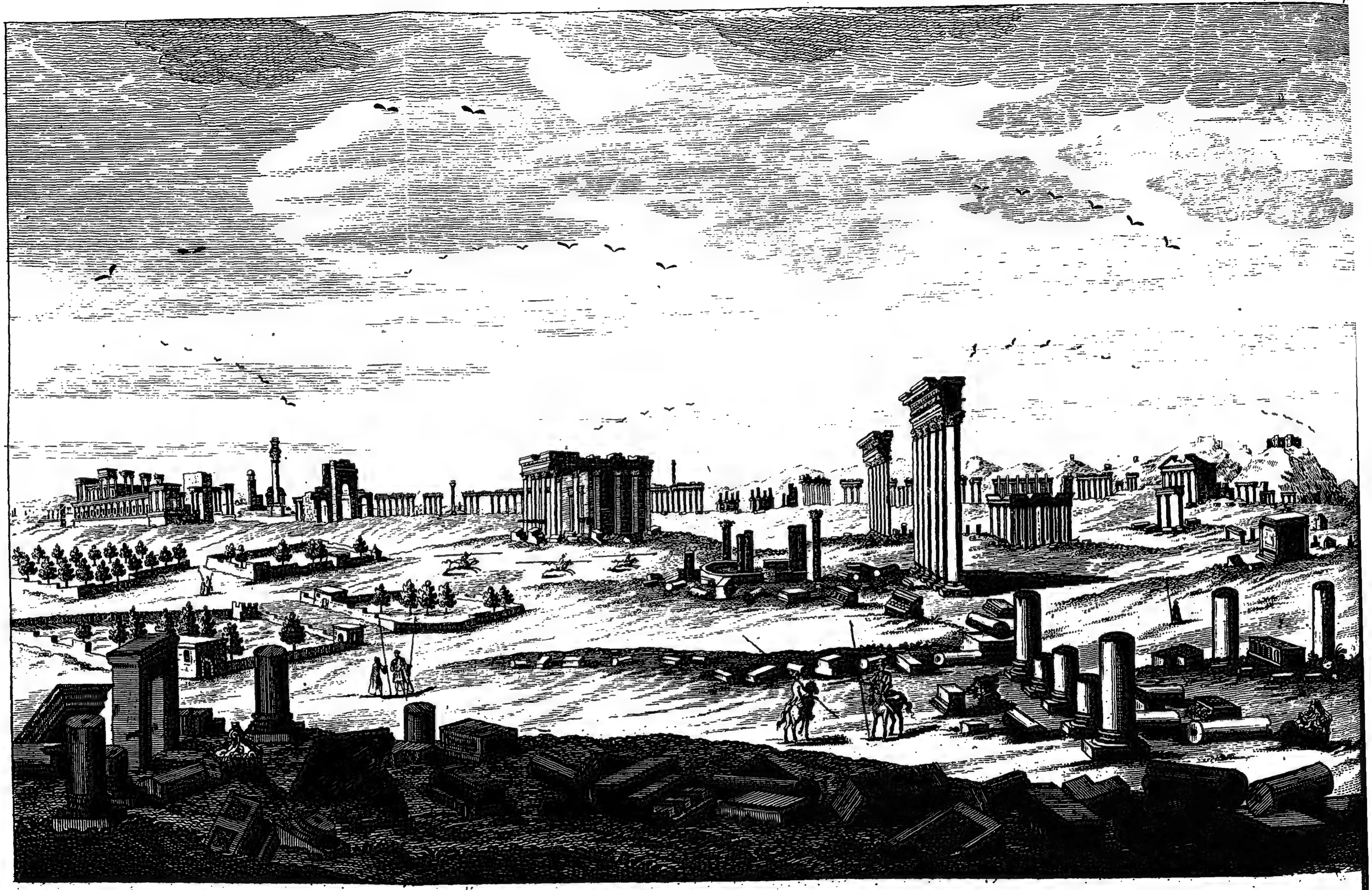
Within the temple is a row of *Corinthian* pillars on both ſides, compoſed of the ſame ſtones which form the wall, and projecting a little more than half a diameter. The diſtance betwixt each is ſeven feet ten inches, and their diameter is four feet one inch. Betwixt them, on each ſide, is a double row of niches for ſtatues, the lower row arched and the upper ſquare, with a carved triangular pediment ſupported by ſmall *Corinthian* pillars. Towards the weſt end of the temple you aſcend to a choir by thirteen ſteps, which extend almoſt the whole breadth of the temple, and in the middle of this raiſed part there was an arched ſoffit or throne, called by *Lucian Thalamus*, upon which the golden ſtatue of the god deſcribed by *Macrobius* was probably placed *. The choir is diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the temple by two large ſquare columns adorned with pilaſters, and is richly ornamented with many fine ſculptures and bas reliefs; ſuch as feſtoons, birds, flowers, fruits, *Neptunes*, *Tritons*, fiſhes, ſea-gods, and other marine figures. The ceiling or vault of the temple is bold, and divided into compartments filled with excellent carvings. It is open towards the middle; but whether it was always ſo, or whether a cupola or lantern ſtood there for the admiſſion of light, cannot now be aſcertained. In a word, the charming ſymmetry, the correct taſte, and the exactneſs with which all the carvings are finiſhed, even at ſuch elevations where ſo great niceneſs is thought unneceſ-

* Saturn l. i.

fary, are ſuch, that it may be ſaid the whole pile is without the leaſt blemiſh.

Adjoining to this temple on the north, is another larger temple with magnificent courts, which has been miſtaken by ſome travellers for a palace. This larger temple is much more ruinous than the other, which ſeems owing rather to violence than decay. In the entablature of both temples there appears more than an accidental ſimilitude, and both ſeem of much the ſame antiquity. On the eaſt ſide you enter a moſt magnificent portico by 50 ſteps, each of which is 180 feet long. The portico itſelf is about 40 feet deep, and about 250 in length, running to the right and left as you enter. The two ends of it being ſeparated from the reſt, by two ſquare pillars on each ſide, form two chambers 38 feet by 31. The order of the portico is *Corinthian*, and in the front towards the ſtair are 12 elegant columns, the ſhafts of which are about 40 feet long. The pillars are continued in the ſame height in the walls of the two lateral chambers; and above the entablature is an attic ſtory, which is carried on round the two courts behind, and ſeems to have been ornamented with ſtatues. From the portico you enter a large hexagonal court by three doors. On five ſides of this court, which extended to the right and left about 260 feet, and in depth near 200, were ſmall porticos or exedræ, walled on three ſides, but towards the court open, and only ſeparated from it by five pillars. There was a chamber in each of the angles. On that ſide oppoſite to the portico was a grand entrance 50 feet wide into the quadrangular court, and another ſmaller paſſage 10 feet wide on each ſide of it. This large court was about 420 feet ſquare, and on the two ſides had five ſmall porticos or exedræ, two of four pillars, then two ſemicircular of two pillars each, and in the middle one of ſix pillars. In the angles were chambers, and on that ſide next the hexagonal portico were two exedræ of four columns each, and two grand niches 17 feet wide, ſuppoſed deſigned for coloſſal ſtatues. At the farther ſide of this elegant ſquare is the front of the great temple, conſiſting of 10 large columns, 19 running down on each ſide. Nine only of all the columns are ſtanding with their entablature. The baſes of the others are almoſt all in their places, and ſome of them with part of the broken ſhaft; but there are no veſtiges to be ſeen of a veſtibule, nor any part of the temple itſelf remaining. The diſtance betwixt the pillars, except in the middle of the front, is not above one third of a diameter.

The terras or ſubaſſment on which the temple, the two courts and portico are built, ſeems never to have been finiſhed; but that part of it which is built, has been admired by all travellers on account of the prodigious ſize of the materials. The blocks of ſtone are ſo immenſe, that the natives, according to a tradition among them, firmly believe the whole to be the work of ſpirits. The ſtones of the firſt ſtratum are moſtly about 30 feet long, 13 feet high, and more than 10 feet and a half



A General View of the Ruins of the Ancient City of Palmyra.

half broad. The length of three ſtones in the ſecond ſtratum, Stones of make together above 190 feet, and ſeparately 63 feet 8 inches, an im- 64 feet, and 63 feet. Theſe ſtones ſeem to have been dug out menſe ſize. of a neighbouring quarry, where there is one lying, cut and ſhaped for uſe, ſtill larger than any of the above-mentioned. This our travellers found to be about 70 feet long, 14 broad, and 14 feet 5 inches deep, which if it were *Portland* ſtone, would weigh 1135 tons. The terras on which the courts and portico are raiſed is not all ſolid, but conſiſts of a great many vaſt and ſtrong vaults, the turn and elevation of which are bold and ſurpriſing. Beſides, there are in this ſubterraneous part many rooms, halls, and marble tombs, and ſeveral long flights of marble ſtairs. The ornaments of the buildings above are various, and in the fineſt taſte of *Greece* and *Rome*. The niches are curiouſly wrought, and the walls and ceilings are inriched with bas reliefs, incruſtations, and other works of the fineſt marble.

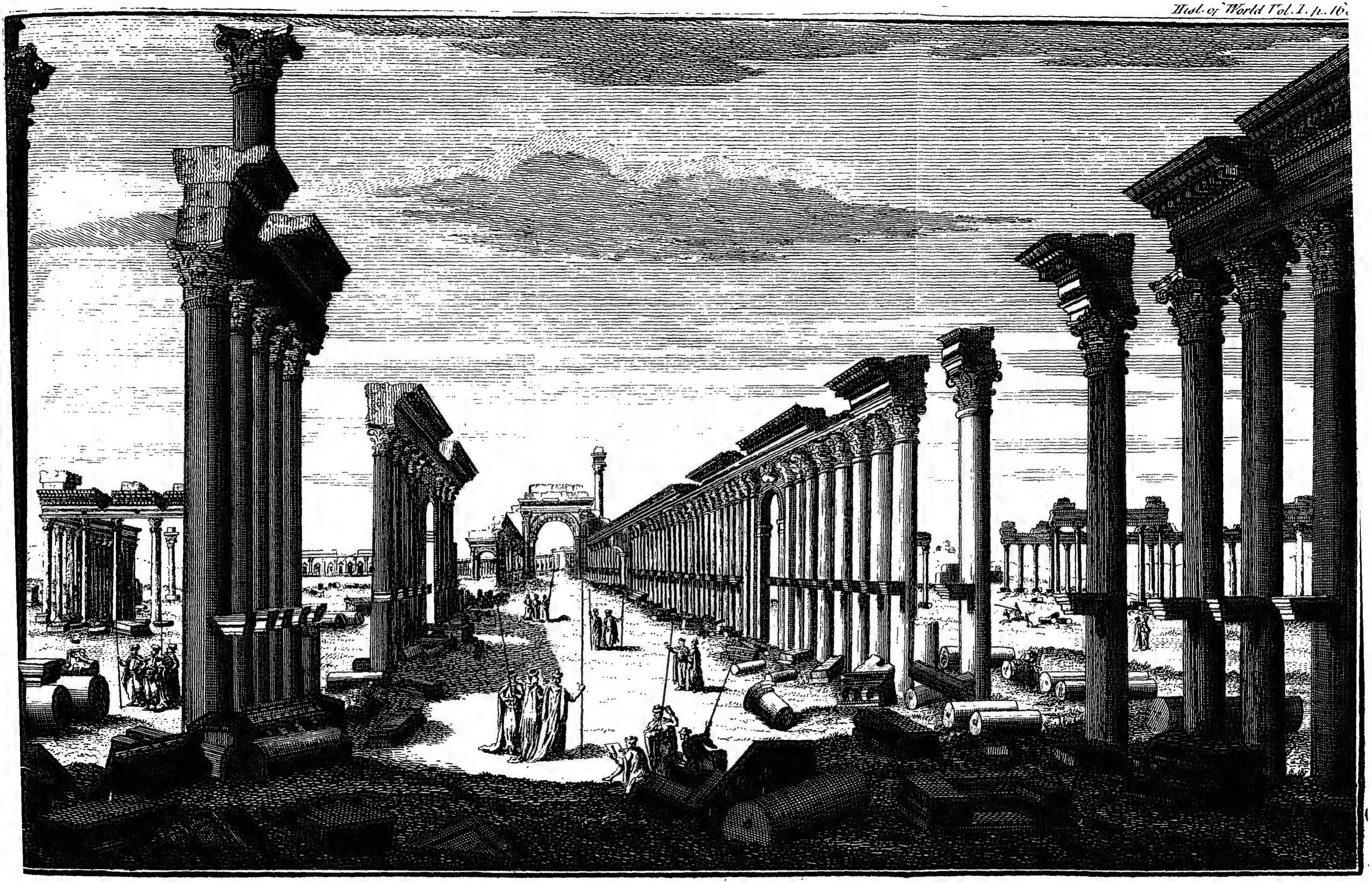
This and the neighbouring temple are now converted by the *Turks* into a fortreſs by ſome additional building. We find from *Macrobius*, that in the days of *Trajan* it was in great reputation among the *Romans* for its oracular powers; but whether the preſent edifice then exiſted, is a queſtion. The modern inhabitants indeed firmly believe it was built by *Solomon*, which opinion has been embraced by prince *Radziville*, notwithſtanding the architecture is of *Greek* and *Roman* taſte. In the *Phœnician* and *Grecian* hiſtory there is not the leaſt mention of theſe magnificent buildings, nor in the hiſtory of the *Romans*, till the reigns of *Antoninus Pius* and *Caracalla*, though from the days of *Pompey* the *Syrians* were ſubject to that empire. Our ingenious traveller, from the ſilence of the *Roman* hiſtorians of this period, who were particular in things leſs worthy of admiration, conclude, that the temples were not erected till the time of *Ælius Antoninus Pius*, "who," *John* of *Antioch* tells us, "built a great temple to *Jupiter* at *Helicpolis*, near *Libanus* in "*Phenicia*, which was one of the wonders of the world." Whether the image here worſhiped was called *Jupiter* or *Baal*, it is plain the ſun was the object of adoration, both from two inſcriptions that were found there, and from the names *Heliopolis* or *Baalbec*, both which have the ſame ſignification.

The preſent ruins of *Palmyra*, or *Tedmor*, by its modern inhabitants, are alſo aſcribed to *Solomon*, but with very little foundation; for this city, ſince his time, has been more than once ſacked and demoliſhed. From the taſte of the architecture, the buildings cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed prior to the time that the *Greeks* got footing in *Syria*. We are indeed told, that *Solomon* built *Tedmor* in the wilderneſs *; but after his time it probably did not riſe to be conſiderable for many centuries. There is no mention of it in the expedition of *Cyrus* The ruins of *Palmyra*.

* 2 Chron. viii.

the younger, or of *Alexander* the great, or in the hiſtory of the *Seleucidæ*. And in the *Roman* hiſtory no notice is taken of it till the time of *Mark Anthony*. He, as we are informed by *Appian*, wanted to inrich his troops with the plunder of the *Palmyrenes*, who were merchants, and ſold the commodities of *India* and *Arabia* to the *Romans*. Their ſituation in the midſt of an extenſive deſart on the confines of the *Roman* and *Parthian* empires, our author thinks ſoon rendered them independant of both; and from the great wealth they acquired by their trade, he alſo ſuppoſes, and with great probability, that the inhabitants themſelves were equal to the expence of the magnificent buildings. Our travellers here plainly diſcovered the ruins of two very different periods of antiquity, the oldeſt of which were mere rubbiſh, but the lateſt pretty entire, owing to the dryneſs of the climate, and there being few inhabitants to deface them. The inſcriptions, which ſhew the age of ſome of the buildings, are none earlier than the birth of *Chriſt*, and none ſo late as the deſtruction of the city by *Aurelian*, except one in *Latin*. The ſtile and manner of theſe buildings have ſuch a reſemblance of that of the others, that they may be ſuppoſed works of not very different ages. After our travellers had journeyed two days through a barren and dry deſart, without the relief of either breeze or ſhade, they at length entered a narrow vale, formed by the approach of two ridges of hills, which ſoon after opening, diſcovered to them, all at once, the greateſt quantity of ruins they had ever ſeen, all of white marble, and beyond them, towards the *Euphrates*, a flat waſte as far as the eye could reach, without any object that ſhewed either life or motion. The antient circumference of the city appeared to have been about twelve miles; but after its decay, the walls, ſome of which are ſtanding, ſeem to have been contracted into the circuit of three miles. There are at preſent here only a few *Arabians* living in poor hutts.

Almoſt the whole ground within the walls is covered with heaps of marble; but what chiefly claims the attention of the traveller, is the magnificent temple of the ſun and its court, the walls of which are ſo high and ſolid, that the *Turks* have been tempted to convert it into a place of ſtrength. The court is about 240 yards ſquare, and its lofty wall is adorned and ſtrengthened on each ſide by 31 pilaſters, which all round have a window betwixt each, except on the front, in the middle of which was a grand portico facing the weſt. This portico was ſupported by ten *Corinthian* pillars in front, extended 140 feet, and was in depth from the top of the ſtairs 50 feet. The entablature of the order went round the whole wall of the court. The ornaments of the inſide of the portico, particularly the grand door of the court, are extremely magnificent, and very little defaced. The ſame rich ornaments are repeated, with a little variety, on that ſide of the portico next the court, which is ſurrounded on three ſides with two rows of very noble marble pillars 37 feet high, with capitals of the



A West View of the Ruins of the Great Temple in Palmyra.



The East Entrance into the Temple of the Sun, in Palmyra.

fineſt carved work. Theſe pillars ſupported a moſt ſpacious double piazza or cloiſter about 50 feet wide, but on the ſide of the portico the middle row of pillars was omitted. About the middle of the court ſtood the temple, with a magnificent periſtile of *Corinthian* pillars, 8 in front and 15 in flank. The ſhafts of theſe pillars were 43 feet high, the walk betwixt them and the temple was about 22 feet and a half broad, and their diſtance from each other was near 9 feet. The body of the temple was 133 feet long and 49 broad, and the terras on which it was built was aſcended on every ſide all round by nine ſteps. The entrance, which is very magnificent, is not at the end nor in the middle of the ſide, but a little nearer one end than the other. Our accurate obſervers could diſcover no repairs which could account for this and other ſingularities in the plan. By what ſtill remains of the ruins, the temple appears to have been one of the moſt elegant and magnificent edifices in the world; all the ornaments are finiſhed with the higheſt delicacy, and through the whole there is the greateſt profuſion of the richeſt and moſt curious ſculpture.

In the neighbourhood of this temple are ſeen a prodigious number of marble pillars ſcattered up and down for the ſpace of near a mile; but in ſuch confuſion, that there is no room to gueſs for what purpoſe they ſerved.

About a furlong north from the temple is a ſtately obeliſk or pillar about 50 feet in height, conſiſting of ſeven large ſtones beſides its capital. It is wreathed, and the ſculpture here, as every where elſe, extremely fine. Within two furlongs of this, on both ſides, are large and ſolitary pillars, on the body of which are ſeveral *Greek* inſcriptions. There is likewiſe obſerved a magnificent arch vaſtly large and lofty, and for workmanſhip, nothing inferior to any ruin hitherto deſcribed. This arch leads into a noble piazza above half a mile long and 40 feet broad, formed by two rows of ſtately marble pillars 26 feet high, the number of which cannot have been fewer at firſt than 560.

Of all the venerable remains of this deſolate place, none more attract the admiration of the curious than the *Palmyrene* ſepulchres, which are very ſuperb. Two ſepulchres particularly ſeem to be more entire than the reſt. They are ſquare towers five ſtories high, their outſides of common ſtone, but their partitions and floors within of marble. They are beautified with very lively carvings and paintings, and the three loweſt ſtories have on each ſide a row of niches for receiving the dead, which our late travellers found were embalmed after the *Egyptian* manner *.

Such were once the magnificent abodes and noble ſepulchres of the *Palmyrenes*, and from theſe remains we may well conclude the world never ſaw a more glorious city.

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* Ruins of *Palmyra* by *Dawkins* and *Wood*. See alſo Philoſ. Tranſact. N°. 217.

The

The antiquity of the *Syrians.*

The antient *Syrians* or *Aramæans* being deſcended from *Aram* the youngeſt ſon of *Shem*, and ſettled in their country immediately after the diſperſion, may vie with any other nation upon earth in point of antiquity. *Shem*'s poſterity, however did not long poſſeſs this country wholly to themſelves; ſo ſome of the deſcendants of *Canaan* being ſtreightened for want of room in their firſt ſettlements, encroached upon them by degrees, ſeized on a part of their lot, and kept it till they were both involved in the ſame captivity and deſtruction. The two-fold deſcent of the *Syrians* from the line of *Shem* and *Ham*, is very evident; for we find a noted portion of the country of *Aram*, or *Syria*, denominated from *Hamathi*, one of the 17 ſons of *Canaan*, who may have ſettled here in perſon. The ſame is ſuppoſed of the *Arkite*, the *Sinite*, *Zemarite*, and the *Arvadite.* The antient *Syrians* then were partly deſcended from *Shem* and partly from *Ham*, both being almoſt of the ſame ſtanding in this country. If we believe a tradition current among the preſent inhabitants, no country in the world was peopled before theirs; for they pretend, that *Adam* was created and *Abel* murdered near *Damaſcus.*

Their government.

That they were governed by the heads of families called kings, and that there were great numbers of them in the country, is certain. We even find they continued in part under the ſame government till the days of *Saul*, as appears from the kings of *Zobah*, and of other ſmall territories, and the petty kings in *Meſopotamia* to the number of 32, ſummoned to attend *Benhadad* in his wars *. Not that the monarchic was the only form that ſeems to have taken place among them; for even in *David*'s time, *Damaſcus* appears to have been a commonwealth; being then ſpoken of as without a chief, and as if the whole power had been in the hands of the people. Afterwards, indeed, we find it governed in an abſolute manner by a ſingle perſon; whence it may be concluded, he eſtabliſhed his authority not ſo much by common conſent as by violence. As to their inſtitutions and laws, we are entirely in the dark.

Their religion.

Concerning their religion, it is ſuppoſed they were early infected with idolatry. Among their many idols, *Rimmon*, whoſe temple ſtood at *Damaſcus*, ſeems to have been the principal god, at leaſt of *Damaſcene.* This antient god in time gave way to another; for the *Syrians* deifying their king *Benhadad* II. under the name of *Adad* or *Ader*, he was conſidered as their moſt glorious and auſpicious god. *Joſephus* tells us, that both *Benhadad* and his ſucceſſor *Hazael*, were deified under the name of *Hadad*, which was the general appellation of all their kings †. *Macrobius* ſays, by *Adad* they meant the ſun, and pictured him with rays darting downwards to expreſs his beneficence ‡. This god, and others of the ſame ſtamp, we may ſuppoſe flouriſhed as long as the *Syrians* poſſeſſed their ſeat; but when the

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* Kings, xx. 1. † Joſeph. Antiq. l. ix. ‡ Macrob. Saturn. l. i.

Syrians

Syrians were conquered and tranſplanted by *Tiglathpileſer*, both they and their gods, in great meaſure, underwent the ſame fate. The new inhabitants ſent hither by the *Aſſyrians* introduced a new idolatry, or at leaſt brought in many additions to the old ſuperſtition. What changes and alterations this ſyſtem ſuffered, firſt under the *Babylonians*, then ſucceſſively under the *Perſians*, *Seleucidæ*, and *Romans*, is uncertain. What it was in the ſecond century of the Chriſtian æra we have an account in *Lucian*, who was an eye-witneſs of the greateſt part of what he ſays, and the reſt he learned from the prieſts.

The famous temple of the *Syrian* goddeſs.

At *Hierapolis*, or the *Holy City*, or *Magog*, as it was called by the *Syrians* †, ſtood the temple of the great *Syrian* goddeſs. Who this goddeſs was is uncertain. *Juſtin* tells us, that a king, from whom *Damaſcus* derived its name, had a queen called *Arathis*, who was eſteemed by the *Syrians* as their principal deity; and this queen, according to *Nicolas* of *Damaſcus*, was older than *Abram*, whom he reckons among the kings of *Damaſcus*. The temple was ſeated on an eminence in the midſt of the city, ſurrounded by two walls, and on the north ſide having a court or porch before it about 5 or 600 feet in circumference, where ſtood the *Priaps*, or obſcene images or columns, 300 fathom or 300 cubits high; either of which meaſures appear very exorbitant. Before the temple, the front of which ſtood eaſt, a tower was raiſed upon a terraſs about twelve feet high. The temple was built after the manner of thoſe of *Ionia*: the porch was adorned with golden doors, and the whole edifice glittered with gold, particularly the roof. It was not without its ſanctuary, into which no admiſſion was allowed, even to ſuch of the prieſts as were not in an eſpecial manner allied to the gods there kept, or wholly addicted to their ſervice and worſhip. Within this ſanctuary, which was always open, were two ſtatues of gold, which, tho' named differently by the inhabitants, the *Greeks* called *Jupiter* and *Juno*. *Jupiter* was ſupported by bulls, being in looks and poſture like the *Greek Jupiter*. *Juno* ſat upon lions, and was ſo contrived as to participate of *Minerva*, *Venus*, *Luna*, *Rhea*, *Diana*, *Nemeſis*, and the *Deſtinies*. She was adorned with a great variety of gems, which had from time to time been preſented to her by the *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Ethiopians*, *Medes*, *Armenians*, and *Babylonians*. Of all theſe the moſt remarkable was the *lychnis* ſhe wore at her ſide, which ſtone is ſaid to have the greateſt luſtre by candle-light; and with it ſhe illuminated the temple by night. Between *Jupiter* and *Juno* was another golden ſtatue, but with no peculiar enſigns; only having a golden dove on its head, ſome imagined it was *Semiramis*. On the left hand going into the temple was the throne of the Sun; but it had no ſtatues, as they judged it reaſonable to make ſtatues only of the inviſible deities. Next after this throne was the ſtatue of *Apollo*, with a large beard and covered with clothes,

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* Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 5.

which

which was done to no other: and after him, on the ſame ſide ſtood *Atlas*, then *Mercury*, then *Lucina*. On the right hand was placed *Semiramis*, pointing to *Juno* in token of ſubmiſſion; and next her was *Helen*, then *Hecuba*, *Andromache*, *Paris*, *Hector*, *Achilles*, *Nereus*, *Philomel*, *Progne*, *Tereus* turned into a bird, another ſtatue of *Semiramis*, *Combalus*, *Stratonice*, *Alexander* done after the life, and *Sardanapalus* in a peculiar habit and attitude. Under the temple they ſhewed the cleft where they ſuppoſed the waters drained off the earth at the flood of *Deucalion*, who, they ſay, erected an altar on the place to *Juno*. Within the incloſures of the temple they kept tame oxen, horſes, lions, bears, eagles, who were all ſacred. Before the temple ſtood a large brazen altar, and ſtatues of kings and prieſts innumerable. Near it was alſo a lake, where ſacred fiſhes were preſerved and attended. Some of the largeſt had names, and came when called. In the middle of the lake ſtood a ſtone altar, which was daily frequented, and ever crowned and reeking with incenſe. The oracle in the temple was quite extraordinary, and may ſerve to evince how deeply the prieſts were verſed in the myſtery of their profeſſion. Here were images that ſeemed to move, ſweat, and deliver oracles as if alive. *Apollo* was the chief oracle, and did all himſelf, being conſulted in all matters ſacred and civil. We have obſerved that he wore clothes, which doubtleſs ſerved to cloak the impoſture. Our author aſſures us, that he ſaw this god walk in the air.

The riches of the temple.

The revenues and treaſures of this temple were in proportion to its ſplendor; *Arabia*, *Phœnicia*, *Babylonia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, and *Syria*, paid to the goddeſs liberal contributions. Here were coſtly preſents ſhewn in garments and other things of inеſtimable value, which were carefully kept; ſo that, in this reſpect, it was a very *Loretto*. The prieſts were of different ranks and orders, each aſſigned to different taſks. The high prieſt was annual. Above 300 in white habits, and with bonnets on their heads, attended the ſacrifices. Beſides them there were other conſecrated orders, as of minſtrels, frantic women, and *galli* or eunuch prieſts, who 'tis remarkable emaſculated themſelves by the voluntary operation of their own hands, and took on them the habit and offices of women.

Sacrifices.

Sacrifices were twice a day offered to *Jupiter* in ſilence; but to *Juno* with great noiſe of minſtrels and ſingers: and every ſpring an extraordinary ſacrifice was celebrated, at which was always a great concourſe of people from all parts. Sometimes a ſhocking and barbarous method of ſacrificing was practiſed. The victims were firſt crowned with garlands, and then driven to a precipice cloſe by one ſide of the porch, where they periſhed. Nay ſome were even ſo mad as to tie up their children in ſacks, and then ſhove them down the ſame precipice. In memory of *Deucalion*'s flood, they celebrated a feſtival twice a year, when great numbers of people went to the ſea-ſide, and from thence, tho' the diſtance was many miles, brought water into the temple, pouring it out into the cleft above-mentioned, by

by which it ran off. Their veſſels were ſealed up at ſea, and durſt not be carried into the temple till the ſeals were inſpected by a perſon called *Alectryo*, who on that occaſion received a certain perquiſite from each.

The religious cuſtoms, laws, and traditions of this place, were as extraordinary as any thing elſe we have hitherto related. Twice a year a man climbed up to the top of one of the *Priaps*, where he remained ſeven days without ſleeping, being ſuppoſed to have a more immediate intercourſe with the goddeſs. Miſcellaneous matters.

Many people every day ſwam to the altar in the midſt of the lake, there to perform their devotions.

Oxen, ſheep, and the like, were ſacrificed; but ſwine were held to be unclean; and the victim was only preſented at the altar, but ſacrificed at home.

Fiſh and doves were accounted holy, the former to *Derceto*, and the latter to *Semiramis*, in memory of their ſuppoſed different transformations. The doves were accounted holy, and were fed by them in great numbers in and about their houſes; yet if a man touched one of them, he was unclean all the reſt of the day.

As ſoon as any man had commenced *gallus*, by diſmembring himſelf, he ran about the city with the part in his hand, till at length throwing it into ſome houſe, he received from thence a woman's attire. From that time forward his life was intirely agreeable to his new dreſs.

The pilgrims, who from different parts arrived at the city, were entertained at the public charge, and branded with marks on their neck and wriſts. On their journey thither they durſt not lie but on the cold ground, or drink any thing elſe than cold water.

The young men and boys conſecrated the firſt-fruits of their beards and heads of hair, which being ſhaved or clipped in the temple, were depoſited in a gold or ſilver box, with the name of the perſon it belonged to, and left in the temple.

He that had ſeen a dead perſon, was not allowed to enter the temple that day; and all the family of any one deceaſed were to keep from the temple thirty days, and ſhave their heads. Thus much concerning the religions of *Syria*, and the worſhip of the *Syrian* goddeſs.

As to the temper of the people, *Plutarch* informs us, that the *Syrians* of his time were an effeminate people, prone to tears, and very remarkable for their way of mourning for their deceaſed, hiding themſelves from the light of the ſun in caves, or other dark places, for many days together. This tender and effeminate temper of mind may have been always one of the characteriſtics of the *Syrians*, as it ſtill is. As to the cuſtoms of the ancient *Syrians*, or their civil concerns, we find nothing mentioned.

They are ſuppoſed to have made an early progreſs in learning and arts. They were ſo happily ſituated, that they may almoſt be ſaid to have been in the center of the old world; and as in the *Syrians*. The learning and arts of the

the ſunſhine of their empire they were enriched by the ſpoils tribute, and commerce of the nations far and near, they certainly aroſe to a great pitch of magnificence and ſplendor, the great promoters of induſtry and ingenuity.

Their language.

Their language is one of thoſe dialects commonly called the Oriental tongues, and is pretended to have been the mother of them all. It became a diſtinct tongue ſo early as the days of *Jacob*: for what his father-in-law and uncle *Laban* of *Padan-Aram*, or *Meſopotamia*, calls *Jegar-ſahadutha*, is by *Jacob* himſelf called *Galeed*. The *Syriac* was not only the language of *Syria*, but alſo of *Meſopotamia*, *Chaldea*, *Aſſyria*, and, after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, of *Paleſtine*. There are three dialects of the *Syrian* tongue. 1. The *Armenian*, or *Syriac* properly ſo called, which is the moſt elegant of all, uſed in *Meſopotamia*, and by the inhabitants of *Roha*, or *Edeſſa* of *Harran* and the outer *Syria*. 2. The dialect of *Paleſtine*, ſpoken by the inhabitants of *Damaſcus*, *Mount Libanus*, and the inner *Syria*. 3. The *Chaldee*, or *Nabathean* dialect, the moſt unpoliſhed of the three, and ſpoke in the mountainous parts of *Aſſyria*, and in the villages of *Irak*, or *Babylonia*. The *Syriac* character, which is very antient, is of two ſorts; the *Eſtrangelo* is the more ancient and unpoliſhed, and chiefly found in the titles of books, as capitals with us; the other, called the *Eſhito*, is the ſimple or common character, and is much more expeditious and beautiful.

The *Syriac* writing, like that of the other eaſtern tongues, was deſtitute of vowels till towards the latter end of the 8th century, when they were introduced, as is generally ſuppoſed, by *Theophilus* of *Edeſſa*, who borrowed them from the *Greek* alphabet, and uſed them in his *Syriac* tranſlation of the works of *Homer*. But a century before *Theophilus*, *James* of *Edeſſa* had invented ſeven new characters for all the *Greek* vowels, at the deſire of *Paul* of *Antioch*, to whom he ſent them, and they are ſtill extant. The *Syriac* is an eaſy and elegant, but not a very copious tongue, and has a great number of *Greek* words, which were incorporated with it in the times of the *Seleucidæ*. What this tongue is moſt to be valued for, are the excellent tranſlations of the Old and New Teſtament, which equal, if they do not ſurpaſs thoſe of any other language.

Their trade.

Perhaps no nation of equal antiquity had a more conſiderable trade than the ancient *Syrians*. We cannot doubt but that they had ſhips on the *Mediterranean* as ſoon as any of their neighbours. They had many valuable commodities of their own to carry into other parts; and as the *Euphrates* waſhed their country, the ſafe and eaſy navigation on that river, when compared with that of the ſea, inclines us to conſider them even as older merchants than the *Phœnicians* or the *Edomites*. They doubtleſs traded with the people on the eaſt of the *Euphrates* very early, and were the firſt, it may be ſuppoſed, that brought the *Perſian* and *Indian* commodities into the weſt of *Aſia*. This lucrative commerce with their eaſtern neighbours might probably

make

make them, in a great measure, neglect the *Mediterranean* navigation; so that in sea affairs they were soon excelled by their neighbours the *Phœnicians*, who, according to *Herodotus*, carried on the commerce of *Egypt* and *Assyria*, that is, the western coast of *Syria*, by their shipping. Such, we may suppose, was the ancient state of the *Syrian* trade and navigation. Their king *Hazael*, we will find afterwards, by seizing on the famous emporium *Elath* on the *Red Sea*, grasped at the whole trade both of east and south: but this monopoly was of short duration; for they lost *Elath* upon his death.

Their history.

Tho' the *Syrians* were doubtless early a numerous and flourishing people, yet for more than 1000 years after the flood history is altogether silent concerning their transactions. When the territory of *Zobah* became one kingdom is uncertain. In the beginning of the reign of *Saul* it seems to have been governed by several princes; for we are told that he defeated the kings of *Zobah*. It is probable the bad success of the *Zobites* under separate chiefs, made them unite under one prince, named *Rehob*, in imitation of their neighbours the *Israelites*.

The kings of *Zobah*.

Rehob.

Hadadezer. Bef. Chr. 1044.

The king of *Zobah* in the days of *David* we find was *Hadadezer*, or *Hadarezer*, the son of *Rehob*, a great and powerful prince. He had warred with success against the king of *Hamath*; but when he opposed *David*'s progress towards the reduction of the land promised to *Abraham* and his seed quite to the *Euphrates*, his good fortune left him. In the first battle he fought with *David*, he lost 1000 chariots, 7000 horse, and 20,000 foot. Upon this defeat, the *Syrians* of *Damascus* sent their army to reinforce him; but were defeated, with the loss of 22,000 men, by *David*, who, taking advantage of so signal a victory, immediately possessed himself of great part of *Syria*, particularly of *Damascene*. *Hadadezer* now lost his two cities, *Betah* and *Berothai*, from which *David* carried off exceeding much brass, taking away also the golden shields that were on *Hadadezer*'s servants, probably some of the chief of his guards *. *Rezon*, the son of *Elidah*, who commanded part of the army of *Hadadezer*, at the same time revolted with a considerable body of the troops from his master, and proceeding to *Damascus*, there assumed the royal dignity.

Notwithstanding these losses, *Hadadezer* still continued very powerful; for when *Hanun* king of *Ammon* was at war with *David*, he sent 20,000 men to his assistance, who, as we have already mentioned, were put to a shameful flight by *Joab*. The following campaign he seems to have made himself a principal in this war. He sent to the *Syrian* kings that owed him homage on the other side of the *Euphrates*, and joining their forces to his own troops, by that means assembled a very considerable army, which, under the conduct of *Shobach*, marched to assist *Hanun* against *David* a second time. The *Syrians* engaging

* 2 Sam. viii. 3—8.

David

David at *Helam*, were intirely routed, with the loſs of upwards of 40,000 men, *Shobach* their general being himſelf among the ſlain. The petty princes that ſerved *Hadadezer* in this fatal warfare, made their peace with *David*, and became his tributaries; *Hadadezer* himſelf, in all likelihood, being alſo obliged to ſubmit; concerning whom, or the kingdom of *Zobah*, we find no farther account.

Rezon king of *Damaſcus.*

The kingdom of *Damaſcus* ſeems to have riſen upon the ruins of that of *Zobah*. *Rezon*, who deſerted from *Hadadezer*, ſeized on *Damaſcus*, and after founding that kingdom, became a very troubleſome and inveterate enemy to *Solomon* *.

Hezion.

His ſucceſſor *Hezion*, we find, lived at peace and amity with the kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael* †. Some however think that *Hezion* is only another name for *Rezon* ‡.

Tabrimon.

Tabrimon the ſon of *Hezion* likewiſe cultivated a good underſtanding with the kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah*.

Benhadad.

Benhadad the ſon of *Tabrimon*, by the large gifts ſent him by *Aſa* king of *Judah*, was induced to make war upon *Baaſha* king of *Iſrael*, from whom he took ſeveral cities.

Benhadad II. B. Ch. 901.

Benhadad II. ſucceeding his father of the ſame name, appears to have been a powerful and inſolent prince, and a great enemy to the *Iſraelites*. Encouraged by the diſtracted ſtate of *Iſrael*, he raiſed a very large army, in which he had no fewer than 32 kings; and advancing to the city of *Samaria*, ſummoned *Ahab* the king to acknowlege himſelf his vaſſal, and deliver up to him all his ſilver and gold, and likewiſe his wives and children. To this inſolent meſſage the puſillanimous prince returned a moſt ſubmiſſive anſwer; which not ſatisfying the haughty invader, he ſent a ſecond meſſage to him, declaring, that next day he intended to ſend ſome of his officers into the city, to bring away all his wealth and whatever was pleaſant in his eyes. *Ahab*, animated by the elders of *Iſrael*, refuſed to conſent to this indignity; which highly inflamed *Benhadad*, who threatned utter deſtruction to his city, and immediately ordered his army to prepare for an aſſault. He himſelf, in the mean time, with his 32 auxiliary kings, was drinking to exceſs in his tent at noonday, in great ſecurity, which ſeems to have been his uſual cuſtom. Tho' he was told ſoon after that the beſiegers were making a ſally, he did not diſturb himſelf. His army, however, being inſtantly attacked by *Ahab* at the head of 232 princes of the provinces, and thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, he was forced to ſave himſelf, by mounting his horſe and flying with the reſt of his troops, who were purſued, with great ſlaughter, by the *Iſraelites*.

The *Syrians* excuſed their inglorious flight to their king, by alleging that the gods of the *Iſraelites* were the gods of the hills; but that if he could draw the enemy to the plains, their own

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* 1 Kings, xi. 23. † Ibid. xv. 18. ‡ Uſher's Chron. Sir I. Newt. Marſham.

gods

gods would then prevail (A). *Benhadad* accordingly being perſuaded to raiſe another army of equal force with the former, and to give the inferior commands to truſty ſkilful officers inſtead of the kings, the following year again invaded *Iſrael*, and pitched in the plain of *Apheck*, to be under the protection of his gods. The army of the *Iſraelites* was greatly inferior to that of the *Syrians*; however, being encouraged by God, who promiſed them a victory, on the 7th day they attacked the invaders, whom they put to flight, with the ſlaughter of 100,000 of their foot. The remains of the *Syrians* fled to *Apheck*, where 27,000 of them were cruſhed to death by the city wall, which fell upon them.

Benhadad terrified by this judgment, which convinced him that his gods were no protection from the God of *Iſrael*, concealed himſelf in an inner chamber; but by the perſuaſions of his officers he at length ſent and threw himſelf at the mercy of *Ahab*, who, with too great facility, was immediately reconciled to him; and ſending for him, took him up into his chariot. *Benhadad* directly propoſed terms of reconciliation, and promiſing to reſtore all the cities his father had taken from the *Iſraelites*, and to allow *Ahab* the ſame authority in *Damaſcus* which his own father had enjoyed in *Samaria*, the king of *Iſrael*, on theſe conditions, inconſiderately gave him his liberty.

How ſtrictly ſoever *Benhadad* adhered to his word with *Ahab* in other reſpects, he kept poſſeſſion of *Ramoth-Gilead*, which, three years after, was the ſubject of a freſh war, in which *Ahab* engaged, contrary to the advice of the prophet, and prevailed on *Jehoſhaphat* the king of *Judah* to join him. As *Micaiah* foretold that the enterprize would prove fatal to him, *Ahab*, when he came to action, had ſome diffidence of ſucceſs; but in hopes of eluding the prophet's prediction, he diſguiſed himſelf before the battle. This precaution, however, did not ſucceed; for he was mortally wounded by a random arrow, which ſmote him

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(A) It was plainly the doctrine of all heathen nations that their different gods had each their particular charge and juriſdiction: ſome preſiding over whole countries, and others having only particular places under their tuition; being ſome gods of the woods, others of the rivers, and others of the mountains. *Pan* was reckoned the god of the mountains; and the *Syrians* perhaps might have a conceit that the God of *Iſrael* was a God of the mountains; becauſe *Canaan* was a mountainous land: the temple of *Jeruſalem* they knew ſtood upon an eminence, as did that in *Samaria*. The *Jewiſh* law, they might have heard, was delivered from a hill; and the *Jews*, they might perceive, were fond of ſacrificing in high places. They were doubtleſs ſenſibly convinced that the Deity had interpoſed in their late defeat. The miraculous victories of the *Iſraelites* probably gave riſe to the heathen opinion, that the Gods did not only aſſiſt their favourites by their influence, but actually engaged in battle in their behalf.

between the joints of his harneſs, of which wound he died in the evening. The battle was bloody and obſtinate, and laſted till night, under cover of which, each ſide drew off with doubtful victory.

Not many years after, *Benhadad* began to execute ſome private deſigns againſt *Jehoram* king of *Iſrael*; but being diſappointed in all his aims, he accuſed his ſervants of infidelity. They to clear themſelves from ſo unjuſt a ſuſpicion, told him, that none but *Eliſha* could thus diſconcert all his meaſures; he being endued with ſuch a degree of knowlege, that nothing could be concealed from him, tho' done in the greateſt privacy. *Benhadad*, upon this information, ſent a ſtrong detachment to *Dothan*, where he heard he then was, to ſeize him. His troops entered the city by night, and next morning were by the prophet ſmitten with blindneſs, and led by him into the very heart of the city of *Samaria*, where their eyes were opened, that they might behold their ſituation. *Jehoram* would have gladly put them to the ſword, but he was prevented by the remonſtrances of *Eliſha*; and after treating them in an hoſpitable manner, diſmiſſed them; which had ſo good an effect, that *Benhadad*, for that time, withdrew his troops from *Iſrael*.

His peaceful diſpoſition, however, was but ſhort-lived; for ſoon after raiſing a powerful army, he inveſted *Samaria*, which he reduced to the greateſt ſtraits. When he was upon the point of taking it by famine, his troops in the night, ſtruck with a panic, and hearing a noiſe like that of a great army ruſhing upon them, they imagined that *Jehoram* had received a powerful reinforcement from the kings of the *Hittites* (A) and the kings of the *Egyptians*, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving almoſt their whole baggage behind them, and even their horſes ſtanding in the camp. *Benhadad* muſt at this time have been well advanced in years; and whether he had contracted ſome illneſs by the fatigue of his flight, or whether his ſpirits were broken by ſuch frequent misfortunes, he took to his bed. As he lay ſick, it was told him that the prophet *Eliſha* was coming to *Damaſcus*: whereupon he ſent *Hazael* with 40 camels loads of the choiceſt productions of that city as a preſent to him, and deſired him to conſult the prophet whether he ſhould recover of his ſickneſs. *Eliſha* told *Hazael* that *Benhadad* might recover, yet ſhould ſurely die: then fixing his eyes ſtedfaſtly upon *Hazael* till he had put him out of countenance, he burſt into tears. *Hazael* enquiring, in a reſpectful manner, why he wept, was

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(A) Theſe *Hittites* are ſuppoſed to have lived in *Arabia Petræa* to the ſouth of *Paleſtine*, and to have been deſcended from the *Canaanitiſh Hittites* who left their country upon the invaſion of *Joſhua*. Though *Solomon*, we are told, reduced thoſe who remained in *Canaan* to a ſtate of ſervitude, yet we find he traded with the *Arabian Hittites* for horſes, and had ſome wives likewiſe from among them. 1 *Kings* x. 29. & xi. 1. Pool's Annot.

told

told that he was to ſucceed *Benhadad*, and to be a cruel and mercileſs perſecutor of the children of *Iſrael*. *Hazael* profeſſed not to underſtand the prophet; and as he was an inconſiderable perſon, replied it would never be in his power to commit ſuch outrages; but was again aſſured by *Eliſha* that he ſhould be king of *Syria*. His ambition, at theſe words, took wing, and returning to his maſter, he flattered him with hopes of recovery; but next day he ſtifled him with a thick cloth dipped in water. So ended the reign of the great *Benhadad*, who having adorned *Damaſcus* with fine ſtructures, and added to the glory of *Syria*, was ranked among the gods, and honoured with divine worſhip.

Hazael having murdered his lord, aſcended his throne, to which he had been nominated ſome years before by the wiſe providence of God, *Elijah* having been then ordered to anoint him. The *Syrian* monarchy under him aroſe to its higheſt pitch of grandeur. Soon after his acceſſion to the throne, *Joram* king of *Iſrael*, and *Ahaziah* king of *Judah*, joining their forces, beſieged *Ramoth-Gilead*, which, according to the opinion of ſome, they wreſted from the *Syrians*; tho' others think they only got poſſeſſion of the ſuburbs, as all the military force of *Iſrael* are ſaid to have been there under the captain *Jehu*, when he was anointed to be king: and the words in the ſacred text tranſlated *out of the city*, may alſo be rendered *from before the city*. However this be, *Hazael* afterwards invaded both the kingdoms of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, and ravaged them with great fury. He began with the kingdom of *Iſrael*, ſubduing whatever belonged to it on the other ſide *Jordan*, and, according to *Joſephus*, he neither ſpared, man, woman, nor child, but wherever he came put all to fire and ſword. He continued his hoſtilities againſt the *Iſraelites* all the days of *Jehu*, who reigned 28 years, and alſo waged war againſt *Jehoahaz*, the ſon of *Jehu*, till he had left him but 50 horſe, 10 chariots, and 10,000 foot, having deſtroyed the reſt, and *made them like the duſt by threſhing*. *Hazael.* Bef. Chr. 884.

Having chaſtiſed *Iſrael*, he turned his arms againſt the kingdom of *Judah*, and croſſing the *Jordan*, made himſelf maſter of the ſtrong city of *Gath*, which, ſince the days of *David*, had been in the poſſeſſion of the *Iſraelites*. He then prepared to inveſt *Jeruſalem*; but *Jehoaſh* the king deſpairing of being able to oppoſe his arms, ſent him all his treaſures, and all the ſacred moveables that had been collected by his anceſtors, and prevailed upon him, for that time, to retire. However, it would appear, that in the end of the ſame year he ſent a ſmall party to reduce *Jeruſalem*. *Jehoaſh* endeavoured to oppoſe the invaders with a numerous army; but the *Syrians* routing and diſperſing his troops, ſacked many of the cities of *Judah*, and among the reſt *Jeruſalem*, ſlaying all the princes of the people, and ſending their ſpoil to *Damaſcus*. *Hazael* having thus ſubdued and tyrannized over the kingdoms of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, died, and was deified. Bef. Chr. 840.

Benhadad III. *Benhadad*, who was the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Hazael*, ſuffered a total reverſe of his father's fortune ere he had long reigned. He was thrice defeated by *Jehoaſh* the ſon of *Jeoahaz* king of *Iſrael*, whereby he loſt all that his father had wreſted from the *Iſraelites*; which is all we are informed of concerning this obſcure and unfortunate reign.

The *Syrians* ſoon after, probably even in the reign of *Benhadad*, were in their turn invaded and conquered by *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Jehoaſh*, who took *Damaſcus*, and kept them in ſubjection during his reign, which was very long. Upon his death, the *Iſraelites* being involved in anarchy and confuſion, the *Syrians* again recovered their independancy, perhaps by the aſſiſtance of *Pul* king of *Aſſyria*, who was an ambitious and enterprizing prince, and threatned the *Iſraclites* with an invaſion about 13 years after *Jeroboam*'s death.

Rezin. Bef. Chr. 742. The laſt king of the *Syrians* was *Rezin*; but who he ſucceeded is not mentioned. Towards the latter end of his reign, he entered into a league with *Pekah* king of *Iſrael* againſt *Ahaz* king of *Judah*, and beſieged him in *Jeruſalem*, but without ſucceſs. *Rezin*, that he might gain ſome advantage from the alliance, withdrew from *Jeruſalem*, and marching into *Edom*, recovered *Elath* from the *Jews*, where he planted a colony of *Syrians*, which ſubſiſted many years, even after the ſubverſion of the kingdom of *Syria* *.

Bef. Chr. 741. The following year *Rezin* and his ally *Pekah* again invaded *Judah*; but ſeem to have acted ſeparately. They were both ſucceſsful; and *Rezin*, after ravaging the country, returned with great booty and many priſoners to *Damaſcus*. This acquiſition, however, proved fatal to him and his kingdom: for *Ahaz* grown deſperate, and bent upon revenge, ſent all his treaſure, even that dedicated to ſacred uſes, to *Tiglathpilezar* king of *Aſſyria*, therewith to bribe him againſt *Rezin* and *Pekah*, offering alſo to become tributary to him. *Tiglathpilezar* moſt readily embraced this opportunity of extending his dominion, and entering *Syria* with a powerful army, ſlew *Rezin*, took *Damaſcus*, and tranſplanted the inhabitants of that city to *Kir*. Thus was the empire of the ancient *Syrians* aboliſhed, according to the prophets: *Behold* Damaſcus *is taken away from being a city—and the kingdom ſhall ceaſe from* Damaſcus *and the remnant of* Syria †. *I will ſend a fire into the houſe of* Hazael, *which ſhall devour the palaces of* Benhadad. *I will cut off him that holdeth the ſceptre from the houſe of* Eden; *and the people of* Syria *ſhall go into captivity unto* Kir, *ſaith the Lord* ‡.

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* 2 Kings xvi. 6. † Iſa. xvii. 1—3. ‡ Amos i. 4, 5.

The KINGS *of* HAMATH.

The kings of *Hamath*.

WE have but a very imperfect account of theſe kings; and it is not certainly known where the city in which they reigned was ſituated. According to *Joſephus* it lay to the north of *Canaan*; but the learned *Abulfeda*, who reigned in *Hamath*, places it upon the *Orontes*, between *Hems* and *Apamea*. We find alſo there was a country of *Hamath* which lay to the eaſtward of the land of *Canaan*, about *Palmyra* or *Tadmor* *. They ſeem to have drawn their origin from the *Syrians* of the *Canaaniti/h* blood, and probably formed themſelves into a kingdom about the ſame time with the *Syrians* of *Zobah*. Thus far is certain, that *Toi*, their firſt king we read of, was engaged in an unequal war with *Hadadezer* the great king of *Zobah*, the ground of which, perhaps, might be his refuſal to ſubmit to the power of that ambitious prince, to whom probably he was on the point of ſubmitting, when *Hadadezer* himſelf yielded to the ſuperior might of *David*. *Toi* hearing of the defeat of *Hadadezer*, immediately ſent his ſon *Joram* with a coſtly preſent in veſſels of gold, ſilver, and braſs, therewith to court the favour of the conqueror, to congratulate him on his ſucceſſes, and return him thanks for the deliverance he owed him.

Toi, we may conclude, became a dependant on *David*; and his ſucceſſor, whether his ſon *Joram* or *Hadoram*, or any other, cultivated a good intelligence with the kings of *Judah*, till he was ſubdued by the powerful kings of *Damaſcus*, to whom *Hamath* and all the reſt of *Syria* continued ſubject till the time of *Jeroboam*, who we are told *recovered* Damaſcus *and* Hamath, *which belonged to* Judah, *for* Iſrael. Upon the reduction of *Damaſcus* by the *Aſſyrians*, it may have lifted up its head a little for a few years, till it was conquered by *Sennacherib* and *Eſarhaddon*, who tranſplanted its inhabitants into *Samaria* †.

The KINGS *of* GESHUR.

of *Geſhur*.

ACCORDING to *Joſephus* the *Geſhurites* were only a family of note and figure in the country where they dwelt, and were, doubtleſs, but petty princes, if compared with thoſe of *Zobah*, *Damaſcus*, and *Hamath*. Probably they were one of the royal families which in ancient times divided the whole country of *Syria* among them, and perhaps were more conſiderable for the alliance *David* made with their family than for the extent of their dominion. The firſt of them we meet with is called *Amihud*, the father of *Talmai*, who is expreſsly called king of *Geſhur*. *Talmai*'s daughter *Maacha* was wife to *David* and mother to *Abſalom*, who fled to *Geſhur* upon the murder of his brother

* 2 Chron. viii. 3, 4. 13. xvii. 24. Ezra iv. 2.

† 2 Kings, xiv. 28. xviii. 34. xix. 11.

Ammon, and was ſheltered by *Talmai* three years. The *Geſhurites* doubtleſs were ſubdued, as well as the other *Syrians*, by the kings of *Damaſcus*, and afterwards conquered and tranſplanted by the *Aſſyrians*.

CHAP. IX.

The Hiſtory of the PHOENICIANS.

The origin of the name of *Phœnicia* uncertain.

FROM whence this country borrowed the name of *Phœnicia*, or *Phenice*, is uncertain. Some derive the word from one *Phœnix*; others from the *Greek* word *phœnix*, ſignifying a palm, as if that tree remarkably abounded here. Some again ſuppoſe that *Phœnice* is originally a tranſlation of the *Hebrew* word *Edom*, the coaſts being peopled by the *Edomites* who fled hither from *David*. By the contraction of *Canaan* (for it was a part of that land) it was alſo called *Chna*, and anciently *Rhabbothin* and *Colpitis*, both which words, the one in the *Greek* and the other in the *Hebrew*, ſignify a bay or gulph. The *Jews* commonly called it *Canaan*, tho' ſome part of it at leaſt they knew by the name of *Syrophœnice* *. The name *Phœnice* was ſometimes extended to all the maritime countries of *Syria* and *Judæa*, and that of *Canaan* to the *Philiſtines*. On the other hand, theſe two names, and the other appellations, were moſt generally ſwallowed up by thoſe of *Syria* and *Paleſtine*, the laſt of which particularly is very frequently uſed, by ancient writers, to ſignify the land of the *Phœnicians*, and even all the coaſt ſouthward quite to *Peluſium* in *Egypt*, tho' it now only means the land of *Judæa*, or the *Holy Land*.

The proper *Phœnice* was bounded on the weſt by the *Mediterranean*, on the eaſt by *Syria*, on the ſouth by the mountain *Antilibanus*, and on the north, according to *Ptolemy*, by the river *Eleutherus*, or, by the account of *Pliny*, *Mela*, and *Stephanus*, by the iſland of *Aratus*. On the coaſt of *Phœnice*, and ſouth of the river *Eleutherus*, ſtood the following cities, *Simyra*, *Orthoſia*, *Tripolis*, *Botrys*, *Byblus*, *Palæbyblos*, *Berytus*, *Sydon*, *Sarepta*, *Tyrus*, *Palætyrus*.

Sidon.

Sidon may properly enough be reckoned the metropolis of *Phœnice*, ſince it ſeems to have been the oldeſt city in this part, borrowing its name from *Sidon* the eldeſt ſon of *Canaan*, who, they pretend, was its founder, which is not unlikely. It is ſeated on the ſea-ſide, is now called *Seyde*, and *Maundrel* informs us it is at this day pretty well ſtocked with inhabitants, but much ſhrunk from its ancient extent, and more from its ſplendor, as appears from the veſtiges of the ancient city that are left.

* Matth. xv. 22. Mark vii. 26.

Tyre,

Tyre, anciently *Sor*, which name ſignifies a rock, is commonly called the daughter of *Sidon*, from which it ſtood about 200 furlongs ſouthward. It muſt be diſtinguiſhed into three different cities in order of time, as *Tyre* on the continent, or *Paletyrus* (old *Tyre*), *Tyre* on the iſland, and *Tyre* on the peninſula, after the iſland was joined to the continent. It had two havens, formed by the iſthmus which joined the iſland to the main land, the one called *open*, which looked towards *Egypt*, and the other *cloſe*, on the north ſide. After this iſthmus was thrown up, *Tyre* on the iſland and old *Tyre* on the main were conſidered but as one city, and were in circumference 19,000 paces, that part on the iſland, conſidered by itſelf, being only 22 furlongs, or not quite three of our miles. Our modern accounts, however, make it much leſs. According to them, the iſland, which is of a circular form, hardly contains forty acres of ground; and the old wall is ſtill to be ſeen at the utmoſt margin of the land. Its narrow circumference probably was what induced them to build their houſes very lofty, and with more ſtories, we are told, than the houſes had at *Rome* *. Its buildings were in general ſpacious and magnificent. Above the reſt appeared the temple built by *Hiram* to *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, and *Aſtarte*, the walls of which were 150 feet high, proportionably broad, and firmly built of large blocks of ſtone bound together with white plaſter. The city is now called *Sur*, and is a mere heap of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c. and its preſent inhabitants are only a few poor wretches, who harbour themſelves in vaults, and ſubſiſt by fiſhing. *Tyre.*

Aradus, in the iſland of that name, tho' by ſome reckoned a part of *Syria*, was however by the *Phœnicians* counted as a part of their country. The iſland is about 20 furlongs from the ſhore, and about ſeven furlongs in circumference; ſo that the inhabitants, for want of room, raiſed their buildings very high. What is remarkable, we are told, when beſieged they could draw up freſh water from the bottom of the ſea, by the help of long tubes †. *Bochart*, with great probability, thinks this iſland, and that part of the continent oppoſite to it, was the ſeat of the *Canaanitiſh* tribe called *Arvadites*. *Aradus.*

Tripoli was at firſt three diſtinct cities, a furlong diſtant from each other, but all within one common incloſure, inhabited by three different colonies from *Sidon*, *Tyre*, and *Aradus*. It is ſtill a conſiderable place, and bears its old name. *Tripoli.*

Byblus, which was the ſeat of the famous ſuperſtition in memory of *Adonis*, is reported to have been the firſt city built in this country. *Byblus.*

Berytus, which is ſaid to have been ſtanding in the days of *Chronus*, muſt not have been much inferior to *Byblus* in antiquity. Under the *Roman* emperors the civil law was here taught in *Berytus.*

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* Strabo, l. xvi. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. v. Maundr. journ. fr. Alep. to Jeruſ.

† Strabo, ut ſupra. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. v. & ii.

Greek, as it was at *Rome* in *Latin*. By whom the academy was founded, is not certainly known, but that it flouriſhed long before the reign of the emperor *Dioclesian*, is manifeſt from a decree of that prince, who would allow no other academies but thoſe of *Rome*, *Berytus*, and *Conſtantinople* to explain the laws. It is now called *Barut*, or *Beroot*, but retains nothing of its antient felicity except the ſituation.

Sarepta.

Sarepta, *Zarpath*, or *Zarephath*, ſtood between *Sidon* and *Tyre*, but was ſubject to the former city. The wine of *Sarepta* is commended by ſeveral writers of the later ages. Between this city and *Tyre*, a river called by modern geographers *Eleutherus falſus*, empties itſelf into the ſea, which however is not taken notice of by the antients, at leaſt under that name.

The bounds of midland *Phœnicia* cannot be accurately fixed. *Ptolemy* reckons in it the following towns, *Arca*, *Palæbyblus*, (old *Byblus*) *Gabala*, and *Cæſarea Paniæ*. In the times of Chriſtianity it was conſiderably extended, and being conſidered as a province of *Syria*, included not only *Damaſcus*, but *Palmyra* alſo.

Soil and climate.

The ſoil of this country is good, and productive of many neceſſaries for food and cloathing. The air is wholeſom, and the climate temperate. It is plentifully watered by ſmall rivers, which running down from mount *Libanus*, are ſubject to overflow in an immoderate degree, either increaſed by the melting of the ſnows on that mountain, or by heavy rains.

Natural curioſities.

The ſea on this coaſt formerly abounded with a peculiar ſort of fiſh, from which the *Tyrians* drew great profit and honour, by uſing them in dying the choiceſt purple. On the ſhore there was a ſand wherewith the firſt and beſt glaſs was made, a ſtaple manufacture of this antient country.

Ruins of famous buildings.

A few remains of the antient ſplendor of this now deſolate land are ſtill extant. Near the ruins of the metropolitan church at *Tyre* is ſeen a column 80 feet long of one block of granite marble, which ſome repreſent as a double, others as a triple pillar. *Solomon*'s ciſterns or wells, as they are vulgarly called, are likewiſe remarkable. There are three of them entire at this day, within about two furlongs from the ſea. The firſt is an octagon, 20 yards in diameter, elevated on the ſouth nine yards above the ground, and on the north but ſix. Its wall is only of gravel and pebbles, but ſo firmly conſolidated with a ſtrong cement, that it ſeems to be an entire piece of rock. Upon the brink there is a walk round it 8 feet in breadth, and deſcending on the north by two ſteps; there is another walk 21 feet broad; all which ſtructure is hollow, and built over part of the water. This ciſtern is ſo plentifully ſupplied, that though there iſſues from it a brook which drives four mills, it is always brim full. On the eaſt ſide an aqueduct raiſed about ſix yards from the ground, and containing a channel one yard wide, runs from this ciſtern to the two others, and receiving their waters by ſmall channels, was continued ſeveral miles to the *Iſthmus*, over which it extended into the city. The current tradition

is,

is, that they were built by *Solomon*, and filled by a ſubterraneous river which that wiſe king, by his great ſagacity, diſcovered to run under ground here. The country people ſay, that nobody could ever reach the bottom of theſe wells, though the thing has been attempted by great lengths of line; but a modern traveller confuted that opinion by a line ten yards in length. As the aqueduct appears as old as the ciſterns, and runs over the *Iſthmus*, it is from thence concluded that they were not built till after the time of *Alexander*, by whom the *Iſthmus* was raiſed. Some footſteps of what *Sidon* once was, are to be ſeen among the gardens, without the walls of the preſent city; ſuch as beautiful columns, and other fragments of that kind; and at *Byblus* are alſo many heaps of ruins and fine pillars ſcattered up and down the gardens near the preſent town. On the continent, a little ſouthward of the iſle of *Aradus*, are ſeveral antiquities of a very extraordinary kind. The firſt is a dyke, ſtretching in a direct line eaſt and weſt more than a furlong, cut out of the firm rock, 30 yards over at top, and ſloping downwards a great many ſteps runing the whole length of the wall, which breaks off at a flat marſhy ground within two furlongs of the ſea. Secondly, a little to the ſouthward of this dyke there is a court 55 yards ſquare, cut alſo out of the natural rock, which on three ſides ſtands round it in the form of a wall, three yards high. The court to the northward is open, and about the centre of it a part of the rock, five yards and a half ſquare, is left ſtanding, and ſerves for a pedeſtal to a throne erected upon it. The throne is compoſed of four large ſtones built in the form of a tribunal, with a back and canopy. The ſtone placed as a canopy is five yards and three quarters ſquare. About half a mile to the ſouthward of this court are two towers, ſuppoſed to be ſepulchral monuments; for they ſtand over an antient burying-place. The one is 33 feet high, including the pedeſtal, which is in height 10 feet, and 15 ſquare. The other, which is about ten yards from the firſt, is a long cone, diſcontinued at about the third part of its height, and capped as it were with the half of a globe. Under ground, near theſe pillars, are ſquare chambers cut out of the hard rock, of convenient height for a man, and long cells branching out from them, variouſly diſpoſed, and of different lengths, wherein the dead bodies are depoſited.

The antiquity of the *Phœnicians*.

It is univerſally agreed, that the antient *Phœnicians* were a branch of the *Canaanites*, and according to *Bochart*, they changed their original name to avoid the ignominy of the curſe denounced on their progenitor. We may add, that their blood, in proceſs of time, muſt have been mixed with that of foreigners, as happens in all trading places.

Their government.

The *Phœnicians* were governed by kings, and their territory, as ſmall a ſlip as it was, included the kingdoms of *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Aradus*, *Berytus*, and *Byblus*. They in this imitated the primitive government of their forefathers, who, like the other *Canaanites*, were under many petty princes, to whom they allowed

lowed the ſovereign dignity, reſerving to themſelves the natural rights and liberties of mankind. By their hiſtory it appears, that even the kings of *Sidon* and *Tyre*, when in their zenith, were far from being uncontroulable. None of their civil laws or conſtitutions have been handed down to us.

Religion. In the infancy of their ſtate, they, as well as the reſt of their kindred, doubtleſs worſhiped the true God, whom, as is moſt likely, they called *Baal* or Lord: but by degrees degenerating to the deification and worſhip of dead men, they became blind and perverſe idolaters. The chief of their deities, as they are found in their own records, are theſe, *Beelſamen* or Lord of Heaven, thereby meaning the ſun; *Chronus*, likewiſe dignified with the title of *Baal*, who probably was the *Baal-berith* or the *Chronus* antiently worſhiped at *Berytus*; *Aſtarte*; *Chronus* the ſecond, likewiſe *Baal*; *Zeus Belus*, alſo *Baal*; *Apollo*; *Melicarthus*, *Melcartus*, or *Herculus* *.

How far they retained a due ſenſe and notion of the true God in this their multifarious idolatry, is hard to determine. It is reported of the *Egyptians*, that amidſt their endleſs polytheiſm, they ſtill acknowledged one ſupreme God; and ſince the religion of the old *Phœnicians* was in ſubſtance hardly different from that of the *Egyptians*, it is very probable that their theory and doctrine agreed together as well as their practice and traditions. How they repreſented *Beelſamen*, we no where find. As they meant by him in a more eſpecial manner the ſun, whom they had daily before their eyes in all his glory, 'tis likely at firſt they paid their addreſſes to the luminary itſelf, though afterwards, perhaps, they repreſented it by idols, which they placed in their temples. Though we know nothing particular of their idols, yet we may ſuppoſe they repreſented their different *Baals*, ſuch as *Baal-Berith*, the *Baal* of *Sidon*, called *Thalaſſius*, or the ſea *Baal*, and others under their proper attributes. In proceſs of time their different *Baals* probably were each attributed by their reſpective worſhipers to the ſun, while the moon was adored by the name of *Aſtarte*; for theſe two great luminaries ſeem to have been the chief objects of their worſhip. *Baal* is called ſometimes a god and ſometimes a goddeſs, and on the other hand *Aſtarte* is ſometimes termed a goddeſs and ſometimes a god: but by the *Phœnician* mythology ſhe was indiſputably a goddeſs; for there we find her mentioned as the mother of many children. She is particularly called the goddeſs of the *Sidonians*, and in *Hebrew*, *Aſhtaroth*, which ſignifies flocks of ſheep or goats; from whence ſome have thought that ſhe was repreſented under the form of a ſheep, though others think ſhe was ſo called on account of the great numbers of victims offered up to her. We are told, ſhe was repreſented in the ſame manner with *Iſis*, with cow's horns on her head, and for the ſame reaſon, namely, to repreſent the

* Seld. de diis Syr. Bochart. Cumberland on Sanchon.

moon's

moon's increaſe and decreaſe; for ſhe was undoubtedly conſecrated into that planet, and adored under the title of the Queen of Heaven. Thence it has been concluded, that ſhe was the ſame with *Iſis*, with the great *Juno*, and with the *Grecian Io*, turned into a cow, according to *Bochart*, who obſerves, that the word *Aſhtaroth* may be extended to herds in general. She was alſo the *Phœnician Aphrodite* or *Venus*, according to *Cicero*, who married *Adonis*; ſo that as ſhe went under different names, ſhe was doubtleſs very variouſly repreſented. Under the character of *Venus* ſhe was worſhiped in the ſtar called *Lucifer*. She was nevertheleſs pictured with arms as the goddeſs of war*, and in her temple on mount *Libanus*, where ſhe was mourning her loſt *Adonis*, ſhe was repreſented with her head mufled up in a veil, and leaning on her left hand †. She is ſaid to have conſecrated *Tyre*, by depoſiting a fallen ſtar there. *Apollo* is taken for the *Phut* or *Put* of *Moſes*, whence the *Pythius* of the *Greeks*. He was in great repute among them; for we find the *Tyrians*, when beſieged by *Alexander*, were ſo much afraid that he ſhould leave them and go over to the enemy, that they chained him with golden chains to the altar of *Hercules* ‡. *Melcartus*, or *Herculus*, was the great and antient god of *Tyre*, the *Tyrians* reckoning him as old as their city, which *Herodotus* tells us, they ſaid had exiſted 2300 years. They had a great veneration for him; but repreſented him under no form, and put no images in his temple. However, in the reign of *Hiram*, we will find that they deviated from this cuſtom. Among their gods may alſo be placed *Adonis*, *Thammuz*, or *Oſiris*, which three names certainly meant the ſame object, and two of them were formed into one by the people of *Amathus* in *Cyprus*, who worſhiped *Adonoſiris*. The ceremonies performed in honour of the *Egyptian Oſiris*, and the beautiful *Adonis* begotten by *Cinyras*, an *Aſſyrian*, were almoſt the ſame. They had both their *diſappearance* or death; there was a *ſearch* after both with mourning, and they both had their *invention* with joy and gladneſs; ſo that they may very reaſonably be ſuppoſed the ſame. The *Phœnicians* alſo had ſmall idols called *Pataeci*, which they placed in the prows of their ſhips. They were the tutelar gods of ſeafaring men, and carried about for protection from diſaſters of the ſea. How nearly ſoever the *Phœnicians* may have agreed with the *Egyptians* in the main points of their ſuperſtition, we do not read that they ever extended their worſhip, like them, to the inanimate creation.

Baal had his prophets and prieſts in great number. We read of 450 of them which were fed at *Jezebel*'s table only. They were wont to offer burnt offerings and ſacrifices to this god, and to dance with violent geſticulations; but whether

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* Bochart. Canaan. l. i.

† Macrob. Saturn. l. i. c. 27.

‡ Diod. l. xvii. Plut. in vit. Alex.

round the altar, or over it, or upon it, is uncertain *. Having by this exercise and violent straining of their voices worked themselves to the height of phrenzy, they began to cut their bodies with knives and lancets, and then betook themselves to prophecy, or rather raving, as if possessed by some invisible power. Such was their barbarous way of worship, which need not be wondered at, considering their more barbarous custom in earlier days of sacrificing even such persons as were most dear to them to appease or reconcile their false gods when they laboured under any public calamities. So barbarous a practice they had in common with the *Egyptians*; but it was discontinued here, as well as in *Egypt*, pretty early.

Astarte also had many prophets or priests, 400 of whom were supported by *Jezebel*. Our version calls them *prophets of the groves*; but Mr. *Selden* has proved, by comparing many passages of scripture together, that they were the priests of *Astarte* †. There is no room to doubt but she was served with much form, pomp, and mystery; and women particularly are said to have been employed to weave hangings or tabernacles for her. When she was adored as queen of Heaven, they offered to her cakes prepared for that service with great ceremony. *The children gathered the wood, and the fathers kindled the fire, and the women kneaded the dough, to make cakes for the queen of Heaven.* They also burned incense, and poured out drink offerings to her, paying their homage in all probability to the moon itself as well as to the sun, those great lights being always considered together. The pious *Job* joins them in the following words to acknowledge the danger of contemplating such beauties, and to disown his having yielded to the temptation, *if I beheld the sun when it shined, and the moon walking in brightness, and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand; this also were an iniquity.* At *Byblus* she had a temple, and was worshiped as the *Venus* of *Adonis*; and at the annual time of lamenting that youth, such women as would not conform to the custom of shaving their heads, were bound to prostitute their bodies one entire day for hire, the money thus earned being presented to the goddess. Her temple at *Aphac* on mount *Libanus*, was a perfect sink of lewdness, the most shameful commerce between the sexes being allowed within its profane walls. Other temples she doubtless had, and other rites; but it were in vain to attempt either to enumerate or distinguish them. Though she is called the goddess of the *Sidonians*, her principal temple seems to have been that built by *Hiram* at *Tyre*.

After what manner they worshiped their *Apollo*, is uncertain; but to their *Hercules* they are said to have paid great honour. All who worshiped him were clad uniformly in a loose flowing garment of *Egyptian* linen. The fire of his altar never went

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* Patrick on Kings, xviii. 26. † Patrick on 1 Kings, xvii.

out.

out. Thoſe who offered incenſe to him, ſhaved their heads; went barefoot, and were ſuppoſed pure from any pollution contracted from the other ſex. Women were not allowed to enter into the temple, and ſwine were carefully kept from approaching it.

We ſhall now finiſh our account of their religious ceremonies and practices, with what they did in commemoration of *Adonis*, or *Oſiris*, or *Adonoſiris*, or *Thammuz*, all which names, as we have already obſerved, centered in one object. His father, they pretend, was one *Cinyras* an *Aſſyrian*, who founded the city of *Paphos* in the iſland of *Cyprus*; and it is agreed that he was a moſt beautiful youth. His birth and death are differently related. Some ſay, that *Venus* was enamoured of him from his infancy, and committed the care of his education to *Proſerpine*, who afterwards, when he was grown up, refuſing to deliver him, a diſpute thence aroſe between the two goddeſſes, which was decided by *Jupiter*. It was decreed, that the youth ſhould be one third of the year with *Proſerpine*, another with *Venus*, and the laſt third he might diſpoſe of himſelf as he pleaſed. *Adonis* taken with the charms of *Venus*, ſpent two thirds of his time with that goddeſs, which giving offence to *Diana*, ſhe ſent a wild boar to put an end to his life*. Others ſay he was the ſon of *Cinyras* by his own daughter *Myrrha*; and to conceal the guilt of ſo unlawful a commerce, was expoſed on the mountains, where he was nurſed by the nymphs, and became a great ſportſman. *Venus* ſeeing him at his manly ſport, fell in love with him, and admitted him to great intimacy with her, which raiſing the jealouſy and reſentment of *Mars*, he turned himſelf into a wild boar and ſlew him. The goddeſs, unſpeakably grieved at the ſad news, followed him to the ſhades, and demanded him from *Proſerpine*, who after ſome difficulties agreed that he ſhould have leave every year to be with *Venus* ſix months. She upon this returned with joy to the earth again, acquainted her followers with her ſucceſs, and ordained a feſtival to be celebrated in commemoration thereof†. In conſequence of this myſterious tradition, the women, at *Byblus* eſpecially, mourned annually for the death of *Adonis*, and rejoiced for his recovery. *Adonis* is alſo ſaid to have been the ſon of an heathen king, whoſe image the *Jewiſh* women adored with ſhedding of tears, and even by offering ſacrifices to it‡.

Whoever he was, the ſuperſtition of mourning over him was univerſally practiſed by the women in thoſe parts. They began their outcries and lamentations as ſoon as they perceived the river *Adonis* to appear of a bloody hue, which it often did, occaſioned by a kind of minium waſhed into it by the land floods. The lamentations of a mother for the loſs of her only

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* Apollod. Biblioth. † Cyril. in Iſ. l. ii. ‡ Philaſt. apud. Seld. de di. Syr.

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ſon, could not be more loud or tender. They then proceeded to their ſacrifices of the dead, having firſt diſciplined themſelves by whipping, and the next day pretending him to be revived and aſcended through the air to the upper regions, they ſhaved their heads, as the *Egyptians* did for the loſs of *Apis*. Some relate, that during the ſolemnity, on a certain night, they laid an image in a bed, over which they made long and ſad lamentations; then light being brought in, the prieſt anointed the mouths of the aſſiſtants, whiſpered to them that ſalvation was come, that deliverance was brought to paſs; upon which their ſorrow was turned into joy, and the image taken as it were out of its ſepulchre. Many other idle and ſuperſtitious ceremonies were performed at this feſtival, which has made ſo laſting an impreſſion on the women of thoſe parts, that ſome traces of it are kept up by them of *Aleppo* to this day *.

There are different ways of allegorizing this hiſtory. *Adonis* was the ſun; *Venus* repreſented the upper hemiſphere of the earth, or what we think ſo; *Proſerpine* the lower hemiſphere: therefore when the ſun was in the ſix inferior ſigns, they ſaid he was with *Proſerpine*; when he was in the ſix ſuperior, with *Venus*; and by the boar that ſlew *Adonis*, they underſtood winter †. By *Adonis* ſometimes alſo were meant the fruits of the earth, which are for one while buried, but at length appear flouriſhing to the ſight. Doubtleſs there was great variation among thoſe who received this piece of ſuperſtition, when they talked of what it meant, and why it was practiſed. *Plutarch* takes *Adonis* to be *Bacchus*. *Oſiris* was both the ſun and *Adonis*, and was buried, according to *Lucian*, at *Byblus*. The word *Adonis*, as well as *Baal*, imports Lord.

Herodotus ſuppoſes the *Phœnicians* to have been circumciſed: but *Joſephus* relates, that none of the nations included under the vague names of *Paleſtine* and *Syria*, uſed that rite, the *Jews* excepted. They abſtained from the fleſh of ſwine.

Their arts and learning.

Much is ſaid of the *Phœnicians*, their arts, ſciences, and manufactures; but as what we find concerning them is couched in general terms only, we cannot condeſcend to particulars. The *Sidonians*, under which denomination it was antiently uſual to comprehend all the *Phœnicians*, were of a moſt happy genius and frame of mind. Arithmetic and aſtronomy either took riſe among them, or were brought by them to great perfection. From them thoſe excellent ſciences, together with their letters, flowed into *Greece*. They were from the beginning addicted to philoſophical exerciſes of the mind, inſomuch, that a *Sidonian*, by name *Moſchus*, taught the doctrine of atoms before the *Trojan* war; and *Abdomenus* of *Tyre* challenged *Solomon*, though the wiſeſt king on earth, by the ſubtle queſtions

* Lucian de dea Syr. Amm. Marcell l. xix. Selden's Hiſt of Palmyra in the Pref. † Macrob. Saturn. l. i. c. 21.

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he propoſed to him *. In latter ages alſo both *Tyre* and *Sidon* produced their philoſophers, *Boethus* and *Diodatus* of *Sidon*, *Antipater* and *Apollonius* of *Tyre*. Their language, which was common to the other *Canaanites*, was a dialect of the *Hebrew*.

Their letters or characters were either the ſame, or very like to the *Samaritan* characters.

However eminent they were for their learning and ſkill in the ſciences, it is however probable they excelled much more in the labours of the hand than in thoſe of the head. The glaſs of *Sidon*, the purple of *Tyre*, and the exceeding fine linen they wove, were the product of their own country and their own inventions. For their extraordinary ſkill in working of metals, in hewing of timber and ſtone, in a word, for their perfect knowledge of what was ſolid, great and ornamental in architecture, we need only put the reader in mind of the large ſhare they had in erecting and decorating the temple at *Jeruſalem* under their king *Hiram*. So remarkable and famous were they for their proficiency in the arts, that whatever was elegant, great or pleaſing, either in apparel, veſſels, or toys, was diſtinguiſhed by way of excellence with the epithet of *Sidonian*.

Their manufactures.

When we conſider them as merchants, they may be ſaid to have engroſſed for a long time all the commerce of the weſtern world. As navigators, they were the boldeſt and moſt experienced, and the greateſt diſcoverers of the antient times, having, for many ages, no rivals. As planters of colonies, they did ſo much, that it is ſurprizing how they could furniſh ſuch ſupplies of people, and not wholly depopulate their ſmall territory, which was little more than the ſlip of ground between mount *Libanus* and the ſea. They were probably at firſt furniſhed with eaſtern and other commodities by the *Syrians*, as the productions of the natural growth of their own territory would not be conſiderable. Perceiving by degrees how acceptable theſe commodities would be in foreign parts, they turned all their thoughts to trade and navigation, being prompted by the great number of convenient harbours on their coaſt, and the excellent materials for ſhip-building on the neighbouring mountains. At the ſame time applying themſelves to manufactures, they quickly extended their commerce, and brought themſelves to be conſidered as the firſt of the earth for riches and ſplendor, if not for power.

Their extenſive trade.

The *Edomites*, who fled thither in the time of *David*, ſeem to have communicated to the *Phœnicians* a knowledge of the Red ſea, and of the ſouth parts of *Arabia*, *Egypt*, and *Ethiopia*, which coaſts were before unknown to them. They were enabled probably by this information, to undertake the voyages to thoſe parts for *Solomon* and *Pharaoh Necho*. They affected

* Menand. & Dius ap. Joſeph. l. viii. & cont. Ap. l. i. Strabo xvi. Bochart. Phaleg. c. 4.

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no empire but that of the ſea, ſought to enlarge no other dominion, and ſeem to have aimed at nothing but the peaceable enjoyment of their commerce, upon the advancement of which all their thoughts were fixed. They traded to all the known parts they could reach; to the *Caſſiterides*, or *Britiſh* iſles, and to many other places in the *Atlantic* ocean, both to the north and ſouth of the *Streights* mouth, and into all the ports of the *Mediterranean*, the Black ſea, and the lake *Mæotis*. In all theſe parts they had ſettlements and correſpondents, from which they drew what was uſeful to themſelves, or might be ſo to others, exerciſing in their full latitude the three great branches of trade, importation, exportation, and tranſportation. The traffic they carried on by land in *Syria*, *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, *Babylonia*, *Perſia*, and *Arabia*, and even in *India*, was of no leſs extent; ſo that their country became a great ſtorehouſe, capable to adminiſter to the neceſſities or luxury of all nations, their merchants being mentioned in ſcripture as equal to princes.

As to their ſhipping, we may obſerve that their larger embarkations conſiſted of veſſels of two ſorts, namely, round ſhips or *gauli*, and long ſhips or *triremes*, which in time of an engagement were drawn up in the middle of the line, while the gauli were placed in the wings at a ſmall diſtance from each other. If at any time their ſhips bound on a voyage obſerved that a ſtranger kept them company, or followed them in their track, they were ſure to get rid of him if they could, or deceive him if poſſible, in which they went ſo far as to venture the loſs of their ſhips, and even their lives. As they graſped at the whole commerce of the then known world, they wanted to diſcourage other nations from expoſing themſelves to the dangers of the ſea; for which purpoſe they affected piracy, or pretended to be at war with ſuch as they met when they thought themſelves ſtrongeſt. Great part of their wealth was owing to their manufacture for purple, the fiſh which ſerved them for dying that colour being then found on their coaſts; though it is now either loſt, or the preſent inhabitants know not how to catch it. An antient author attributes the diſſoluteneſs of *Tyre* to its great number of dyers. In the ſervice of *Necbus* king of *Egypt*, we have ſeen, that in a voyage to the eaſtern coaſts of *Africa*, they doubled the cape of *Good Hope*, and in three years arrived again in *Egypt* by the *Mediterranean*. We cannot however agree with the learned *Huetius*, that the *Phœnicians* frequently ſailed from the *Mediterranean* round the cape of *Good Hope* to the *Eaſt-Indies*, as the *India* commodities would be furniſhed to them much more conveniently by *Egypt*, the *Red Sea*, and *Syria*. Such a courſe would not have eſcaped the knowledge of *Herodotus*, who even diſputes the credibility of the account of the ſailors in the ſervice of *Necho*, who at their return related that they had ſeen the ſun at mid-day in the

the north, which we know is a conſequence of their having croſſed the equator *.

Before we enter upon the hiſtory of the *Phœnician* kings, we ſhall ſhortly mention the dark and fabulous account of the family of *Agenor*, the firſt king of *Phœnice*, taken notice of by the *Greeks*. According to *Apollodorus*, *Agenor* and *Belus* were the ſons of *Neptune* by *Lybia* the daughter of *Epaphus*, a king of part of *Egypt*. *Belus* reigned in *Egypt*, and was the father of *Egyptus* and *Danaus*; but *Agenor* leaving his native country, ſettled in *Phœnice*, where he became the father of a numerous race. Authors are not agreed as to the number of his wives or children. Some mention a fifth wife, and ſome even a ſixth. His children were *Europa*, *Iſæa*, *Melia*, *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cilix*, *Thaſus*, *Carina*, *Tyrus*, and others. His daughter *Europa* being ſtolen by *Jupiter* in the ſhape of a bull, that is, in a ſhip named the bull, and carried into *Crete*, *Agenor*, who was thereat extremely grieved, ſent his ſon *Cadmus* with a great ſum of money in queſt of her; but he not finding her, nor daring to return home without her, reſolved to ſettle elſewhere. He accordingly ſailed with his followers to *Thrace*, and afterwards to *Bœotia*, from whence he drove out the *Hyantes*, and built a city which he called *Cadmea*, allowing the *Aones*, who ſubmitted to him, to inhabit with his *Phœnicians*. *Laius*, the ſon of his grandſon, was afterwards expelled by *Amphion* and *Zethus*, who called the city *Thebes*, in honour of their aunt *Thebe*.

Their hiſtory.

The fabulous account of *Agenor*.

Iſæa and *Melia*, two other daughters of *Agenor*, married their couſin-germans *Ægyptus* and *Danaus*. *Cilix* is ſaid by *Apollodorus* to have ſettled in *Cilicia*. *Thaſus*, according to the ſame author, and *Pauſanius* built the city of *Thaſos* in *Thrace*. *Phœnix* is ſuppoſed by the *Greeks* to have ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of *Sidon*, to which he afterwards gave his own name. *Euſebius* adds, that he was the firſt that found out the ſcarlet colour, which was at firſt called *Phœnicius*, and with a ſmall alteration afterwards, *Puniceus color*.

The next king of *Sidon* mentioned by the antient *Greeks* is *Phalis*, who flouriſhed about the time of the *Trojan* war. He is honoured by *Homer* with the title of *moſt illuſtrious*, and is ſaid to have been a faithful ally of the *Greeks* †.

There is ſuch a diſagreement among authors relating to *Agenor* and his deſcendants, that their accounts are no ways to be depended upon, being interwoven and darkened with numberleſs fables, which it is not worth while to attempt the unravelling of. That we might not ſeem to confound true and fabulous accounts, we have therefore placed theſe latter apart by themſelves.

Phœnice, as we have ſaid, was divided into ſeveral ſmall kingdoms. Beſides the kings of *Sidon* and *Tyre* mentioned in ſcrip-

Their true hiſtory.

* Herod l. ii. & iv. Huet. hiſt. du commerce des Anc. Polyæn. l. vi. Strabo. † Homer. Odyſſ. iv. 625. See alſo Dictys cret. l. i.

ture, we read of *Elbaſus* king *Berytus*, to whom *Sanchoniatho*, according to *Euſebius*, dedicated his hiſtory; of *Erylus* king of *Byblus*, and of other *Phœnician* kings whoſe dominions were confined to the narrow bounds of one city and its territory. Of all the kings of *Phœnice*, thoſe of *Sidon*, *Tyre*, and *Arad* ſeem to have been the moſt powerful and wealthy, and make the beſt figure in hiſtory. But their ſucceſſions, and the years of their reſpective reigns, cannot be aſcertained, their records, which were faithfully kept, being now no more. It is even impoſſible to fix the chronology of their beſt and cleareſt times. We muſt therefore content ourſelves with the imperfect accounts relating to them which occur in hiſtory.

Sidon the firſt king of the *Sidonians*.

Sidon, the eldeſt ſon of *Canaan*, was, according to *Joſephus*, the founder, and very likely the firſt king of this city. As to his actions or the years of his reign, we are left quite in the dark. Neither are we better acquainted with the kings who ſucceeded him; for though the *Sidonians* are mentioned in the hiſtories of *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, and the *Judges*, yet we find not in holy writ expreſs mention made of their kings till the time of the prophet *Jeremiah*, by whom we learn, that the king of *Sidon* ſent ambaſſadors to *Zedekiah* to propoſe a league againſt *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*.

Tetramneſtus. Bef. Ch. 598.

Their next king we find mentioned in hiſtory is *Tetramneſtus*, who aſſiſted *Xerxes* in his expedition againſt *Greece* with 300 galleys, and by *Herodotus* is reckoned among the chief commanders of the *Perſian* navy.

Tennes. Bef. Ch. 481.

Tennes appears next; but to whom he ſucceeded, is uncertain. The *Sidonians* and other *Phœnicians* in his reign not being able to bear the oppreſſive and tyrannical behaviour of their *Perſian* governor, entered into a confederacy with *Nectanebis* king of *Egypt*, and roſe up in arms againſt *Darius Ochus*. *Nectanebis* at that time was threatned with an invaſion from *Darius*, therefore to keep the ſeat of war at a diſtance from his own dominions, he ſent 4000 *Greeks* to the aſſiſtance of the *Phœnicians* under *Mentor* the *Rhodian*. *Tennes*, in the mean time, had fitted out a powerful fleet, and raiſed a conſiderable army; and being joined by the *Greeks*, he ſoon routed the governors of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and drove the *Perſians* quite out of *Phœnice*. *Darius*, alarmed at the progreſs of the *Phœnicians*, and exaſperated at their inſulting behaviour to thoſe *Perſians* that fell into their hands, raiſed an army of 300,000 foot and 30,000 horſe, and marched in perſon into *Phœnicia*. Upon his approach, *Mentor* the *Rhodian* baſely entered into a private treaty with him to deliver up *Sidon*, and even prevailed with *Tennes* to be a partner in his treaſon. The *Sidonians*, in the mean time, were preparing with the utmoſt vigour for a gallant defence; but all was to no purpoſe; for the *Perſians* no ſooner drew near the city, than *Tennes* pretending to go to the general aſſembly of the *Phœnicians*, went with about 600 men to the *Perſian* camp, 100 of whom were principal citizens, and were immediately put to death by *Ochus* as

authors

authors of the rebellion. Five hundred other citizens of chief rank who came out ſoon after with olive-branches in their hands, were alſo put to death. *Ochus* and *Tennes* then marched out at the head of the *Perſian* army towards the city, and were admitted without the leaſt oppoſition by *Mentor*, who was in poſſeſſion of one of the gates. The diſcovery of the treachery of *Tennes*, had greatly terrified and confounded the *Sidonians*; but now, ſeeing themſelves a ſecond time betrayed, and the enemy within their walls, they reſolved to deſtroy themſelves as they had no means of eſcaping; for upon the approach of the *Perſians*, they voluntarily burnt all their ſhips, that they might be excited to a more vigorous defence. They accordingly ſet fire to their houſes, and were all conſumed with them, to the number of 40,000 men, beſides women and children. *Tennes* did not outlive the ruin which by his treachery he had brought upon his country; for *Ochus* deteſting his perfidy, ordered him to be put to death. There were vaſt riches of gold and ſilver in *Sidon* when this calamity happened to it, which being all melted down by the flames, *Ochus* ſold the aſhes of the city for great ſums of money. The total deſtruction of *Sidon* ſo terrified the other *Phœnicians*, that they immediately ſubmitted, and made their peace upon the beſt terms they could with the king, who being intent on marching againſt *Nectanebis*, more willingly compounded with the *Phœnician* cities. Thus all *Phœnice* was again brought under the *Perſian* yoke, and the predictions of the prophets touching the deſtruction of *Sidon* fulfilled.

When the city was conſumed, many *Sidonians* were abſent on traffic, and returning afterwards, rebuilt the city, *Ochus* being then returned to *Perſia*. The government was committed to *Strato*; and not many years after, when *Alexander* the great arrived in their country, they voluntarily ſubmitted to him from their hatred of the *Perſians*. *Strato*, it ſeems, did not approve of this reſolution; for we are told *Alexander* deprived him of the crown, becauſe he ſubmitted not of his own accord, but at the inſtigation of the citizens. *Theopompus*, as quoted by *Athenæus*, gives him the character of a moſt lewd and voluptuous prince, and relates, that to have an opportunity of chuſing the moſt beautiful women for his own uſe, he inſtituted public ſports for them, conſiſting chiefly of dancing and ſinging.

Bef. Ch. 451. *Strato.*

Bef. Ch. 333.

Alexander having depoſed *Strato*, gave *Hephæſtio* power to beſtow the crown of *Sidon* upon which of his friends he pleaſed. *Hephæſtio* thereupon named to the royal dignity one of the chief citizens, in whoſe houſe he then lodged and was ſplendidly entertained. The citizen, not at all dazzled at the ſight of a crown, returned his generous gueſt a thouſand thanks: at the ſame time earneſtly begged he would excuſe him from aſſuming a dignity to which he had no title, as not being of the royal family. *Hephæſtio*, not a little ſurprized at this anſwer, which he found to be ſincere, then deſired the *Sidonian* to name ſome one of the royal race whom he thought worthy of the regal dignity. He accordingly named *Ballonymus*, a man

Ballonymus.

of an unblemiſhed character, but ſo poor, that he was reduced to maintain himſelf by his daily labour. His poverty and mean condition, however, were no objections to *Hephæſtio*, who immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to him with the royal robes. The meſſenger found him all in rags, drawing water in a garden as a common labourer. Being acquainted with his aſſumption to the throne, he made no difficulty of accepting the new dignity, and proceeding to the city, was received by *Hephæſtio* with all the marks of diſtinction due to his character, and proclaimed king in the forum amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of the people *. The ſame occurrence is related with very little variation by *Plutarch*, *Juſtin*, and *Curtius*. All that we know of his reign is, that to the laſt he proved faithful to the *Macedonians*, to whom he was indebted for his crown.

Kings of *Tyre*. *Abibal*. Bef. Ch. 1056.

We ſhall now proceed to give an account of the kings of *Tyre*. There are no memorials extant of any of the *Tyrian* princes before *Abibal*, with whom *Joſephus* and *Theophilus Antiochenus* begin the ſucceſſion they have furniſhed us with from *Menander* the *Epheſian* and *Dius*, both authors, as *Joſephus* calls them, of unqueſtionable credit. *Dius* was by birth a *Phœnician*, and wrote the hiſtory of *Tyre* extracted from the public records carefully preſerved in that city; and *Menander* compiled the lives of princes from the public archives of the places he treats of. The firſt king *Joſephus* and *Theophilus* mention from theſe hiſtorians, is *Abibal*, or *Abeimal*, who was cotemporary with *David*, and probably joined with the neighbouring nations againſt him, and *David* counts the inhabitants of *Tyre* among his enemies. How long he reigned, is uncertain.

Hiram. Bef. Ch. 1046.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Hiram*, ſometimes called *Irom*, *Chiramus*, *Hieromus*, and *Hieramenus*. This prince maintained a ſtrict friendſhip with king *David*, to whom he ſent ambaſſadors, probably to congratulate him upon his victory over the *Jebuſites*, whom he had then driven from the ſtrong hold of *Zion*, and to conclude an alliance with him. He preſented him with cedar trees, and ſent ſkilful workmen to build him a palace in *Jeruſalem*. Upon the death of *David*, and the acceſſion of *Solomon*, *Hiram* ſent a congratulatory embaſſy to the new king, from whom, upon the return of his ambaſſadors, he received a letter, informing him, that he intended to build a temple to God, and deſiring him to allow ſome of his ſubjects to aſſiſt in the work, and to furniſh him with cedars from *Lebanon*. *Hiram* was much pleaſed with *Solomon*'s letter, and returned an anſwer that he would willingly perform what he deſired, on condition that *Solomon* would ſend him a ſufficient proviſion of corn for his houſhold. He accordingly ſent cedar and fir-trees to *Solomon*, and received from him a yearly preſent of 20,000 meaſures of wheat, and 20 meaſures of pure oil. *Joſephus* aſſures us, that the originals of the two letters were extant in his time, both in the *Jewiſh* and *Tyrian* records.

* Diod. Sic. l. xvii.

Beſide

Beſides the cedar wood and other materials for building the temple, from his friendſhip and kindneſs to *Solomon*, he ſent him a man who was very famous at *Tyre* for working in gold, ſilver, and other metals, to aſſiſt and direct him in that great undertaking; advancing, moreover, 120 talents of gold for the finiſhing of the fabrick. *Solomon*, in gratitude for his friendly aſſiſtance, made him a preſent of twenty cities in the land of *Galilee*, not far from *Tyre*; but *Hiram*, upon viewing the cities, not being greatly pleaſed with them, declined the preſent in a reſpectful manner; from which refuſal that part of the country was called *Cabul*, that is, *diſpleaſing*. *Hiram* proved no leſs ſerviceable to *Solomon* in the building his fleet than in perfecting the grand work of the temple. He no ſooner heard that *Solomon* deſigned to build a fleet at *Elath* and *Ezion-geber*, two ſeaport towns on the Red Sea, in order to carry on a trade from thence to *Ophir*, but he generouſly furniſhed him with as many builders and ſhipwrights as he had occaſion for, and ſent him alſo ſkilful mariners to conduct his fleets to the land of *Ophir*.

Dius, as quoted by *Joſephus*, tells us, that the love of wiſdom was the chief inducement to that tenderneſs and friendſhip betwixt *Solomon* and *Hiram*; that they interchanged certain riddles to be unfolded, upon condition, that he who failed of the ſolution, ſhould incur a forfeiture. Riddles were alſo propoſed to *Solomon* by the *Tyrian Abdemonus*, as we have already mentioned. Under *Hiram*, the kingdom of *Tyre* was in a very flouriſhing condition. He enlarged *Tyre*, and repaired and improved divers cities in the eaſtern parts of his dominions. He built two temples, one to *Hercules* and another to *Aſtarte*, and is ſaid to have repaired the temples of other gods, and to have enriched them with offerings to a very great value.

The only military expedition in which we find him engaged, was againſt the *Eyceans*, who refuſing to pay their uſual tribute, in a very ſhort time were reduced by him.

Tatian, on the authority of three *Phœnician* hiſtorians, relates, that king *Hiram* gave his daughter in marriage to *Solomon*, who by her was induced to worſhip *Aſhteroth*, the goddeſs of the *Sidonians* *. *Hiram* lived 53 years, and reigned 34.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Baleazer*, *Baleaſtartus*, or *Bazor*, who, according to *Joſephus*, reigned ſeven years; but ſeventeen according to *Theophilus*, and died in the 43d year of his age. *Ba'eazar.* Bef. Ch. 1012.

Abdaſtartus ſucceeded his father *Baleazer*, and died in the 20th year of his life, and the 9th of his reign, according to *Joſephus*. *Theophilus*, however, ſays he died at the age of 54, after having reigned 12 years. He was murdered by his nurſe's four ſons, the eldeſt of whom uſurped the kingdom, and governed twelve years. *Abdaſtar tus.*

* Tatian. orat. cont. Græcos.

Aſtartus. *Aſtartus*, the brother of *Abdaſtartus*, recovered the throne to his family, lived 66 years, and reigned 12.

Aſtarimus. His brother and ſucceſſor *Aſtarimus* lived, ſays *Joſephus*, 54 years, and reigned 12. He was murdered by his brother *Phelles*, who took the government upon him in the 50th year of his age.

Phelles. *Phelles*, or as *Theophilus* calls him, *Helles*, was murdered in the eighth month of his reign by *Ithobal*, ſon to *Aſtarimus*, and chief prieſt of the goddeſs *Aſtarte*, which dignity was next to that of the king.

Ithobal. Bef. Ch. 912. *Ithobal* is called in ſcripture *Ethbaal*, and ſtiled king of the *Sidonians*. *Joſephus*, who ſays he lived 68 years, and reigned 32, gives him the title of king of *Tyre* and *Sidon*; whence it is plain *Sidon*, in his time, was ſubject to *Tyre*. *Ithobal* built *Botrys* in *Phœnicia*, and *Auzaces* in *Africa*. His daughter *Jezebel* was wife to *Achab* king of *Iſrael*.

Badezor. After him his ſon *Badezor*, or *Bazor*, reigned, according to *Joſephus*, 6 years, and lived 45.

Metinus. His ſon *Mettinus* ſucceeded him, and reigned 9 years, ſays *Joſephus*; 29 ſays *Theophilus*. He died in the 32d year of his age, leaving behind him two ſons, *Pygmalion* and *Barca*, and as many daughters, *Eliza* and *Anna*.

Pygmalion. *Pygmalion* aſcended the throne on the death of his father *Mettinus*, being at that time very young, that is, 16 according to the computation of *Joſephus*, who ſuppoſes he reigned 40 years, and lived 56. In the ſeventh year of his reign, his ſiſter *Eliſa*, called alſo *Dido*, flying from *Tyre*, built *Carthage* on the coaſt of *Africa*. The occaſion of her flight is thus related. *Pygmalion* coveting the immenſe riches of her huſband and uncle *Sichæus*, a prieſt of *Hercules*, invited him one day to hunt with him, and while the attendants were abſent in purſuit of a wild boar, ran him through the body with his ſpear; then throwing him down a precipice, gave out that the fall had been the occaſion of his death. *Juſtin* and *Virgil* ſay, that *Sichæus* was barbarouſly murdered at the altar by *Pygmalion*. However it be, the tyrant reaped no fruit from his wicked attempt. His ſiſter *Eliſa*, a woman of great ſagacity and penetration, diſcovering clearly what had prompted him to the murder of her huſband, formed a deſign of leaving *Tyre*; but that ſhe might ſave herſelf and her treaſures from the tyrant, ſhe concealed all reſentment for the death of her huſband, and only aſked leave to retire with her effects to *Uberta*, a ſmall city between *Sidon* and *Tyre*, as if to live there with her brother *Barca*. *Pygmalion* granted her demand, in hopes of having an opportunity of laying his hands upon her treaſures; but her brother *Barca* and ſeveral ſenators being alſo engaged in her deſign, they were all embarked with their effects, and her fleet out of ſight, before the tyrant thought ſhe had begun to put her deſign in execution. Enraged at the diſappointment, he immediately ordered a fleet to be fitted out to purſue the fugitives; but was prevented by the tears of his mother

mother and the threats of an oracle. The adventurers firſt put in to the iſland of *Cyprus*, from whence they carried off a great number of young women, and afterwards proceeding weſtward, landed on the coaſt of *Africa* near *Utica*, and founded *Carthage*, a city which in after ages contended for the empire of the world with *Rome*. *Pygmalion* is ſaid by *Stephanus* to have built the city of *Carpaſia* in the iſland of *Cyprus*. He ſent alſo to the temple of *Hercules* at *Gades*, a rich donative, being the figure of an olive tree of maſſive gold, of moſt exquiſite and curious workmanſhip; its berries, which were of emerald, bearing a wonderous reſemblance to the natural fruit of that tree.

Elulæus. The next king of *Tyre* we find mentioned in hiſtory is *Elulæus*, who reigned in the time of *Shalmaneſer* king of *Aſſyria*. *Elulæus* having reduced *Gath*, the *Gittites* applied for ſuccour to *Shalmaneſer*, who accordingly marched at the head of a powerful army into *Phœnice*; but coming to an accommodation with the king of *Tyre*, he again withdrew his troops. Not long after *Sidon*, *Arce*, *Palætyrus*, and ſeveral other maritime towns, revolting from the *Tyrians*, and proclaiming *Shalmaneſer* their king, a new war on this occaſion broke out betwixt the *Tyrians* and the *Aſſyrians*. *Shalmaneſer* was fully bent upon reducing the *Tyrians*, the only people in *Phœnice* that diſputed his power and authority; for which purpoſe he ordered a fleet of 60 ſail to be fitted out againſt them. This fleet, however, was routed and diſperſed by the *Tyrians* with only twelve veſſels, and 500 of the rowers being alſo taken priſoners, the victory gained the *Tyrians* ſuch a reputation for naval affairs, that *Shalmaneſer*, dreading to engage them at ſea, turned the ſiege into a blockade, and returned into *Aſſyria*. The *Tyrians* were in time reduced to great diſtreſs, but by digging wells within the city, were enabled to hold out for the ſpace of five years, when *Shalmaneſer* dying, the ſiege was raiſed. *Elulæus* reigned 30 years.

Bef. Ch. 717.

Ithobal II. reigned in the time of *Nebuchadnezzar*, who was employed no leſs than 13 years in the ſiege of *Tyre*. *Ithobal*, according to the prophet *Ezekiel*, was a moſt proud, arrogant, aſſuming prince, pretending to know all ſecrets, to be as wiſe as *Daniel*, and even ranking himſelf among the gods, which was the cauſe of his deſtruction, *becauſe thou haſt ſet thine heart as the heart of God—therefore thou ſhalt die the death of them that are ſlain in the midſt of the ſeas*; from whence we may conclude he was ſlain by the *Aſſyrians*. When *Nebuchadnezzar* made himſelf maſter of *Tyre*, moſt part of the citizens had removed with their effects elſewhere, ſo that he had nothing but an empty town for his pains, as is plain from ſcripture, *Nebuchadnezzar cauſed his army to ſerve a great ſervice againſt Tyrus—yet had he no wages nor his army for Tyrus*. The conqueror therefore vented his rage upon the buildings and the few inhabitants that were left, razing the town to the ground, and putting all he found in it to the ſword; which terrible overthrow had been foretold by ſeveral prophets.

Ithobal II. Bef. Ch. 585.

Bef. Ch. 572.

Baal. The *Phœnician* hiſtorians relate, that *Ithobal* was ſucceeded in the kingdom of *Tyre* by *Baal*, after whom the government was held by ſeveral temporary magiſtrates called *Suffetes* or judges, which title is derived from the *Hebrew* word *Shophetim*, the very name whereby the chief governors of *Iſrael* were called for ſeveral generations before they had kings *. The ſcripture at the ſame time informs us, that *Nebuchadnezzar* utterly deſtroyed *Tyre*; therefore we may conclude, that the *Tyrians*, before the deſtruction of their city, had retreated with their effects to an iſland within half a mile of the ſhore, where they built new *Tyre*. It is likely, however, that they ſubmitted to the conqueror, and that after *Baal*'s death, the government was conferred on temporary magiſtrates called Suffetes, to render the city more dependant on the *Aſſyrians*. *Baal* reigned ten years, and upon his death the city was governed by the following Suffetes, namely, *Ecnibal*, two months; *Chelbes*, ten months; the high prieſt *Abbar*, three months; *Myttonus* and *Geraſtus*, two brothers, ſix years.

Tyre governed by judges.

Balator king. After *Tyre* had been thus governed for ſome years, *Balator* was created king; but both he and his ſucceſſors, for the ſpace of ſeventy years, were tributaries to the *Aſſyrians*.

Merbal. *Hirom.* Upon the death of *Balator*, who reigned only one year, the *Tyrians* invited *Merbal* from *Babylon*, who after reigning four years, was ſucceeded by his brother *Irom*, or *Hirom*, who reigned twenty years. In the fourteenth year of *Hirom*'s reign, *Cyrus*, according to the *Phœnician* annals, laid the foundation of the *Perſian* empire.

Marten. Several years after *Hirom*, reigned *Marten*, who ſerved in the navy of *Xerxes* againſt the *Greeks*, and with the other commanders adviſed him to engage the *Grecian* fleet at *Salamis*. The *Tyrian* princes were at this time, as appears from *Herodotus*, tributaries to the *Perſians*; but were greatly favoured by them, in conſideration of the ſervices they rendered them in their naval expeditions.

Strato. Much about this time reigned *Strato*, whoſe elevation to the throne is thus related by *Juſtin*. The *Tyrian* ſlaves, who were very numerous, formed a conſpiracy againſt their maſters, and maſſacring them all in one night, *Strato* alone excepted, took poſſeſſion of the city and married their miſtreſſes. Reſolving then to create a king, they agreed that they would ſubmit to him who next morning ſhould firſt ſee the riſing ſun, as the perſon moſt acceptable to the gods. They accordingly all aſſembled in an open plain about midnight, when *Strato*'s ſlave, who had privately conſulted with his maſter, whom he kept concealed, turned his face to the weſt, for which he was looked upon as a madman by the reſt of the multitude. When day appeared, however, he was the firſt that diſcovered the ſun's rays upon the high edifices of the city. He was then highly

* Prid. Connect. vol. i. p. 129, 130.

applauded

applauded by his companions, who, convinced that the thought was too ingenious to enter into the mind of a ſlave, obliged him at length to confeſs he had been inſtructed by his maſter, whom, in gratitude for his humanity and kindneſs, he had ſaved, together with his ſon. The multitude looking upon the maſter as one preſerved by a particular providence of the gods, immediately proclaimed him their king *. This is all we know of *Strato*. His deſcendants enjoyed the throne of *Tyre* for ſeveral generations till the time of *Alexander the Great*, when one *Azelmic* reigned. From the ſtand the *Tyrians* made againſt that victorious prince, we may judge of their flouriſhing condition at that time; they having ſtopped the courſe of his whole army full ſeven months. *Azelmic.*

When *Alexander* approached their territories, the *Tyrians* ſent out ambaſſadors to meet him (amongſt whom was the king's own ſon) with preſents for himſelf, and proviſions for his army; but when he deſired to enter the city, under pretence of offering ſacrifices to *Hercules*, they refuſed him admittance; which refuſal provoked that ſucceſsful conqueror to ſuch a degree, that he reſolved to ſtorm the city, and enter it by force. The *Tyrians*, conſidering the ſtrong ſituation of their city, and truſting to the aſſiſtance of the *Carthaginians*, were not terrified by *Alexander*'s threats, but were reſolved to defend themſelves with the utmoſt vigour. *Alexander* was determined, at any rate, to reduce the city, notwithſtanding the enterprize to appearance was impracticable; and as he could not make his approaches but by a mole carried on from the continent, he undertook ſo grand and difficult a work. He was ſupplied with ſtones from the ruins of old *Tyre*, and with timber from mount *Libanus*; and the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities aſſiſted in the work. The *Tyrians* at firſt looking upon the undertaking as a raſh and deſperate attempt, ridiculed and inſulted the *Macedonians*; but ſeeing the mole, contrary to their expectation, beginning in ſome parts to appear above water, they reſolved to ſend their wives and children, and ſuch as were unfit for ſervice, to *Carthage*; but were prevented by the arrival of *Alexander*'s fleet from *Cyprus*: neither could the *Carthaginians* aſſiſt them with the promiſed ſuccours, being detained at home by domeſtic troubles. The *Tyrians*, nevertheleſs, fainted not in their reſolution of ſtanding to their defence, and by various ſtratagems and fire ſhips, obſtructed the works of the beſiegers, very many of whom they ſlew, by ſhowers of arrows from their ſhips and walls. After the cauſey, with unwearied labour and great loſs of men, had been brought near the city, it was in great part demoliſhed and carried away by a violent ſtorm. This unlucky accident perplexed *Alexander* to ſuch a degree, that he began to repent he had undertaken the ſiege. He was deterred, however, from ſending ambaſſadors to the *Tyrians* with offers of peace, as they had thrown headlong into the ſea *Tyre* beſieged by *Alexander*. Bef. Chr. 332.

* Juſtin, l. xvii. c. 3.

thoſe

thoſe who before the ſiege had come in his name to ſummon them to ſurrender. Being at the ſame time fully apprized, that the future progreſs of his arms intirely depended on the ſucceſs of the preſent undertaking, he reaſſumed the work with redoubled ardour, and with incredible expedition repaired the breach which the ſea had made in the mole. The cauſey being again advanced almoſt cloſe to the city, his battering engines began to play againſt the walls, while the archers and ſlingers poured in ſhowers of arrows and ſtones into the city. The *Tyrians* defended themſelves by many artifices, and, with inconſiderable loſs to themſelves, killed many of the beſiegers. That part of their wall expoſed to the battering engines beginning at length to yield, they raiſed, in a very ſhort time, a new wall ten cubits broad, and five cubits from the former, and filling up the ſpace between the two walls with earth and ſtones, formed ſo ſtrong a fortification, that the *Macedonians* for a long time could make no impreſſion upon it. *Alexander*'s fleet, however, being reinforced, he inveſted the city on every ſide with his ſhips, and joining many of them together by two and two, placed archers on the platform, with orders to make a general aſſault. Their enterprize, however, was fruſtrated by another violent ſtorm, which deſtroyed many of the ſhips. The *Tyrians* beginning to be alarmed for their ſafety, chained the ſtatue of *Apollo* to the altar of *Hercules*, and propoſed to revive their inhuman ſuperſtition, and ſacrifice a child born of free parents to *Saturn*. But this propoſal was oppoſed by the old men in authority. *Alexander* having refitted his ſhips, and erected battering engines on ſeveral of them joined together, began again to aſſault the town, and after ſome time made a breach 100 feet wide. He was repulſed, however, in his attempt to enter the city over the ruins; and before next morning the breach was repaired. He then changed his form of attack; and having brought the mole home to the walls, he erected ſeveral towers upon it equal in height to the battlements, and having laid bridges from thoſe to the walls, his braveſt ſoldiers endeavoured ſword in hand to gain the ramparts; but could not prevail, being oppoſed by the *Tyrians* with unparallelled bravery and weapons of a new invention. Theſe were three forked hooks faſtened with a cord (one end whereof they held themſelves), which being thrown at a little diſtance, ſtuck in the enemy's targets, and by that means they either pulled the aſſailants headlong out of the tower, or drew away their defence. Some entangled the *Macedonians*, by throwing fiſhing-nets upon them; others with long poles armed with hooks drew them off the bridges; others from engines placed on the walls inceſſantly threw maſſy pieces of red-hot iron upon the aggreſſors, which ſwept away whole ranks. But what moſt of all diſheartned the *Macedonians*, and forced them at laſt to give over the attack, was the ſcorching ſand which the *Tyrians* ſhowered upon them from red-hot ſhields of iron and braſs. This ſand getting within their breaſtplates and coats of mail, tormented them to ſuch a degree,

gree, that many finding no other relief, threw themſelves headlong into the ſea. The ſhrieks of others dying in torments, ſtruck a terror into the aggreſſors, and threw them into great confuſion; which gave new courage to the *Tyrians*, who even charged the enemy on their own bridges with ſuch fury, that *Alexander* was obliged to ſound a retreat.

Theſe deſperate attacks being frequently repeated, always with bad ſucceſs, *Alexander* again began to entertain thoughts of abandoning the enterprize; but conſidering the blemiſh that would be thereby thrown upon his reputation, he reſolved to renew his efforts; tho' of all his captains none was found but *Amyntas* who approved of that determination. Having therefore encouraged the diſheartned *Macedonians*, he again ſurrounded the city with his fleet, and after battering it for ſome time on all ſides, made another general aſſault, which was long and bloody, but at length ſucceſsful. He himſelf, followed by his chief officers, paſſed from one of the towers to the rampart. Some of his ſhips at the ſame time broke into the harbour, while his army entered by the breaches in the walls. Thus, after a ſeven months ſiege, utter deſtruction came upon the *Tyrians*, which, for their pride and other vices, had been decreed by God, and foretold by his prophets. The city was burnt down to the ground, and the inhabitants (excepting thoſe whom the *Sidonians* ſecretly conveyed away in their ſhips) were either deſtroyed or enſlaved by the conqueror, who, upon his firſt entering the city, put 8,000 to the ſword, cauſed 2,000 of thoſe he took priſoners to be crucified, and ſold the reſt, to the number of 30,000, ſays *Arrian*, for ſlaves. *Alexander*, to palliate his cruelty towards the 2,000 he had crucified, alleged that he had puniſhed them in that manner to revenge upon them the crime which their forefathers had committed when they murdered their maſters, as we have related above. To make this look more plauſible, he ſaved all the deſcendants of *Strato*, and among them king *Azelmic*, who had taken ſanctuary in the temple of *Hercules*, and was not only ſpared, but reſtored to the throne by the conqueror, after he had repeopled the place. *Alexander* having cleared the city of its former inhabitants, planted it anew with colonies drawn from the neighbouring places; and thenceforth ſtiled himſelf the founder of *Tyre*, a city which he had moſt ungenerouſly deſtroyed. He offered ſacrifices to *Hercules* for his victory with great ceremony, unchained the ſtatue of *Apollo*, and ordered it to be called *Philalexander*, that is, the friend of *Alexander*; and after performing many other ſuperſtitious follies, continued his march into *Egypt* *.

Tyre taken and deſtroyed.

The city of *Aradus*, or *Arad*, in the iſland of that name, we find had its kings as well as *Sidon* and *Tyre*, and perhaps moſt other cities in *Phœnice*. We find three of them only mentioned

The kings of *Arad*.

* Diod. Sic. Plut. in Alex. Q. Curt. l. iv. Arrian, l. ii. Juſtin, l. xi. xviii.

in

in hiſtory, namely, *Arbal*, whoſe ſon *Narbal* was alſo king, and ſerved under *Xerxes* in his great expedition, and *Geroſtratus*, who reigned many years after. This laſt king ſerved *Darius* againſt *Alexander*, and after the example of other *Phœnician* and *Cypriot* princes, joined the *Perſian* fleet; till hearing that his ſon *Strato* had ſurrendered all the *Aradian* dominion to *Alexander*, he thought it moſt for his intereſt to approve, ſeemingly at leaſt, of what his ſon had done, and to make his ſubmiſſion to that conqueror †.

BOOK IV.

The Hiſtory of the JEWS, from the Call of ABRAHAM to the Baboniſh Captivity.

CHAP. I.

A Deſcription of PALESTINE.

The different names of the *Land of Promiſe.*

THE deſcendants of *Abraham* by his ſon *Iſaac* were at firſt called *Iſraelites*; but in later ages were known by the name of *Jews*. Tho' this people did not get poſſeſſion of *the promiſed land* till ſeveral centuries after the death of *Abraham*, yet as that celebrated patriarch obtained the promiſe of the land from God, who even aſſigned the boundaries of it; and his deſcendants, tho' ſojourners for many generations in a foreign land, ſtill looked upon this territory as their inheritance, we ſhall, according to the method we have hitherto obſerved, deſcribe their country before we begin their hiſtory. This once happy and fertile ſpot was firſt called the land of *Canaan*, from *Noah*'s grandſon, by whom it was firſt peopled. It has ſince been more diſtinguiſhed by other names, ſuch as *the Land of Promiſe*, *the Land of God*, *the Land of* Iſrael, *the Holy Land*, and ſometimes, by way of preeminence, *the Land*. It hath alſo been called *Judæa*, or *Judæa Paleſtina*, from *Judah*, whoſe tribe was the moſt conſiderable of the twelve, and poſſeſſed the fineſt and moſt fertile part of the whole land; and ſometimes *Paleſtine*, from the *Paleſtines*, or *Philiſtines*, who poſſeſſed a great part of it. This laſt name ſometimes only ſignifies the

† Arrian, Curt. ut ſupra.

A MAP of PALESTINE, according to the Division of it among THE TRIBES.

THE GREAT OR MEDITERRANEAN SEA

SYRIA

ZOBA

SIDONIANS

ASHERITES

NAPHTALI

ZEBULON

ISSACHAR

MANASSETH

EPHRAIM

BENJAMIN

DAN

PHILISTINES

SIMEON

JUDAH

GILEAD

GAD

REUBEN

MOAB

MIDIAN

EDOM

AMALEK

EGYPT

DESERT

DESERT OF ARABIA

Heliopolis

Orontes R.

Biblos

Adonis R.

Leontes R.

Sidon

Antilibanus Mt.

Eleutherus R.

Libanus

Pharpar R.

Damascus

Zarepta

Mount

Zoba

Laish, or Dan

Mount Hermon

Abana R.

Kadesh

Baal Hermon

Bethtachon

Tyre

Jordan

GESHUR

Geshur

Hazor

Merom Lake

Argob

Ecdippa

Canaan

Topata

MANASSETH

Mispeth

Acco, or Ptolemais

Belus R.

Zebulon

Bethsaida

Sea of Gallilee

Jabbok

Jabesh

Megiddo

Tabor Mt.

Kison R.

Cinereth

Gadara

Mahanaim

Mount Basan

Dor

Bethshan

Succoth

R.

Edrei

Tenach

Jezreel

R. Cana

Ephron

Lodebar

Ramoth

Dothan

Rogelim

Samaria

Sharon

Sichem

Tirza

Salem

Rabbah

Joppa

Ephraim

Bezeck

Sophar

Abel shittim

Shiloh

Ai

Bethel

Jordan

Bethabara

Jazer

Jamnia

Jericho

Gibeah

Rama

Dibon

Baalmeon

Arnon

Ekron

Timnah

Jerusalem

Bethpeor

Ashdod

Bethshemesh

Bethlehem

Kidron R.

Heshbon

Aroer

Gommorah

Askelon

Mispeth

Arnon R.

Etam

Jerimoth

Bozra

Almon-Diblathaim

Port & River of Gaza

Gaza

Ajalon

Adullam

Admah

Gath

Libnah

Dibon Gad

Tabatha

Zeboim

R. Zered

Mount

Raphia

Ziklag

Lachish

Engedi

Midian

Hebron

Ija Abarim

Rhinocorura

Debir

Jeshimon

Ziph

Sodom

Jethar

Horma

Brook Besor, or River of Egypt

Gath Rimmon

Desert

Arad

Beersheba

Kadesh Barnea

Zoar

Lake Sirbonis

Anthedon

Mount Seir

Petra

Waters of Arabia

Mount Hor, or Seir

Zuzuma

Havara

English Statute Miles.

10 20 30 40 50

R. W. Scale del. et sculp.

territory poſſeſſed by the *Philiſtines*: but in *Joſephus*, and other profane authors, it ſignifies the whole land of *Canaan*, more than was ever at any time poſſeſſed by the *Iſraelites*.

We Chriſtians, as well as the *Jews*, have dignified this country with the title of the *Holy Land*; partly on account of the manifeſt and ſingular bleſſings it had received from the Divine Providence, and partly on account of its metropolis being made the center of God's worſhip, and his peculiar habitation; but we much more for its being the place of our Saviour's birth, and the ſcene of his preaching and manifold miracles, eſpecially the place in which he accompliſhed the greater work of our redemption. After the return of the *Jews* from the *Babyloniſh* captivity, the tribe of *Judah*, then the only one that made any figure, ſpreading themſelves thro' the whole country, it began to be called *Jehudah*, and the people *Jehudim*.

As to the other names by which profane authors have called it, ſuch as *Syria*, *Paleſtina-Syria*, *Cœloſyria*, *Idumea*, and *Phœnice*, it was only done out of contempt to the *Jewiſh* nation, whom they did not account worthy to be diſtinguiſhed by any but the moſt common names of the neighbouring provinces of note, of which they looked upon them only as an obſcure and inconſiderable part. At preſent the name of *Paleſtine* is that which has moſt prevailed among both *Chriſtian* and *Mahometan* writers.

Its ſituation.

The *Jews*, from a particular veneration for ſo celebrated a ſpot, as well as from miſtaken paſſages in one or two of the prophets, had a notion that their country ſtood in the very heart of all the nations, and was the center of the world. This conceit was the more excuſable, conſidering the ignorance of the ancients, and of the *Jews* above all the reſt, in every thing that related to geography and the figure of the earth. The *Athenians*, *Delphians*, and *Chineſe*, have run into the ſame notion, with regard to their own countries. The *Land of Promiſe* properly ſo called was bounded on the weſt by the *Mediterranean*, and on the eaſt by the *Jordan*, and the lake *Aſphaltites*, the ſea of *Tiberias*, and the *Samachonite* lake. On the north it was ſeparated from *Phœnicia* by the mountain *Antilibanus*, and on the ſouth from *Edom*, or *Idumea*, by another ridge of high mountains. As to that part which belonged to the two tribes and an half on the eaſt ſide of *Jordan*, and was called *Peræa*, and the kingdoms of *Og*, *Sihon*, *&c.* its boundaries are more difficult to be fixed. We can only obſerve, that the river *Arnon* was the firſt ſouthern boundary on that ſide. It is alſo difficult to fix the exact boundaries of the conqueſts and acquiſitions which they afterwards made under the reigns of their proſperous kings.

Boundaries, and

The extent of this country is likewiſe variouſly ſettled by geographers; ſome giving it no more than about 170 or 180 miles in length from north to ſouth, and in breadth towards the ſouth 140 miles, and to the north 70 miles. But from the lateſt and moſt accurate maps it appears to extend near 200 miles

extent.

miles in length, and about 80 in breadth, in ſome places extending about 10 or 15 miles more, and in others being ſo much leſs. It is under the 4th and 5th northern climates; ſo that its longeſt day is about 14 hours 15 minutes. Theſe limits, however, have appeared at beſt ſo very confined, as the country was beſides interſected with many ridges of mountains, barren woods, deſerts, &c. that many learned men have been induced to queſtion what we read of its richneſs and populouſneſs in the ſacred books. It muſt be owned that were we to judge of its ancient and flouriſhing ſtate by its appearance ſince the total extirpation of the *Jews* out of it, and more particularly ſince it, and all the opulent countries round it, have been rendered deſolate by the oppreſſion of the *Turks*, its former fertility and populouſneſs would appear incredible.

Its former amazing fertility.

Let us at preſent take a view of it in its ancient and more bleſſed ſtate. It appears to have been ſo rich and fruitful, even before the *Iſraelites* took poſſeſſion of it, that *Moſes* deſcribes it in theſe emphatical terms: *A land that floweth with milk and honey; a land of brooks and waters, of fountains and depths that ſpring out of the vallies and hills; a land of wheat and barley, of vines, figs, and pomegranates, of oil, olives, and honey; a land where there is no lack of any thing, whoſe rocks are iron, and out of whoſe mountains thou mayeſt dig up braſs, &c.* All which the *Iſraelites* found literally true, as it plainly appears, even from the puſillanimous ſpies, and from the fruit they brought from thence as a ſpecimen of the reſt. It even exceeded, in many particulars, the ſo much celebrated land of *Egypt*, eſpecially in its vaſt numbers of great and ſmall cattle; in the quantity and excellence of its oil, wine, and other fruits; which is confirmed by the preſents ſent by *Jacob* to his ſon *Joſeph*, when lord of *Egypt*, and by the traffic which the tribes carried on to that country, as well as by other teſtimonies *. The excellent temperature of the air, which was never ſubject to exceſſive heats and colds, contributed greatly to this wonderful fecundity, and alſo the regularity of its ſeaſons, eſpecially the former and latter rain, and the natural fatneſs and fertility of the ſoil, which required no manuring, and could be plowed with a ſmall kind of plow and a ſingle yoke of oxen. With reſpect to the excellency of its corn, we are told that the bread of *Jeruſalem* was preferred above all other; and ſuch plenty was there of grain, that beſides what ſufficed the inhabitants, who made it their chief ſuſtenance, *Solomon* could afford 20,000 meaſures of it, and as many of oil yearly, to *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, beſides what they exported to other countries. We find, even ſo late as *Herod Agrippa*, the countries of *Tyre* and *Sidon* received moſt of their ſuſtenance from his tetrarchy. As to their fruits, their grapes were delicious, finely flavoured, and large. The palm-tree and its dates were

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* 2 Kings xviii. 32. Joſeph. Antiq. Hoſea xiv. 7. Bochart. Phaleg.

no

no leſs in requeſt. But what ſeveral parts of *Paleſtine* were moſt celebrated for, was the balſam ſhrub, whoſe balm was eſteemed a moſt precious drug among the *Greeks*, *Romans*, *Egyptians*, and other nations, and is ſtill to this day, under the name of *Balm of Gilead*. Little of it indeed is now produced in *Paleſtine*; whereas it is found in *Egypt*, but particularly in *Arabia*, in great abundance. *Joſephus* ſeems to intimate that it was firſt brought into *Judea* by the queen of *Sheba*, among her other preſents to *Solomon*: but by the teſtimony of ſeveral ancient authors, it is mentioned rather as the peculiar product of this country; and *Diodorus Siculus* and others add, that it grew no-where elſe in the world but about the territories on the *Dead Sea*. The ſhrub in after times might be tranſplanted from hence to *Arabia*, where it now flouriſhes. *Paleſtine* alſo abounded with the greateſt variety of other fruit-trees in the higheſt perfection, the new buds always appearing on the ſame boughs before the old fruit was ripe. Of thoſe buds, which were in too great quantities to be all let come to maturity, they gathered enough to make very delightful pickles and ſweetmeats, eſpecially of their citrons, oranges, and apples of Paradiſe, which laſt commonly hung by hundreds in a cluſter, and as big as hens eggs, and of an excellent taſte and flavour. Their vines yielded grapes twice and ſometimes three times a year, great quantities of which were dried up and preſerved for uſe, as well as of their figs, plums, and other fruits. They had great plenty of honey, which diſtilled even from the trees, and was found in great quantities in the rocks. Whether the honey was depoſited in the trees and rocks by the induſtrious bees, or produced ſome other way, is much diſputed by travellers and naturaliſts; but in many parts of *Aſia*, as well as of *Europe* and *Africa*, it is well known that where the bees are numerous, they will depoſit their combs in hollow trees, and in the clefts of rocks, and that the honey there found is commonly ſtiled wild, in oppoſition to that which is gathered from the hives. Sugar-canes were alſo cultivated in *Paleſtine* in great abundance, and the cotton, flax, and hemp, uſed by the inhabitants were moſtly of their own growth and manufacture, except ſome of a finer ſort, that were brought to them from *Egypt*, and worn by thoſe of higher rank. As for fiſh, their many rivers, the lake of *Tiberias*, and the *Mediterranean* ſea, afforded, as they do at this day, great plenty and variety. Great quantities were brought to *Jeruſalem*, on which the inhabitants moſtly ſubſiſted. The lake *Aſphaltites* yielded ſalt in abundance, which *Galen* affirms to have been preferable to any other. To conclude, ſo many are the proofs, both in Scripture and other writings, of the extraordinary fecundity and populouſneſs of this once happy land, that it muſt appear abſurd to call them in queſtion, merely on account of the melancholy figure it now makes under its preſent tyrannical government. Their muſter-rolls are an evident proof of their populouſneſs. When *Joab*, by *David*'s order, numbered the people, there were of the *Iſraelites*

raelites 800,000 fighting men, and of the ſingle tribe of *Judah* 500,000; and ſuppoſing theſe about a third part of the inhabitants, their number will be about four millions.

Anciently the moſt deſert and barren places, even the very rocks, which now appear quite bare and naked, were made to produce corn, pulſe, or paſture, by the induſtry of the old inhabitants, who covered them with mould, which, thro' the lazineſs of the ſucceeding proprietors, has been ſince waſhed off with rains and ſtorms. We may add, that the kings themſelves were not above encouraging all kind of agriculture both by precept and example, and above all that they had the Divine bleſſing; whereas ſince the time of *Titus Veſpaſian* (who put many myriads of the inhabitants to death) it has been under the viſible curſe of God, and its few poor inhabitants groaning under an intolerable ſervitude, have contracted an inſuperable averſion to labour and agriculture farther than what barely ſerves to ſupply their preſent wants. However, according to Dr. *Shaw* and others, who have viewed this country in its preſent deſolate ſtate, there are ſtill ſuch viſible ſigns of its natural richneſs and fertility, as plainly ſhew that the want of cultivation is the main if not the only cauſe of its preſent poverty and barrenneſs; and the ſame is obſerved by Biſhop *Burnet* with regard to the once fertile plains of *Lombardy* and *Campania di Roma*.

Different diviſions of the country.

How this country was divided before it was conquered by the *Iſraelites* is uncertain, the different *Canaaniti/h* tribes ſeeming to have lived in ſome manner intermixed with each other. *Judea*, in the larger ſenſe, was divided into maritime and inland; and as the river *Jordan* ran acroſs part of it, was again divided into *Judea* on this ſide and *Judea* beyond *Jordan*. But the moſt conſiderable diviſion was that made according to the Divine appointment among the twelve tribes of *Iſrael* by lot, to prevent all murmuring and diſcontent among that ſtubborn people. The moſt remarkable one was made by king *Solomon*, who divided his kingdom into twelve provinces, which were each governed by a peculiar officer, and in their turn obliged to ſupply the king with proviſions for his houſhold, each for one month yearly. The moſt fatal of all was that which was made under his imprudent ſon *Rehoboam*, when, by the Divine permiſſion, ten tribes revolted from him, and formed the kingdom of *Iſrael*, under the government of *Jeroboam*, the other two under *Rehoboam* being called the kingdom of *Judah* from that time downwards. Under the ſecond temple this diſtinction laſted a conſiderable time, the kingdom of *Iſrael* being then called the kingdom of *Samaria*, which was the name of its capital, being inhabited by a mixture of the old *Iſraelites* and of new colonies ſent thither by the kings of *Aſſyria* upon their conqueſt of the country; but being afterwards ſubdued by the *Maccabees*, and their metropolis deſtroyed, they were all again united. Under the *Romans* it began to be divided into tetrarchies and toparchies. *Pliny* reckons up ten toparchies; and tho' *Joſephus* tells us there were eleven, he alſo names but ten. The ſame author ſpeaks of another

other diviſion made in the time of *Gabinius* into five councils, namely, *Jeruſalem*, *Jericho*, and *Sephoris*, on this ſide *Jordan*; and *Gadaris* and *Amathus* on the other. In the reigns of the Chriſtian emperors it was divided into *Paleſtina prima*, *Paleſtina ſecunda*, and *Paleſtina tertia*, or *Salutaris*, which included the far greater part of the country. At preſent, being under the *Turkiſh* government, it is reduced by them into a province governed by the beglerbeg or baſhaw of *Scham* or *Damaſcus*, who hath under him the ſeven following ſangiacs, the ſangiac of *Damaſcus*, of *Jeruſalem*, *Aglun*, *Babara*, *Scifat*, *Gaza*, *Nabolos*. Each of theſe have a number of ziamets, and theſe each a number of timariots under them, who all live upon the oppreſſion of the people under them, and make an extortionate gain of every thing that comes within their reach.

We ſhall now give an account of the principal mountains, ſeas, rivers, lakes, deſerts, plains, *&c.* in this country, and then take a more particular notice of the capital diviſion of it among the twelve tribes. The moſt conſiderable of its mountains are thoſe of *Lebanon*, ſo often celebrated in holy writ, eſpecially in the poetic books of it. That famed chain, known in ancient and modern authors under the names of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, is equally a boundary to *Syria* and *Paleſtine*. So much notice, however, is taken of it in the *Jewiſh* hiſtory, particularly on account of the prodigious number of its cedars, that were greatly uſed in adorning the *Jewiſh* temple and metropolis, that it has been generally reckoned within the *Land of Promiſe*. Theſe mountains, with reſpect to their extent, ſituation, and the relation they bear to each other, have been but imperfectly known by the ancients, and, till of late, but obſcurely deſcribed by the moderns. Even theſe laſt have left us ſtill much in the dark concerning the extent, breadth, and bearings of them. *Lebanon* or *Libanus* had its name from the *Hebrew*, *laban*, on account of the whiteneſs of its ſummits, which appear covered with ſnow a great part of the year, if not during the whole year, as others pretend. The *Antilebanon* is ſo called from its ſuppoſed running in a kind of parallel oppoſition to the other. St. *Jerom*, ſpeaking of *Libanus*, ſays it is by far the loftieſt hill in all the *Land of Promiſe*, as well as the moſt woody and thickſet. It is computed about 100 leagues in compaſs, and is formed by four ridges of mountains riſing each above the other. The firſt is very fertile in grain and fruit; the ſecond barren and rocky, producing nothing but briars and thorns. The third, tho' ſtill higher, is ſaid to enjoy a conſtant verdure and ſpring, the gardens and orchards producing ſuch a variety of fruits and herbs, that it hath been ſtiled an earthly paradiſe. The laſt and loftieſt is uninhabitable, by reaſon of its exceſſive coldneſs, occaſioned by the ſnow, with which it is almoſt perpetually covered. The mountain below is moſtly inhabited by *Maronites*, and every where elſe but on the top by the wild *Arabs*, called *Amadeah*, of the ſect of *Hali*. There are ſeveral churches, convents, and chapels, on it, and caverns

Mountains of note deſcribed.

Lebanon.

cut into the rock. The monks that inhabit it are very poor, but courteous to travellers, from whom they expect ſome token of beneficence. The convent where the patriarch reſides is ſituate in a bottom, the deſcent to which is ſteep and narrow; and a little below it runs a river, which afterwards empties itſelf at *Tripoli*. It chiefly conſiſts of ſundry grots cut into the rock, of which the church is one of the largeſt.

Several conſiderable rivers, namely, the *Jordan*, *Rocham*, *Nahar-Roſſian*, and *Nahar-Cadicha*, have their ſource in this mountain. Beſides theſe, the firſt of which, namely, the *Jordan*, only runs thro' *Paleſtine*, there are ſeveral others of a leſſer ſtream, that run between the valleys, and frequently falling from the heights of the mountains, form beautiful caſcades. Some ancient fathers, as St. *Jerom* and *Euſebius*, have deſcribed the *Libanus* and *Antilibanus* as one continued ridge, winding about in the form of a horſeſhoe, beginning about three or four leagues from the *Mediterranean* a little above *Smyrna*, and running ſouthward towards *Sidon*, from whence, taking an eaſtern courſe, towards *Damaſcus*, from whence it bends northward towards *Laodicea Cubioſa*. The weſtern ridge is called *Lebanus*, and the eaſtern *Antilibanus*, and the hollow between *Cæleſyria*. This mountain hath moſtly been and ſtill is a place of retreat and refuge for vaſt numbers of robbers, and other deſperate people *.

Hermon. Mount *Hermon*, as well as *Lebanon*, is remarkable for its height, and appears capped with ſnow. It was once famed for an ancient temple, held in great veneration by the ſuperſtitious heathens from all the neighbouring countries. From the abominable rites practiſed upon it by the old inhabitants, it is ſuppoſed to have taken its name, which in the *Hebrew* ſignifies *Anathema*, or the accurſed. It is celebrated in the *Pſalms* for its refreſhing dews, which deſcended on the adjoining hill of *Zion*. *Maundrel* tells us, that its dews are at this day exceſſive, and had wetted their tents as much as if it had rained all night.

Tabor. Mount *Tabor* hath its name from the *Hebrew*, *Thabur*, which ſignifies the navel, on account of its ſpiring form, and riſing as it were from a plain. It was alſo called *Mons Atabyrius* and *Itabyrium*, on account of a city of that name built upon it, and mentioned by *Polybius*. The mountain is greatly admired for its ſeparate ſituation, its regularity, fertility, and conſtant verdure. According to *Joſephus* it is 30 furlongs high, and has a plain on the top about 26 furlongs in compaſs; but modern travellers compute its height by the winding aſcent to be about two miles, and the plain on the top to be about half a mile long, and near a quarter of a mile in breadth.

But what hath rendered this mountain moſt venerable, is the tradition of its having been the ſcene of our Lord's transfigura-

* Pocock's deſcript. of the Eaſt. Hieron. in voc. Antilib. Euſeb. onomaſt. in Liban.

tion;

tion; on which account it hath been reſorted to, with great devotion, by Chriſtians in all ages. The truth of this tradition, however, is doubted by many travellers, for many geographical and other reaſons. On this hill are ſtill to be ſeen ſome remains of a fortification built on the top by *Joſephus* the hiſtorian. On the eaſt part are the ruins of a ſtrong caſtle, within the cinctures of which are three altars, in memory of the 3 tabernacles which St. *Peter* in his ecſtaſy propoſed to build. The *Latins* here celebrate divine ſervice on the feaſt of the transfiguration. Near theſe altars they ſhew a church in a grot, where they ſay Chriſt retired to charge his diſciples not to ſpeak of his transfiguration till after he was riſen. Formerly, we are told, a magnificent church was built on this mountain by the empreſs *Helena*, and that there was alſo a convent of *Benedictines*, and another of *Baſilians*, where the *Greeks* performed divine ſervice on the feſtival above-mentioned.

The next mountain in dignity is that called *Carmel*, which ſtands on the ſkirts of the ſea, and is the moſt remarkable head of land in all that coaſt. It extends eaſtward from the ſea as far as the plain of *Jezreel*, and on the ſouth reaches quite to *Cæſarea*. It ſeems to have got its name from its fertility; for *Carmel* in *Hebrew* ſignifies the vine of God, and is conſtantly uſed in the prophetic books to ſignify a fruitful ſpot. The ſame name was given to a city on the mountain, and to an heathen deity worſhiped there without either temple or ſtatue *. There ſeems, however, in former times to have been a temple; ſince *Jamblichus* tells us this place was the favourite retreat of *Pythagoras*, who ſpent a good deal of time in the temple. This mountain is moſt celebrated both by *Jews* and Chriſtians, for having been the reſidence of *Elijah*, who, before he was taken up into heaven, is ſuppoſed to have lived in a cave, which is there ſhewn. From the earlieſt ages the Chriſtians began to ſhew a more than ordinary veneration for this mountain, particularly for *Elijah*'s cave and garden, which are viſited and reverenced, not only by Chriſtians and *Jews*, but by the very *Mahommedans*. It has given the title to an order of monks in the *Roman* church, who are called *Carmelites*, a certain number of whom live in an ancient monaſtery on the mountain †. *Carmel.*

What claims our juſteſt regard is mount *Olivet*, or the *mount of Olives*, originally called by the *Jews* the *mount of unction*, on account of the great quantities of oil made there. It ſtands about a mile diſtant from *Jeruſalem*, and commands the proſpect of the whole city, from which it is parted by the brook *Kidron* and the valley of *Jehoſhaphat*. It is not a ſingle hill, but rather part of a long ridge, extending from north to ſouth, with three, or, according to *Pocock*, four ſummits; from the top of the middleſt of which our Saviour aſcended up into heaven. On that *Olivet.*

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* Tacit. Hiſt. l. ii. p. 359. † Maundrel. Pococke. Calmet.

ſpot, where they pretend to ſhew one of the prints of our Saviour's feet three inches deep in the rock, a ſmall round chapel is built, which is now converted into a moſque. Anciently a magnificent church was built in the ſame place by the empreſs *Helena*. Many other places are ſhewn on this mountain; ſuch as that where Chriſt wept over *Jeruſalem*, that where the apoſtles compoſed their creed, *&c.* all which have either a church, chapel, or oratory, to feed the devotion of pilgrims, and the indigence of the monks that ſhew them. The ſecond ſummit of the mountain towards the ſouth is called the *mount of Corruption* or *Offence*, being defiled by *Solomon*, who, in complaiſance to his ſtrange wives, erected upon it ſundry temples to the gods of the *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *&c.* The third to the northward, which is the higheſt of all, and ſtands about two furlongs from the middlemoſt, is that which was moſt commonly ſtiled the *mount of Galilee*. Here are likewiſe ſhewn all the places regarding the tranſactions in the Goſpel, which are ſtill viſited by multitudes of Chriſtians of all ſorts, though the *Latins* have the poſſeſſion of them, and with great ſolemnity perform the particular ceremonies regarding each tranſaction.

Calvary. Mount *Calvary*, or *Golgotha*, is another mountain near *Jeruſalem* held in the greateſt veneration, on account of our Saviour's crucifixion upon it. It had thoſe two names probably from its roundneſs or reſemblance to an human ſkull, and ſtood anciently without the walls of the city, being the place where the criminals uſed to be put to death according to the *Moſaic* law. The emperor *Adrian* cauſed the city to be rebuilt, and incloſed the mountain within the walls, which however by ſome is aſcribed to *Conſtantine the Great*, who, after his converſion, erected a magnificent church over the place where the croſs was fixed. It has continued a place of as great veneration among the Chriſtians as ever the temple was among the *Jews*.

Moriah. Mount *Moriah*, on which the famed temple of *Solomon* was built, ſtands ſouth-eaſt of *Calvary*. It is commonly thought that it was on this mountain that *Abraham* was commanded to ſacrifice his ſon *Iſaac*, though that notion is not without ſeveral difficulties.

Gibon, and other mountains. About a quarter of a mile weſt from *Jeruſalem* ſtood mount *Gibon*, where *Solomon*, by his father's expreſs command, was anointed king. There was a celebrated pool of that name upon it, the water of which king *Hezekiah* cauſed to be brought by an aqueduct into the city. This pool ſtill remains, is 106 paces long, and 67 broad, lined with a wall of plaſter, and well ſtored with water.

The other mountains in *Paleſtine* worth mentioning are mount *Gerrizim*, on which ſtood the *Samaritan* temple; and mount *Ebal*, or *Hebal*, parted from the other by a narrow valley of about 200 paces. On the former, which was very fertile, *Moſes* ordered the bleſſings to be put; and on the latter, which was very barren, the curſes to be pronounced by the *Iſraelites*.

Mount

Mount *Engadi*, near the *Dead Sea*, was famed for its fruitful vines, precious balm, and fine palm trees. In a cavern on this mountain *David* ſignalized his loyalty and fidelity in ſparing the life of *Saul* when he had him in his power. It ſtood near the mouth of the *Jordan*, not far from the city of *Jericho*.

Piſgah and *Nebo*, whence *Moſes* was allowed to view the *Promiſed Land*, ſtood on the other ſide *Jordan*. Upon his death he was buried in one of them. They were only parts or ſummits of the noted ridge called the *mountains of Abarim*, over-againſt *Jericho*.

The mountains of *Gilboa*, famed for the defeat of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, ſtood, according to *Euſebius* and *Jerom*, about ſix miles from *Bethſhean* or *Scythopolis*.

The mountain of *Gilead*, ſo called from the monuments reared upon it by *Jacob* and *Laban*, extended on the north from *Lebanon* ſouthward to the kingdom of *Sihon* above 70 leagues, and parted the two tribes and half, on that ſide, from *Arabia Deſerta*. It was much celebrated for its excellent rezin, or rather balm *, with which commodity the *Iſhmaelitiſh* merchants that carried *Joſeph* into *Egypt* were partly loaded.

As to the valleys and plains, the learned *Reland* hath taken the pains to diſtinguiſh them with great accuracy; but not having room to enlarge on that article, we ſhall content ourſelves with a ſhort mention of the moſt noted of them. The valley of *Bleſſing* lay on the weſt ſide of the *Dead Sea*, and in the wilderneſs of *Tekoa*. It was ſo called from a ſignal victory which God granted to the good king *Jehoſhaphat* over the combined forces of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Edomites*. The valley of *Siddim*, or *Haſſidim*, is the fatal place which forms now the lake *Aſphaltites*. It was alſo called the *wooded Valley*, the *Valley of Pitch*, of *Lime*, and of *Salt*. The valley of *Shaveh* was the place where the king of *Sodom* met victorious *Abraham* after the defeat of the confederate kings, and where *Abſalom* erected a pillar to perpetuate his memory. The vale of *Salt*, famed for the two overthrows of the *Edomites* by *David* and *Amazia*, lay to the ſouthward of *Palmyra*, or *Tedmor*. The valley of *Mamre*, ſo called from the owner of it, an *Amorite*, in alliance with *Abram*, lay betwixt *Hebron* and *Jeruſalem*. Here ſtood the famous oak under which *Abraham*, and after him his ſon *Iſaac* dwelt. *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* tell us, that it was ſtill ſtanding in their time, and much viſited and reverenced, not only by the *Jews*, but even by the Chriſtians, on account of *Abraham*'s entertaining the three heavenly viſitors under it. The valley of *Rephaim*, or of the *Giants*, is mentioned by *Joſhua* as a boundary of the tribe of *Judah*, and appears to have been near the city of *Jeruſalem*. The valley of *Jehoſhaphat*, which ſignifies the *valley of God's judgment*, has been thought by the generality of the *Jews*, and ſome fathers and

As to the valleys and plains, the learned *Reland* hath taken An account of the valleys.

* Jerem. viii. xlvi. li.

divines, to be intended for the ſcene of the laſt general judgment. Some place it near mount *Olivet*; but *Reland* acknowleges that its ſituation cannot be aſcertained. It is but once mentioned in Scripture. We have already made mention of the valley of *Hinnom*, placed by *Reland* on the ſouth ſide of *Jeruſalem*. The valley of *Zeboim*, ſo called from one of the cities deſtroyed with *Sodom*, lay near the *Dead Sea*. The valley of *Bochim*, or of the mourners or weepers, is ſuppoſed to have been near *Jeruſalem*. It was ſo called from the univerſal mourning and weeping made there by the *Iſraelites* when they were reproved by an angel from God on account of neglecting to extirpate the *Canaanites*, and making a league with them, contrary to his commands. The valley of *Elah* is placed by modern travellers within a league of *Jeruſalem*. It is famed for the defeat and death of *Goliath* by *David*. Several other valleys of leſs note are alſo mentioned in the ſacred writings, ſuch as the vale of *Eſhcol*, or bunch of grapes, of *Ajalon*, of *Sorec*, *Jephthael*, *Gad*, *&c.* ſo named from their chief cities *.

And of the plains.

There were alſo in this country ſeveral remarkable plains, namely, the *Great Plain*, through the midſt of which the river *Jordan* runs, computed about 150 miles in length. Several of the above-mentioned vales muſt have ſkirted it. Great part of it in the New Teſtament is called the land about *Jordan*, otherwiſe the wilderneſs of *Jordan*. The other moſt remarkable plain is ſtiled the great plain of *Eſdraelon*, or valley of *Jezreel*. It reached from *Scythopolis* to mount *Carmel*, or, according to *Reland*, partly into *Galilee*, and partly into *Samaria*. We may add, that though the inland country is diſtinguiſhed into high and low lands, yet this whole coaſt, from mount *Carmel* down to the ſouthermoſt borders of it, is altogether a plain and level ground, excepting here and there ſome ſmall and gentle hills. This great extent, however, after the ſecond temple, was not all called by the ſame name; for the northern part of it, from *Joppa* to *Cæſarea*, and no farther, was called *Sharon*, and was very fertile in paſture grounds. We may add, that there were ſeveral other places of that name, and particularly one beyond *Jordan* in the kingdom of *Baſhan*, where the *Gadites*, who were the greateſt graziers and ſhepherds of all the tribes, fed their numerous flocks. The ſouthern part of the plain was called *Sephelah*, or the plain, which name was given ſtill in the time of *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* to all that tract. The plain of *Jericho*, though properly only a part of what was called the great plain, is likewiſe much celebrated in Scripture for its fine palm-trees, its balm-ſhrub, lately mentioned, as well as for its famed roſe and roſe-tree, with which the whole plain was ſaid to be almoſt covered. This roſe is ſaid to be incorruptible, and being kept ſome little time in water, will blow and appear in full bloom;

* Reland, ut ſupra. Pococke. Maundrel. Calmet.

but

but being taken out, closes up again; and this it will do at any season in the year.

Deserts mentioned in this country.

We find mention made in the sacred books of a great many deserts and wildernesses in this country. But Mr. *Reland* hath fully shewn, that the *Hebrew* word *Midbar*, has no analogy with the *Greek* word ερημος, and the *Latin desertum* or *solitudo*, into which it is translated; and that it does not mean places quite barren or uninhabited, several of them having cities and villages, rich and well peopled. Few cities there were here, that had not some desert, according to the Scripture idiom, belonging to it, for the feeding of their cattle, so that that word commonly signified no more than a land or tract that bore neither corn, wine, nor oil, but was left to its spontaneous production. In the desert of *Judah*, where the baptist preached, there were no less than six cities, besides the villages belonging to them. Some of the most noted deserts are *Arnon*, through which runs the river of that name; *Ziph*, where *David* hid himself; *Cadesh* near *Cadesh-barneah* to the south of *Judah*, mentioned as the place where *Moses* and *Aaron* were punished for smiting the rock, and where their sister died; the desert of *Maon*, on the south of *Jeshimon*, where *David* also hid himself from the fury of *Saul*. Those of *Tehoah*, *Bezer*, *Bozor* or *Bozra*, *Gibeon* or *Gabaa*; and others of less note were likewise denominated from the cities they belonged to. The last of these is mentioned by *Josephus*, as well as the mountainous tract from *Jericho* to *Scythopolis*, as quite barren and uninhabited. Most of the space along the *Jordan*, from the sea of *Tiberias* to the *Asphaltite* lake is included under the same character; though several travellers have injudiciously crowded both sides with towns and villages, without any foundation or authority *.

Its forests.

To these deserts, we may also join some forests or woods mentioned in holy writ; such as those of *Hareth* in the tribe of *Judah*, to which *David* withdrew from *Saul*; of *Ephraim*, on the other side *Jordan*, where *Absalom* received the due reward of his unnatural rebellion; of *Bethel*, supposed near the city of that name, where the two she-bears devoured the children that insulted the prophet *Elisha*; and of *Lebanon*, so called, in all probability, from the many stately trees that shaded it, where *Solomon* built a magnificent palace.

Seas.

We shall now give a short account of their seas, which are commonly reckoned five, namely the *Mediterranean*, called by the sacred writers the great sea; the dead sea, or lake of *Sodom*, or of *Asphaltites*; the sea of *Tiberias*; the *Samachonite* sea or lake; and the sea of *Jazer*, which last was but a small lake near the city of that name. It may be observed that the *Hebrews* gave the name of *Yam*, or sea, not only to those properly so called, but to lakes and other large pools, and also to large rivers such as the *Nile*, *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, &c. †.

* Vide Reland. † Isa. xi. xviii. xxi. xxvii. Jerem. li. Ezek. xxxii. Dan. xi.

The *Mediterranean* sea.

The *Mediterranean* sea, they distinguished by the name of *the salt sea*, *the sea of the Philistines*, *and the hinder sea* with respect to its situation, it being common with them, when distinguishing the quarters of the heavens, to turn their face towards the sun rising or east.

The sea of *Sodom*, or *Asphaltite* lake.

The sea of *Sodom* was also called, from its situation, *the east sea*, *and the salt sea*, *the sea of the desert*, *the sea of the plain*, by the sacred writers, and by other authors, *the dead sea*, and *the Asphaltite lake*. It was called the dead sea, because it was believed that no creature could live in it, on account of its excessive saltness, that is, its bituminous quality, the *Hebrews* ranking sulphur, nitre and bitumen, under the general name of salt. Late travellers, however, have found cause to suspect the truth of this opinion, fish shells having been discovered by some on the shore, and another upon the authority of a monk relating that some sort of fish had been caught in it*. The name of *Asphaltite* lake was given to this sea, on account of the great quantity of asphaltus or bitumen, which antient authors tell us it threw up, and which was in great request among physicians and embalmers. Some modern travellers affirm, that scarce any of this bitumen is now to be found; but both *Shaw* and *Pococke*, two late judicicus authors, relate, that it still rises in the lake in considerable quantities, being gathered by the *Arabs* as soon as thrown up. It is not to be distinguished from our black pitch, but by its sulphureous smoke and stench when set on fire, and is thought to be the same with what our druggists sell under the name of *bitumen Judaicum*, or *Jewish* pitch. *Josephus*, *Strabo*, and other antient authors, relate that the sea was formed by the submersion of the vale of *Siddim*, where stood the five, or according to *Strabo* the thirteen cities which for their unnatural and detestable wickedness perished in the miraculous conflagration. Mr. *Reland*, however, hath attempted to confute this opinion from Scripture, notwithstanding we find in *Genesis* the vale of *Siddim* is expresly called the salt sea. Many things have been advanced concerning this lake, which contradict late and accurate observations, and have therefore been exploded. *Pliny* gives an account of many experiments made upon it by *Vespasian*, particularly that heavy bodies would not sink in it, and that it cast such stench and smoke, that the very birds died in attempting to fly over it. At present, it is found to be otherwise, for birds fly over it without the least harm, and its waters are found to be only one fifth heavier than common fresh water. It was perhaps impregnated in the days of *Vespasian*, in a much greater degree with salt, alum, and bitumen, consequently its waters would then be much more dense, and the exhalations rising from them more noxious; though they are still not a little pernicious; for Dr. *Pococke* venturing to bathe in it, was two days after

* Maundrel. Pococke.

seized

ſeized with a dizzineſs and pain in the ſtomach, which laſted near three weeks. It has been reported that the ruins of the five cities are ſtill to be ſeen below water in clear weather; but late curious and accurate travellers declare, that they could diſcern none, and Mr. *Reland*, as we have obſerved, is of opinion that the five cities were not abſorbed in the lake, nor were ſeated in the vale of *Siddim*. The ſame author, from his own obſervations, rejects ſeveral other things affirmed by the antients concerning it, ſuch as, its changing the colour of its water three times a day, and apples growing upon its ſhores fair without, and only aſhes and bitterneſs within. It is however agreed that the air near it, eſpecially on the eaſt ſide, is unhealthful, and though the water is clear, yet it is ſo impregnated with ſalt, that thoſe who dive into it come out covered with a kind of brine. All travellers and geographers remark, that though it receives the waters of the *Jordan*, of *Jabok*, of *Kiſhon*, and other ſprings which flow into it from the adjacent mountains, yet it never overflows, though there is no viſible way diſcovered by which it diſcharges that great influx. Some think it has a ſubterraneous vent, either into the *Mediterranean*, or into the red ſea; but Dr. *Shaw* computes that exhalation alone will prevent it from overflowing, the vapours ſuppoſed to riſe from it, being equal to all the waters running into it. On the eaſt and ſouth, it is incloſed with exceeding high mountains, many of them craggy and dreadful to behold; on the weſt, are ſeveral of the plains, valleys, and deſerts above mentioned, and on the north, the great plain of *Jordan*. According to modern accounts, it is 24 leagues in length, and 6 or 7 in breadth.

The lake of *Tiberias*.

The ſea of *Tiberias* was ſo called from a city of that name, on its ſouth-weſt ſhore. It was alſo called the lake of *Kinneroth*, of *Genezar* or *Genezareth*, and the ſea of *Galilee*, being almoſt ſurrounded with that province. The river *Jordan* runs quite through it, and according to *Joſephus*, it is 100 furlongs in length, and about 40 in breadth. It is in moſt reſpects quite oppoſite to that of *Sodom*, and is highly commended for the ſweetneſs, coolneſs, and excellency of its water, and the abundance and variety of noble fiſh that breed in it.

The lake of *Samachon*, and of *Jazan* and *Phiala*.

About 100 furlongs north from the lake of *Tiberias*, lies the lake of *Samachon*, computed about 7 miles in length, and about half as much in breadth. Some derive its name from the *Arabic Samach*, *a fiſh*, others from the *Chaldee Samack*, *red*; on account of its reddiſh muddy water, for which it is very remarkable. We do not find it once named in the Old Teſtament. *Joſephus* relates, that the whole territory about it was full of marches, and that the city of *Hazar*, the capital of *Jabin*, king of *Canaan*, was ſeated upon it, as *Seleucia* hath ſince been. The lake of *Jazan* and of *Phiala* are both inconſiderable.

Of the river *Jordan*.

Of the rivers in this country, the moſt conſiderable is the *Jordan*. It is indeed the only one that deſerves the name of a river,

river, the reſt, though often mentioned under that title, being rather brooks and rivulets. The *Jordan* hath its ſource at the lake of *Phiala*, about 10 miles north of that of *Samachon*. This was not fully proved, till *Philip* the tetrarch tried the experiment of throwing ſome ſtraw or chaff into the lake, which came out at *Paneas*, the place where the river emerges out of the earth, after having run ſeveral furlongs under ground, and which was till then ſuppoſed its ſpring-head. This phiala, or vial, a name commonly given to all reſervoirs of that kind, is ſituate in a delightful and populous country, marts and fairs being held in the places adjacent all the ſummer long. The origin of the name of *Jordan* is variouſly deduced. Some derive it from *Jor*, which in *Hebrew* ſignifies a river, and *Dan*, an inconſiderable city near its ſpring-head. Others ſay, that the *Jor* and *Dan* were two ſmall ſtreams, which uniting, formed the *Jordan*. Both theſe etymologies, however, are rejected, its name being of much older date that the city of *Dan*, the river having only one ſpring-head, as mentioned above. Its *Hebrew* name properly is *Jarden*, therefore others derive it with great probability from the *Hebrew Jarad*, he deſcends, or *Jarden*, a deſcent from its rapid courſe through that country. The *Arabs* call it *Arden*, or *Harden*, and *Ordounon*, and the *Perſians*, *Aerdun*.

The courſe of *Jordan*.

The courſe of the *Jordan*, after it hath taken its ſecond riſe at *Paneas*, is moſtly ſouthward, bending a few degrees towards the weſt. After a run of about ten or twelve miles, it carries its waves quite through the *Samachonite* lake; and after a courſe of about eighteen or twenty miles more, paſſes through the ſea of *Tiberias*, and continuing its courſe ſtill ſouthweſtward for about ſixty miles more, falls into the *Aſphaltite* lake. Though its bed is very deep, its courſe is nevertheleſs very rapid; and as to its breadth, a late author tells us, it is about that of the *Thames* at *Windſor*; and another gives it only thirty yards in breadth, obſerving, that it is three yards deep at the very brink. Its courſe and banks are various, according to the nature of the countries thro' which it runs, ſome very beautiful, others choaked up with high and thick reeds, canes, and trees, which quite hide the ſight of it, and are a harbour for lions and other wild beaſts. We refer our readers to *Joſephus*, *Reland*, *Pococke*, &c. for a farther deſcription of this river, and the towns, ruins, woods, and other particulars to be ſeen on each ſide of it, a farther detail of which would carry us beyond our bounds.

Its overflowings.

We learn from ſcripture, and from *Joſephus* and other writers, that it overflowed its banks conſtantly about the time of the early harveſt, or ſoon after *Eaſter*, which was probably owing to the melting of the ſnows about that time, and the early rain of that ſeaſon. Our modern travellers however aſſure us, that it no more overflows, it having, as they think, by the rapidity of its current, worn its channel deeper than formerly. At preſent, therefore, it has in a manner a two-fold bank, the nethermoſt of which contains its water during its

its natural ſtate, and the uppermoſt when it is ſwelled up to its higheſt mark. Dr. *Pococke* tells us, that thoſe banks are fifteen feet deep; and as he and others relate, between the upper and lower bank are vaſt numbers of reeds, canes, and trees, that are a ſhelter to lions and many other wild beaſts. Theſe at the time of the ſwelling of the river, are driven from their lurking holes till the waters are again abated, which is elegantly alluded to by the prophet *Jeremiah*.

Its waters are commonly very turbid by reaſon of its rapidity, but are affirmed to be very wholeſom and incorruptible. The credulous and ſuperſtitious aſcribe extraordinary virtues to them, and, according to *Pococke*, even believe they waſh away ſin. That writer relates, that the *Latin* prieſts erect altars along thoſe banks, where they ſay maſs to the devout pilgrims, and that both men and women are very ſollicitous, for their ſouls health, to have the water of the river poured upon them.

We ſhall now give a ſhort account of the moſt remarkable rarities of this country, both natural and artificial, endeavouring to ſelect the probable and certain accounts from thoſe that are doubtful and fabulous. Among the rarities of the natural kind may juſtly be reckoned the citrons, melons, olives, peaches, and other ſuch fruit found in ſtone upon mount *Carmel*. Theſe petrifications imitate, with a moſt curious exactneſs, thoſe vegetable productions both within and without; and it is farther obſerved, that the melons, when opened, emit an agreeable ſmell. Here alſo, according to our author *, are found a kind of oyſters, and other fiſh, and, as he was told, even bunches of grapes of the ſame ſtony nature and conſiſtence. Whether theſe are really petrefactions, or the luxuriant work of nature, is yet undetermined. According to Doctor *Shaw*, they are found in a white chalky ſtratum, which compoſes the greateſt part of the mountain of *Carmel*, and of thoſe in the neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem* and *Bethlehem*. Their reſemblance to the fruits above-mentioned, he ſays, is not always ſo ſtriking; however they are impoſed upon the pilgrims not only for ſuch curioſities, but as antidotes againſt ſeveral diſtempers. Thus the *Lapides Judaici* of the ſhops, ſuppoſed to be petrified olives, have gained great reputation as a medicine againſt the gravel and ſtone. There are great numbers of little round ſtones, exactly reſembling peas, found on a ſpot of ground near *Rachel's* tomb near *Bethlehem*, which they pretend are not the work of nature, but the effect of a miracle wrought by the Virgin *Mary*.

Natural rarities.

Not far from thence they ſhew the deſert where our Saviour in his retirement was tempted by the devil, a moſt barren and diſmal place, and ſo dreadfully torn and mangled to all appearance, that a beholder is ready to think the earth hath

A wild deſert.

* Le Bruyn. Voy. au Levant.

here

here ſuffered ſome extraordinary convulſion which had turned its bowels inſide outwards*. Here is neither tree nor ſhrub to be ſeen, but rocks only, and moſt rugged cliffs. One particularly very high and craggy, called *Quarantania*, of difficult and dangerous aſcent, is ſaid to be that on which the tempter ſhewed our Saviour all the kingdoms of the world. On its top are two chapels, about both which are a great many hideous caves and holes in the rock, formerly the ſolitary retreat of chriſtian anchorets. The fancies of the religious pilgrims are alſo fed with many pretended rarities; ſuch as the ſtones which the tempter deſired Chriſt to turn into bread, and a great number of others which we forbear mentioning.

Hot waters.

There were in this country a great variety of hot and medicinal waters, which may be ranked under the claſs of natural rarities. We may obſerve in general, that the *Hebrew* names *Chamah*, *Chamath*, and *Chamim*, which are tranſlated as proper names by the *Greek* and *Vulgate*, always ſignify ſuch places as had thoſe hot waters. The ſuperſtitious *Jews* were ſuch admirers of ſome of theſe, as to imagine their virtue was miraculous. The ſprings of *Emmaus* near the ſea ſide were of ſuch efficacy againſt moſt diſtempers, that the Chriſtians attributed their virtue to our Saviour's having waſhed his feet in them, inſomuch that *Julian* the apoſtate cauſed their ſource to be ſtopped out of hatred to him. Among their natural rarities may alſo be accounted, 1. The ſaline efflorеſcences, obſerved at ſome few leagues diſtance from the *Dead* ſea; a clear proof that the whole neighbouring plain muſt be impregnated in an extraordinary degree with that mineral. 2. The celebrated fruit called by the *Arabs Zachone*, which grows in the plain of *Jericho*, and both in ſhape and colour reſembles a ſmall unripe walnut. The *Arabs* bray the kernel, or according to Dr. *Pococke*, the whole nut with its external rind, in a mortar, and throw the pulp into ſcalding water, on the ſurface of which an oil riſes. This being ſkimmed off, is applied by them inwardly for bruiſes, and outwardly for wounds, they preferring it in both caſes even to the balm of *Gilead*. The monks of the convent in St. *John*'s deſert, ſhew a particular tree which they ſtile the locuſt tree, on the fruit of which they pretend the baptiſt lived. According to Dr. *Pococke* they are called *Carobs*, and bear a fruit ſomewhat like a bean, containing a few ſmall ſeeds, the ſhell of which, when dry, is eaten, and has an agreeable taſte. As we do not find this tree grows any where elſe, it may be ranked among the natural rarities of the country. However, it is the common opinion, that the locuſts which the baptiſt fed upon were not fruit, but the inſects of that name, which at this day the people make their food in thoſe places where they are found; and that this kind

* Maundrel ut ſupra. Radzivil peregr.

of

of food was of very antient date, may be inferred from the permiſſion given for eating it in the levitical law.

The artificial rarities in this country are extremely numerous, and of theſe travellers have given very minute and tedious details. We ſhall only mention the moſt remarkable, among which may be ranked the ruins of *Ptolemais*, or St. *John d'Acre*, or *Acra*, from its antient *Hebrew* name *Acco*. Whoever conſiders theſe ruins with attention, would almoſt conclude that the city conſiſted only of caſtles, without the intermixture of private houſes. It had antiently two walls well flanked with towers and other bulwarks, and each wall had a ditch lined with ſtone, and many private poſterns beneath; but now theſe fortifications lie in ruins, the fragments appearing like ſo many huge rocks. In the fields without theſe ſtupendous works, are ſeen ſcattered up and down great ſtone balls 13 or 14 inches diameter, formerly uſed in battering the city before the uſe of cannon was known. The cathedral, formerly dedicated to St. *Andrew*, ſtill carries ſome remarkable tokens of its antient magnificence and ſplendor. It is a noble gothic ſtructure with a portico round it, and is diſtinguiſhed by its loftineſs above the other ſtructures. The remains of the church of St. *John*, the titular ſaint of this city, are alſo ſtill to be ſeen. It is a low maſſive building, and in the vault of it is a relief of St. *John*'s head in a charger. The remaining walls of the convent of the knights hoſpitallers alſo bear ſufficient teſtimony of its former ſtrength and grandeur. The palace of their grand maſter ſtill exhibits a large and noble ſtaircaſe, and part of a ſtately chapel, the walls of which are ſtill entire. Some remains of the biſhop's palace are alſo ſtill to be ſeen near the cathedral. Here is alſo the reſidue of a once famed nunnery and the church belonging to it, the walls of the former ſtill ſtanding, and the latter ſtill entire. There are alſo obſerved ſome ruins of a palace, which by the paſſant lion appears to have had king *Henry* of *England* for its founder. According to *Thevenot*, there are ſtill to be ſeen the remains of about thirty churches, and particularly of one above the reſt, where the knights kept their treaſure, the place being only known to themſelves by a particular piece of marble. This treaſure, *Sandys* tells, was carried off about forty years before his time by the knights of *Malta*, the remains of the antient order of the knights hoſpitallers. The town is now ſcarce a mile in circumference; the *Greeks* have a biſhop and an old church in it, and the *Latins* an inn with a chapel. Artificial rarities.

The remains of *Sebaſte*, or the antient *Samaria*, though long ago laid in ruinous heaps, and a great part of it turned into plowed land, do ſtill retain ſome monuments of its antient grandeur, and of thoſe noble edifices with which it was adorned by *Herod*, who in honour of his friend *Auguſtus Cæſar*, gave it the name of *Sebaſte*. Towards the north ſide of it is ſeen a large ſquare piazza, encompaſſed with marble pillars, ſome ſtanding, and ſome lying, and the fragments of ſtrong Ruins of *Samaria*.

walls

walls at ſome diſtance. The church, ſaid to have been built by the empreſs *Helena* over the place where St. *John* the baptiſt was beheaded, or, according to ſome, buried, is particularly worthy of notice. Its dome, and ſome other parts, adorned with fine marble pillars, capitals, and curious moſaic work, ſhew it to have been a moſt noble fabric. Its poor remains are now divided into two parts, one of which belongs to the Chriſtians, the other to the *Turks*, in which laſt is a vault where are ſeen three tombs, pretended to be thoſe of St. *John* baptiſt, *Eliſha*, and *Obadiah*.

Jacob's well.

Jacob's well is ſtill ſhewed, and reverenced by travellers, not only on account of the patriarch whoſe name it bears, but much more by chriſtians on account of *Chriſt*'s condeſcending to hold a conference there with the *Samaritan* woman. It is all hewn out of the ſolid rock, and about three yards in diameter, and thirty-five in depth, five of which Mr. *Maundrel* found full of water. At preſent it ſtands at a conſiderable diſtance from *Samaria*; but that city, which *Joſephus* tells us was twenty furlongs in compaſs, ſtretched itſelf formerly much nearer the well.

Solomon's pools.

Solomon's pools, which 'tis ſuppoſed he built in order to ſupply his palaces and gardens, and even the city of *Jeruſalem* with water, appear ſtill, by what remains of them, to have been a work of immenſe coſt and labour, and worthy of that great monarch. The ſame may be ſaid of the ſealed fountains which lie oppoſite to them. They are three in number, and ſo diſpoſed, that the water of the uppermoſt may deſcend to the ſecond, and from the ſecond to the third. They are about 90 paces broad, and in length, the firſt is 160 paces, the ſecond 200, and the third 220. They are all three of a conſiderable depth, well walled and plaſtered, and contain a large quantity of water. The aqueduct by which their water was conveyed to *Jeruſalem*, is built on a foundation of ſtones. The water runs in earthen pipes about ten inches in diameter, caſed in two ſtones hewn ſo as to fit them. Theſe are again covered over with rough ſtones, and the whole, in many places in the ſides of the hills, is ſunk entirely below the ſurface of the ground, ſo that nothing is to be ſeen. Formerly this work extended five or ſix leagues, and by its ſtrength and contrivance, appears to have been deſigned to laſt as long as the world. Its ſolidity and excellent workmanſhip, however, have not ſecured it from the hands of the *Arabs*, ſo that there are only ſome fragments of it here and there to be found, though enough to convince us that it muſt have been a very expenſive and ſtupendous work. In the city of *Bethlehem*, beſides a great many holy places, ſuch as the ſtable, and the very manger and place where the divine infant was born and laid, *&c.* they ſhew a grotto cut wholly out of a chalky rock, in which they pretend the bleſſed Virgin concealed herſelf and child from the fury of *Herod*. Some of her milk, they allege, having there fallen to the ground, gave not only an uniform whiteneſs to the whole place, but likewiſe a miraculous virtue to it to encreaſe the milk

milk of ſuckling women; which ſuperſtitious notion is greedily ſwallowed by the *Turks*, *Arabs*, *Latins* and *Greeks*; and *Maundrel* tells us, a phyſician at *Venice* was ſimple enough to aſk him for ſome of it for one of his patients who was ſcanty of her milk.

The ſepulchral monuments that are ſcattered all over the face of this country, may juſtly be reckoned among its artificial rarities, particularly that of the Virgin *Mary* near *Jeruſalem* in the valley of *Jehoſhaphat*, the deſcent to which is by a magnificent flight of 47 ſteps. On the right hand as one goes down, is the ſepulchre of St. *Anna* the mother, and on the left, that of *Joſeph*, *Mary*'s huſband; and according to ſome, alſo the tomb of *Jehoiakim*, her father. In all theſe are altars erected for prieſts of all ſorts to ſay maſs, and the whole is cut into the ſolid rock. Sepulchral monuments.

The ſepulchre of king *Jehoſhaphat* is likewiſe cut out of the rock, and divided into ſeveral apartments, in one of which is his tomb, adorned with a ſtately portico and entablature over it, which the reader may ſee delineated by Dr. *Pococke*. The tomb of *Abſalom*, commonly called his pillar or palace, is alſo ſhewn near *Jeruſalem*, which does not correſpond with the deſcription of the vale of *Saveh*, or *Kings-dale*, where we are told it was built. If this was meant the *Kings-dale* where *Melchizedec* met *Abraham*, then *Jeruſalem* may be concluded to have been the antient *Salem*. The ſtructure ſhewn for the pillar of *Abſalom* is about 20 cubits ſquare and 60 high, adorned below with four columns of the *Ionic* order, with their capitals, entablatures, &c. to each front. From the height of 20 to 40 cubits it is ſomewhat diminiſhed, and above that it changes from a ſquare into a round, which runs gradually into a point; and the whole is cut out of the ſolid rock. There is a room within cut out of the rock conſiderably higher than the level of the ground, and on the ſides of the room are niches probably to receive coffins or bodies. If this monument be really *Abſalom*'s pillar, it is probable ſome perſons have long ſince beautified it according to the rules of the *Greek* architecture. It is now ſurrounded with a heap of ſtones thrown at it by the *Jews* and *Turks*, in token of their abhorrence of the unnatural rebellion of *Abſalom* againſt ſo good and holy a parent. The pillar of *Abſalom*.

A little eaſtward from thence ſtands the tomb of *Zechariah*, the ſon of *Barachia*, whom the *Jews* ſlew between the temple and the altar, as it is commonly ſuppoſed. This fabric is all cut out of the natural rock, 18 feet high, and as many ſquare. Each front is adorned with *Ionic* columns likewiſe cut out of the rock, and the whole ends in a pointed top like a diamond.

But the moſt noble and magnificent ſtructure of this kind are the grottos without the walls of *Jeruſalem*, ſtiled the ſepulchres of the kings. Though there is not the leaſt queſtion to be made of their being real depoſitaries of the dead, yet why they are ſtiled the royal ſepulchres, and to what kings they belonged, is not agreed on. According to *Maundrel*, none of The ſepulchre of the kings.

the

the kings of *Judah* or *Iſrael* was buried here, unleſs perhaps *Hezekiah*. Prince *Radziville* is of a different opinion, but others acknowledge they cannot determine whether the kings were buried in them or not. They are all cut out of the ſolid marble rock. On the eaſt ſide is the entrance ten feet deep into the ſtone, leading into ſeveral ſpacious apartments, the firſt of which is a large ſtately court about 120 feet ſquare, neatly cut and poliſhed out of the marble quarry. On the left, or ſouth ſide of it, is a noble gallery or portico, with a kind of architrave in front, ſupported by columns, all likewiſe cut out of the ſame rock. On the left of the portico is the deſcent into the ſepulchres, the paſſage into which is ſo narrow, that a perſon is obliged to enter it by creeping on his belly. The firſt apartment is a large handſome room, about ſeven or eight yards ſquare, ſo very neatly and exactly formed, that it may be juſtly ſtiled a fine chamber hollowed out of one piece of marble. From three ſides of this chamber you may paſs into ſeveral others, a great deal leſs, and of unequal bigneſs; but all ſquare, and of the ſame fabric. From theſe you enter into others ſtill leſs, of an oblong figure, one within another, ſome of which, at the farther end, have a part deeper than the reſt by ſix or ſeven ſteps. In every one of theſe rooms, except the firſt, are ſtone coffins placed in niches carved in the ſides of the chambers. The coffins were formerly covered with handſome ſemicircular lids, adorned with flowers, garlands, and other devices; but moſt of them are now broken to pieces. What, till of late, appeared the moſt ſurpriſing to travellers is, that the door-caſes, hinges, and pivots, are all of the ſame ſtone with the reſt, the doors ſeeming to be cut out of the very place on which they hang, and not wrought elſewhere or from any other block. But the whole myſtery of theſe doors ſeems of late to have been unravelled by a more curious beholder. He obſerved, that the only one of them now left hanging, which is two feet and a half wide, five feet and a half long, and five inches thick, and left rough within, did not touch its lintel by at leaſt two inches; ſo that he believes it might have been eaſily lifted up and unhinged.

Miraculous rarities.

To theſe artificial rarities of *Paleſtine*, the monks and other devotees, as well as moſt travellers, add a great number of ſupernatural ones: but we ſhall take notice of one only, which appears to be well atteſted. On mount *Olivet* is ſhewn a moſt remarkable cleft, ſaid to have been made by a miraculous earthquake that happened at our Saviour's crucifixion. It is incloſed in the great church of St. *Sepulchre*, and is about two ſpans deep, and a ſpan wide, running all down the rock to an unknown depth in the earth. That this is a natural and genuine rent, ſays *Maundrel*, the ſenſe of every one that ſees it may convince him; for the ſides of it fit each other like two tallies, and yet it runs in ſuch intricate windings, as could not be counterfeited by art, nor arrived at by any inſtrument.

The indigent and ſuperſtitious monks, to draw a little money from ſtrangers, ſhew them a great many topical rarities, rendered remarkable by any tranſaction in the Old or the New Teſtament. Thus they ſhew the houſe of *Dives* and the ſty where *Lazarus* was laid. They even go beyond this, and ſhew others of which not the leaſt mention is made in holy writ; ſuch as the identical olive tree to which they pretend our Saviour was tied whilſt his enemies were looking out for freſh accuſations and falſe witneſſes to condemn him with more ſeeming juſtice. The place where he fainted under his croſs. The gallery where *Pilate* brought him forth to the *Jews*, bedecked with the enſigns of mock royalty, *&c.* We refer thoſe that are curious in ſuch kind of things, to the ſeveral authors we have lately quoted.

Having now gone through a general deſcription of the *Holy Land*, we ſhall next take a ſhort view of the ſeveral lots and countries aſſigned to the twelve tribes; in doing of which we ſhall begin with thoſe of the two tribes and a half ſeated beyond the *Jordan*, as being the firſt conqueſt they made in their way to the land of promiſe. The different lots of the twelve tribes.

The *Iſraelites* having ſubdued the *Amorites*, and the king of *Baſhan*, found their country ſo rich, delightful, and ſpacious, that the tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*, and half of that of *Manaſſeh*, were permitted to ſettle in them. That of *Reuben*, which was the eldeſt, was allowed by the divine lawgiver the ſouthern part of their new conqueſt. This lot was bounded on the weſt by part of the *Dead* ſea and of the river *Jordan*; on the ſouth by the river *Arnon*, which ſeparated it from *Midian*; on the eaſt it was hemmed in partly by the *Moabites* and partly by the *Ammonites*; and on the north was ſeparated from the *Gadites* by a ſmall river. It was near ſixty miles long and as much broad, and was every where fertile in corn, wine, fruits, and eſpecially in paſture grounds. The chief towns in it were *Heſhbon*, the capital, *Jaza*, *Bamoth Baal*, *Beth-peor*, *Medaba*, *Mepheth*, *Abilah*, *Edom* or *Adam*, *Shittim*, *Livias*, *Bethabarah*, *Macheron*, *Bezer*, *Bozer*, or *Bozrah*, *Laſa* or *Laiſh*, ſince *Callirhoe*, *Kedemoth*, and *Bethjeſimoth* *. It may be obſerved in general, that thoſe names that have before them the *Hebrew* word *Beth*, which ſignifies either a houſe or temple, were properly ſo named from ſome particular deity, except it be that of *Bethabarah* above-mentioned, which ſignifies either a fording place, or the office where any kind of cuſtom or tribute was paid. The lot of *Reuben*.

Next to *Reuben*, on the north, was ſeated the tribe of *Gad*, having likewiſe the *Jordan* on the weſt, the *Ammonites* on the eaſt, and the half tribe of *Manaſſeh* on the north. It was no leſs rich and fertile than the former, eſpecially in paſture grounds. Its chief towns were *Mahanaim* and *Penuel*, both ſo Of *Gad*.

* Deutr. Joſeph. Reland. Cellar. & al.

named by *Jacob*; *Succoth*, where he built his booths, *Miſpah*, or *Maſpha*, *Rabbah*, the metropolis of *Baſhan*, ſince called *Philadelphia*; *Ramoth Gilead*, *Rogelim*, the native place of good old *Barzillai*; *Thiſhbi*, *Sharon*, *Sophar*, *Armon*, *Mageſh*, *Debbir*, *Aſhtaroth*, *Jazer*, *Dibbon*, *Aroer*, *Bethharan*, and *Enon*, where *John* baptized; which laſt was on the eaſt bank of *Jordan*, about eight miles ſouth of *Scythopolis*.

Of the half tribe of *Manaſſeh*.

On the north of the *Gadites* was ſeated the half tribe of *Manaſſeh*, having on the weſt the *Jordan* and *Samachonite* lake, on the eaſt the hills of *Baſhan* and *Hermon*, and on the north part of mount *Lebanon*. This territory was more extenſive than any of the other two, and afterwards got the name of upper *Galilee*, or *Galilee* of the *Gentiles*. It contained ſeveral conſiderable territories, ſuch as *Gilead*, *Batanea*, *Gaulonitis*, *Auranitis*, *Machonitis*, *Geſhur*, *Auran* or *Amram*, and *Argob*, all of them ſo called from their capitals. *Gaulonitis* extended from *Peræa* quite to *Lebanon*. Its capital was given to the *Levitical* tribe, and made a city of refuge. *Batanea* was properly the kingdom of *Baſhan*, bounded by *Gilead* and the *Ammonites* on the eaſt, by the brook *Jabbok* on the ſouth, by mount *Hermon* on the north, and on the weſt by the *Jordan*. The canton of *Argob* was part of it. *Auranitis* was ſituate between the upper ſpring of *Jordan* and the country of *Geſhur*. *Machonitis* lay likewiſe near the head of the *Jordan*, in the way to *Damaſcus*. The *Geſhurites* lived next to the canton of *Machonitis*, and we find the *Manaſſites* lived in friendſhip with both theſe people, having foreborn to deſtroy them.

The chief cities of this half tribe were *Boſra*, *Selſcha*, *Maachah*, *Gerſhon*, *Aſhtaroth*, *Adrach-Kedar*, or the tents of *Kedar*, (probably the dwellings of the *Kedarites*, deſcendants of *Iſhmael*, who were ſcattered, according to *Pliny*, in *Arabia*, *Phœnice*, *Syria*, &c. and lived by plunder) *Sueta*, *Gamala*, *Eſdrai*, *Gilead*, *Pella*, *Abel*, *Abel Maachah*, *Jabeſh-Gilead*, *Corazin*, *Julias*, *Bethſaida*, *Girgeſha*, *Hippo*, *Gadar*, and *Ephron*.

Croſſing the *Jordan* from the half tribe of *Manaſſeh*, we enter into the province of lower *Galilee*, which lay on the moſt northern frontier of the land of *Promiſe*, and in which we find the tribes of *Naphtali*, *Aſher*, *Zebulun*, and *Iſſachar*. Some even place both the *Galilees*, upper and lower, on the weſt ſide of the *Jordan*. It appears to us, however, that upper *Galilee*, or *Galilee* of the *Gentiles*, comprehended the half tribe abovementioned. Our readers will find the arguments for both opinions in *Lightfoote*, *Cellarius*, *Reland*, and *Calmet*. Lower *Galilee*, ſo called chiefly on account of its ſituation and flat country, was very fertile and champain, except on the northern ſide towards *Syria*. It produced excellent corn, wine, oil, and fruits of all ſorts with little labour, and in its flouriſhing ſtate was full of towns, beſides villages without number, all of them ſo populous, that *Joſephus*, who was made governor of it, tells us, that the leaſt of the towns contained 15,000 ſouls. Whether or no he hath ſpoken within compaſs, there is reaſon ſufficient

ficient to believe that the country was really very rich and populous, and its inhabitants of a ſtout and warlike diſpoſition, and very zealous for the *Jewiſh* religion.

Of *Naphtali.*

On the north-eaſt corner of the province was ſeated the tribe of *Naphtali*, over-againſt the half tribe of *Manaſſeh*, from which it was ſeparated by the *Jordan*. On the north it had the mountain *Libanus*, on the weſt the tribe of *Aſher*, and on the ſouth the tribe of *Zebulun*. The chief towns of it were *Dan*, formerly called *Laiſh* and *Laſhem*, (taken by a colony of the *Danites*, who gave it the name of their tribe (A) *Beerim*, *Emath*, and *Arbites*, each a capital of a conſiderable territory, *Aelodim*, *Amath-dor*, *Kirjathaim*, *Ablala*, *Merom*, *Haroſeth*, *Hazor*, *Maſkeloth*, *Migdudel*, *Kadeſh-Naphtali*, *Sepher* or *Kirjath-Sepher*, ſuppoſed from its name an antient univerſity or city of books, *Carthan*, *Humman*, *Mons Chriſti*, and *Capernaum*.

Of *Aſher.*

Weſt from *Naphtali* lay the tribe of *Aſher*, adjoining on the north-eaſt to *Phœnice*, having the *Mediterranean* on the weſt, and on the ſouth *Zebulun*. It had ſome conſiderable cities near the ſea, though no ſea-port of any note. The famed city of *Tyre* was ſituate on its coaſt, but it is much queſtioned whether the *Aſherites* were ever in poſſeſſion of it, or ever expelled the old inhabitants. It was ſo fruitful in corn, wine, oil, &c. of the beſt kinds, that it fully anſwered the bleſſing given to it by dying *Jacob*, *that the bread of it ſhould be fat, and that it ſhould yield royal dainties*. Its chief towns were *Elkath*, *Cana* the greater, *Gabala*, *Rahab*, *Aphek*, *Hacock*, *Giſchala*, *Bethſhemeſh*, *Achſaph*, *Beth Dagon*, *Acca*, *Acra* or *Ptolemais*, lately deſcribed, with a good number of inferior towns.

Of *Zebulun.*

On the ſouth of *Aſher* and *Naphtali*, was ſeated the tribe of *Zebulun*, or *Zabulon*, having on the weſt the *Mediterranean*, on the eaſt the ſea of *Galilee*, and ſeparated on the ſouth from the tribe of *Iſſachar* by the river *Kiſhon*. By its vicinity to the ſea, the number of its ports, and the largeneſs of its commerce, it exactly verified the bleſſings given to the tribe both by *Jacob* and *Moſes*. Its capital was *Zabulon*, ſituated on the *Mediterranean*, near the mouth of the river *Jephthael*. This city, on account of its populouſneſs, was once called *Zabulon Andron*, or *of men*. It was adorned with fine buildings after the manner of *Tyre*, and on that account much admired by *Ceſtius*, who nevertheleſs took, plundered, and burnt it to the ground *.

(A) This city became afterwards infamous for the calf ſet up by *Jeroboam*, to which the revolted tribes reſorted. As it ſtood on the northmoſt verge of *Paleſtine*, and *Beerſheba* on the oppoſite frontier, thence aroſe the proverb, *From Dan to Beerſheba*. It was from this city the woman came to be healed of her flux, in memory of which ſhe erected a ſtatue to her divine phyſician, which ſtood till *Julian* the apoſtate cauſed it to be pulled own. Euſeb. l. viii.

* Joſeph. de bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 2.

Its other chief cities were, *Bethſaida*, *Magdalon*, *Jotapa*, *Joppa*, *Cinnereth*, ſince *Tiberias*, *Cartha*, *Bethulia*, *Rimmon*, *Dothaim*, *Damna*, *Somerom*, *Tabor*, both city and mount, *Saffa* or *Siporis*, *Nazareth*, *Cana* the leſſer, commonly *Cana* of *Galilee*, *Iconium*, *Sicaminum* or *Porphyreon*, *Heiphab* or *Ceipha*.

Of *Iſſachar*.

The laſt tribe in lower *Galilee* was that of *Iſſachar*, bounded like the former by the *Mediterranean* on the weſt, on the eaſt by the *Jordan*, on the north by *Zebulun*, and on the ſouth by the other half tribe of *Manaſſeh*. Its chief towns were *Tarichea*, on the banks of the ſea of *Galilee*, famed for the defence it made againſt *Veſpaſian*, *Ceſion*, *Iſſachar*, *Camoth*, *Enghannim*, *Rabboth*, *Cadeſh*, *Aphec*, where *Saul* encamped near mount *Gilboah*; *Shunem*, the place where the hoſpitable *Shunamite* lodged the prophet *Elijah*; *Endor*, where the witch entertained king *Saul*; *Naim*, where Chriſt raiſed the poor widow's ſon; *Bethſhemeſh*, *Jezreel* or *Eſdrelon*, which ſtood on the weſt foot of mount *Gilboah*, and was the royal reſidence of *Ahab*, and *Caſtrum Peregrinorum*, a fortreſs built near the ſea ſide in the time of the holy war.

Of the other half tribe of *Manaſſeh*.

On the ſouth of *Iſſachar* lay the other half tribe of *Manaſſeh*, having the *Jordan* and *Mediterranean* as its eaſtern and weſtern boundaries, and the tribe of *Ephraim* on the ſouth. It had an admirable variety of plains, mountains, valleys, and ſprings, and a good number of ſtately cities, among which are thoſe that follow: *Bethſhean*, called afterwards *Scythopolis*, from the *Scythians*, who in the time of *Joſiah* made an irruption into *Judea*; *Salem*, near the coaſt of the *Jordan*, ſuppoſed to have been the ſeat of the celebrated *Melchizedek*; *Aner*, *Bezek*, *Abel-Meholah*, *Caſtrum Alexandrinum*, *Tirſhah*, *Acrabata*, *Thebez*, *Tenac*, *Gath-Rimmon*, *Maccoth*, *Emmon*, *Megiddo*, *Gilgal*, *Dor* or *Dora*, *Cæſaria-Paleſtina*, antiently ſtiled *Strato*'s tower, where *Paul* pleaded his own cauſe before *Feſtus*, and *Antipatris*, built by *Herod* on the ſpot where the antient *Caphariſalama* ſtood.

Of *Ephraim*.

The tribe of *Ephraim* extended like that of *Manaſſeh* laſt mentioned, which lay on the north ſide of it, from the *Jordan* to the *Mediterranean*. On the ſouth it was bounded by the tribe of *Benjamin*, and the north by part of the tribe of *Dan*. The country was partly level and partly mountainous. The mountains were covered with trees and good paſture, and the low lands were exceedingly rich and fruitful. Its cities and towns were numerous, large, and well peopled. Some of the chief were *Saron*, an antient royal city conquered by *Joſhua*, ſo called from its delightful and fertile ſituation; *Lydda*, or *Diſpolis*, now St. *George*, ſince the time of the holy war, that ſaint being ſuppoſed to have been martyred and buried there; *Ebin*, *Ramathaim* or *Arimathea*, *Bethoron*, *Goſera*, *Timnath-Serah*, *Pharaton*, *Caſtrum Hyrcaneum*, *Sichem*, ſince *Neapolis*, *Samaria*, ſince *Sebaſte*, *Jechman*, *Taphnah*, *Dog*, *Doch*, or *Dagon*, *Najeb*, *Gath-Rimmon*, *Michmaſh*, ſince *Byra*, and *Shilo*, or *Sio*, with ſeveral others leſs conſiderable.

We come now to *Judea*, properly ſo called, which canton contained the tribes of *Benjamin*, *Judah*, *Dan*, and *Simeon*, and was ſituate on the moſt ſouthern ſide of the whole, having *Ephraim*, laſt deſcribed, on the north, the *Mediterranean* on the weſt, *Idumea* and *Egypt* on the ſouth, and the *Jordan* and *Dead* ſea on the eaſt. Though the climate was much warmer than that of the other two, it was nevertheleſs ſo well refreſhed with cooling winds from the ſeas and mountains, that it was quite moderate and delightful. It was as fertile in corn, wine, oil, fruits, paſture grounds, &c. as any of the reſt, and the ſoil was likewiſe beautifully variegated with plains, hills, valleys, and ſome deſerts, moſt of them well watered with pleaſant ſtreams. *Judea* properly ſo called.

The tribe of *Benjamin*, which lay next to *Ephraim*, was bounded on the weſt by *Jordan*, and on the ſouth and eaſt by *Judea*, and the north end of the tribe of *Dan*. It had not ſo many cities and towns as moſt of the others, but this was amply compenſated by its containing the moſt conſiderable, and the metropolis of all the reſt; namely, the ſo juſtly celebrated city of *Jeruſalem*. The other cities of note were *Jericho*, *Gibeon*, *Bethel*, *Gibeah*, *Hai*, *Gilgal*, *Anathoth*, *Neb* or *Nebo*, to which may be added the two noted villages of *Bethany* and *Gethſemane*. The lot of *Benjamin*.

The city of *Jeruſalem* is ſuppoſed to have been ſo called by king *David*, who in the beginning of his reign took the fortreſs of *Sion* from the *Jebuſites*, and is thought at the ſame time to have expelled them from this city. The name in the *Hebrew* properly ſignifies the viſion, inheritance, or poſſeſſion of peace. The *Greeks* and *Latins* call it *Solyma* and *Hieroſolyma*, which laſt ſome have imagined to be a compound of the *Greek* ἱερὸς and Σόλυμα, but without foundation. Others, without any probability, derive the former from the *Solymi* mentioned by *Homer* and *Chærilus*, as a wonderful people who ſpoke the *Phœnician* tongue, wore their hair cropt round and ſhort, and dwelt in the mountains of their name near a very large lake. The circumſtance of cutting the hair round, was expreſsly contrary to the Levitical law, therefore could not be uſed by *Jews*. Neither was there a conformity between their weapons and thoſe mentioned by the poets; nor did the *Jews* abound in cavalry. *Jeruſalem* deſcribed.

Jeruſalem did not riſe to its height of opulence and grandeur till the reign of *Solomon*, when it was divided into four parts, each incloſed with its own walls. The firſt part was the old city of *Jebus*, which ſtood on mount *Zion*, where the prophets dwelt, and where *David* built a magnificent caſtle and palace, which became the reſidence both of himſelf and ſucceſſors, on which account it was emphatically called *the city of David*. It was greatly enlarged and beautified by *Solomon*, deſtroyed by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and afterwards rebuilt in a moſt ſumptuous and elegant manner by *Herod* the great, who inſcribed it to *Agrippa* and *Cæſar*. The ſecond part was *the lower city*, and being built after the firſt, was called *the daughter of Zion*. Here ſtood the two magnificent palaces built by *Solomon* for himſelf

and his queen; that of the *Maccabean* princes; the ſtately amphitheatre built by *Herod*, capable of containing 80,000 ſpectators; the ſtrong citadel built by *Antiochus*, to command and overtop the temple; laſtly, another citadel built by *Herod*, and called by him *Antonia*. The third part was the *new city*, moſtly inhabited by tradeſmen, artificers, and merchants. On the fourth part, called *mount Moriah*, was built the famous temple of *Solomon*, deſcribed in the 6th and 7th chapters of the 1ſt book of *Kings*; and ſince then, that rebuilt by the *Jews* on their return from *Babylon*, and afterwards built almoſt anew, and greatly adorned and enriched by *Herod*. Several authors have exhibited to the world this ſo celebrated ſtructure; but there is ſuch a difference in their deſcriptions, that it is impoſſible to reconcile them, or to find that juſt conformity betwixt them and the account in the ſacred writings. Setting aſide all controverted points concerning it, we ſhall confine our preſent account of it to ſuch particulars only as are agreed on all hands, and founded on the authority of the divine writers, which may ſerve to give our readers a general idea of the whole. We find then that there were no leſs than 163,300 men employed in the work; that nevertheleſs it took up ſeven whole years in building; that the height of the ſtructure was 120 cubits, or upwards of 210 feet, and the courts round it about half as high; that the front on the eaſt ſide was founded on a terras built up from the valley below 300 cubits high, formed of ſquare ſtones of a vaſt bigneſs. The height of the principal tower above the reſt of the edifice was 60 cubits; ſo that from the bottom of the valley to its ſummit, was no leſs than 840 feet, reckoning a foot and nine inches to the cubit; though ſome indeed reckon this cubit here uſed at two feet, and ſome even at three. This terras, raiſed to make the area of a ſufficient breadth and length for the edifice, was 1000 cubits in length at the bottom, 800 at the top, and its breath 100. The terras was ſupported by immenſe buttreſſes 50 cubits broad, and jutting out at the bottom beyond the face of the wall 150 cubits. The ſtones of which it was built were, according to *Joſephus*, all of marble, 40 cubits long, 12 thick, and 8 high, and ſo exquiſitely joined, that the whole ſeemed a poliſhed rock. According to the ſame hiſtorian, there were 1453 columns of *Parian* marble, and twice that number of pilaſters, and of ſuch thickneſs, that three men could hardly embrace them, their height and capitals being proportionable, and of the *Corinthian* order. It is probable, however, that *Joſephus* hath given the two laſt articles from the temple of *Herod*, they not being mentioned by the ſacred hiſtorians. Theſe laſt are very particular as to the prodigious cedars of *Lebanon* uſed in that noble edifice, the excellent workmanſhip of them adapted to their ſeveral ends and deſigns, together with their gildings and other curious ornaments. To conclude, all the materials of this ſtupendous fabric were faſhioned to their ſeveral purpoſes, and finiſhed before they were brought

Solomon's temple.

brought to *Jeruſalem*; that is, the ſtones in their quarries, and the cedars in *Lebanon*; ſo that there was no noiſe of ax, hammer, or any tool heard in the rearing of it. We muſt refer our curious readers for a further account of this edifice to the learned *Capellus*, one of the beſt and moſt accurate authors who have wrote on this ſubject, next to the inſpired writers. The city of *Jeruſalem*, in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate, is ſuppoſed to have been about four miles in circumference, and to have contained 120,000 inhabitants. *Joſephus* makes its circumference about 33 ſtadia, or four miles and 125 paces: but according to *Hecateus*, who deſcribed it as it was in the time of *Ptolomy Lagus*, it was no leſs than 50 ſtadia in circumference; but the out parts were probably included. *Joſephus* tells us, there periſhed in the ſiege 1,100,000 ſouls; but great part of theſe were ſtrangers come to celebrate the paſſover.

Whatever was its former ſtate, at preſent it is reduced to a poor, thinly inhabited town, about three miles in circuit, called by the *Turks Cudſembaric* and *Coudſberiff*, and by the *Arabs*, *Jeruſalem*. *Alkuds* and *Bait Almokdes*, that is, *the holy* and *the holy buildings*. It ſtands on a rocky mountain ſurrounded on all ſides, except on the north, with ſteep aſcents and deep vallies. Theſe again are environed with other hills at ſome diſtance from them. The ſoil now, for want of care, is for the moſt part ſtony, ſandy, and barren, and only here and there produces ſome corn, wine, oil, about the neighbourhood of the city; but at a diſtance from it, ſcarcely bears any thing but graſs, heath, and other ſpontaneous herbs and ſhrubs, which are left to run to ſeed.

The modern ſtate of Jeruſalem.

The emperor *Adrian* built a new city, which he called *Ælia Capitolina*, almoſt upon the ſpot of the old one, adorned it with walls and other noble edifices, permitting the Chriſtians to ſettle and live in it. This, however, was but a ſhort-lived grandeur: for when the pious empreſs *Helena*, by birth a *Britiſh* lady, and mother of *Conſtantine* the great, viſited this theatre of the world's redemption, ſhe found it in ſuch a ruinous condition, as raiſed her pity into a noble zeal of reſtoring it to its antient luſtre. To this purpoſe ſhe cauſed, with a great deal of coſt and labour, all the rubbiſh that had been thrown upon the places where our Saviour had ſuffered, had been buried, *&c.* to be removed. While the workmen were thus employed, they found the croſs on which he died, as well as thoſe of the two malefactors who were put to death with him; and as the writers of thoſe times relate, that which had born the Saviour of mankind was diſcovered from the other two by a miracle. Mount *Calvary* being then cleared, ſhe cauſed a magnificent church to be built upon it, ſo as to incloſe as many of the ſcenes of his ſufferings as could be conveniently done. This ſtately edifice is ſtill ſtanding, and is kept in good repair by the generous offerings of a conſtant concourſe of pilgrims continually reſorting to it, and by the contributions of ſeveral chriſtian princes. The walls of it are of ſtone, the roof of cedar; the eaſt end encloſes mount

Calvary, and the weſt the holy ſepulchre. The nave of the church conſtitutes the choir, and in the inſide iſles are ſhewn the places where the moſt remarkable circumſtances of our Lord's paſſion were tranſacted, together with the tombs of *Godfrey* and *Baldwin*, the two firſt chriſtian kings of *Jeruſalem*. In a chapel that riſes 22 ſteps is ſhewn that part of *Calvary* on which *Chriſt* was crucified, and the very hole in the rock in which his croſs was fixed. At the weſt end is the chapel of the ſepulchre hewn out of the ſolid rock, having a dome or lantern ſupported by pillars of porphyry. Round the ſepulchre is a cloiſter divided into ſundry chapels, appropriated to the ſeveral ſects of chriſtians who reſide there; ſuch as *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Maronites*, *Jacobites*, *Copts*, *Abyſſines*, *Georgians*, &c. and on the north-weſt are the apartments of the *Latins*, who have the care of the church, and are forced to reſide conſtantly in it, the *Turks*, who keep the keys, not ſuffering any of them to come out, but obliging them to receive their proviſions in at a wicket.

The grandeſt ceremonies are performed within this place at *Eaſter*, which chiefly conſiſt in repreſentations of our Lord's paſſion, crucifixion, death and reſurrection; all which are acted with their concomitant circumſtances, though, as we are informed by ſeveral witneſſes of undoubted credit, in a manner not altogether ſo ſuitable to the ſacredneſs of the ſubject. Being limited by the nature of our work not to expatiate on thoſe particulars, we muſt refer our readers to *Radziville*, *Thevenot*, *Sandys*, *Le Bruyn*, *Reland*, *Maundrel*, and eſpecially Dr. *Shaw* and Dr. *Pococke*, who have enriched their account of thoſe ſacred places with many curious and learned remarks.

We ſhall, however, obſerve, that on mount *Moriah* is an edifice erected, called *Solomon*'s temple, and ſtanding on or near the ſpot where the firſt temple ſtood. It is not eaſy to gueſs when, or by whom, this mock temple was reared; for we are well aſſured, that the *Jewiſh* temple, according to the prediction, was totally deſtroyed by the *Romans*. It is ſurrounded with a ſpacious ſquare court, extending, according to Mr. *Maundrel*, 570 common paces in length, and 370 in breadth, and walled on every ſide. In the midſt of the ſquare, and where the *Jewiſh* Holy of Holies is ſaid to have ſtood, is erected a building, at preſent a *Turkiſh* moſque, held in ſuch veneration by the *Turks*, that a ſtranger cannot go near its border without being in danger of forfeiting his life or religion. Dr. *Pococke* greatly extols both the materials and workmanſhip of this edifice, which he thinks was formerly a chriſtian church. The ſtones both without and (as he was told) within, are caſed with tiles of different colours, but chiefly green, and the colonnades are of the *Corinthian* order, the columns and the arches turned over them being finely wrought. The city at preſent is under the government of a *Sangiac*, whoſe reſidence is in a houſe ſaid to have been that of *Pontius Pilate*, over-againſt the caſtle of *Antonia*. All that we ſhall add concerning

this famed city is, that many of thoſe ſtately churches, built in memory of ſome remarkable goſpel tranſaction, have been ſince turned into moſques, into ſome of which money will procure an entrance, and into others not. Both friars and other chriſtians are kept ſo poor by the tyranny of the government, that the chief ſupport and trade of the place conſiſts in providing ſtrangers with food and other accommodations, and ſelling them beads, relics, and other religious trinkets, for which they are obliged to pay conſiderable ſums to the Sangiac, as well as to his officers.

The lot of *Judah*.

The tribe of *Judah* extended ſouth from *Benjamin* quite to the mountains of *Seir* and *Edom*, which ſeparated it from *Idumea*, and was bounded on the eaſt by the *Dead* ſea, and on the weſt by the tribes of *Dan* and *Simeon*, which lay between it and the *Mediterranean*. This tribe was reckoned the largeſt and moſt populous tribe of all the twelve, and the inhabitants the ſtouteſt and moſt valiant; and it was after dignified ſo much, as to give a name to the whole nation. It was beautifully variegated with hills, vales and plains, and extremely fertile, except where it lay contiguous to *Idumea*. Its principal cities and towns were *Bethlehem*, the birth-place of our Saviour, and of king *David*, now a poor village, but having a magnificent church built over the place where the divine infant was born by the empreſs *Helena*, great numbers of pilgrims continually reſort thither; *Libna*, *Makkedah*, *Azecha*, *Bethzor* or *Bethſora*, *Emmaus*, *Nicopolis*, *Bezech*, *Tekoah*, *Engaddi*, *Odalla*, *Keylah*, *Hebron*, by the teſtimony of *Moſes* one of the moſt antient cities in the world; *Jether*, *Jerimoth*, *Taphnah*, *Kirjath-Jearim*, *Maon*, *Holon*, *Gozen*, *Gelo*, *Cabzael*, *Hazor* or *Chadzor*, and *Maſſada*, a famous fortreſs built by *Judas Maccabeus* on a craggy rock, inacceſſable on all ſides but one, but ſurrounded with a fine ſpacious and fertile plain. The rock on which it was built, ſtood a few miles weſt of the *Dead* ſea, and ſouth of *Engeddi*, and was called by the *Romans Collis Achillea*.

The two remaining tribes, *Dan* and *Simeon*, lay weſt from that of *Judah* towards the *Mediterranean*; but between them and that ſea were ſeated the antient *Philiſtines*, once maſters of the whole coaſt from the confines of *Phœnice* on the north, to thoſe of *Idumea* on the ſouth. The cities on this coaſt were ſo ſtrong and populous, that the *Danites* could not preſently wreſt them from their brave inhabitants; but were forced to gain them by degrees as they could, and at laſt to leave them in quiet poſſeſſion of ſix of the moſt conſiderable, namely, *Gath*, *Accaron*, *Aſhdod*, *Aſcalon*, *Gaza*, and *Majuma*, together with the territories belonging to them, whilſt they contented themſelves with thoſe that lay north of them up to *Joppa*.

Of *Dan*.

The lot of *Dan* was to the north of the tribe of *Simeon*. Its greateſt length from north to ſouth did not exceed forty miles. It ended in a point towards the north, and its greateſt breadth towards the ſouth was about 25 miles: but what it wanted in room, was in a great meaſure made up by the fertility

tility of the ſoil and the induſtry and bravery of the inhabitants, ſome of whom, rather than be confined within their narrow limits, ventured ſo far as the city of *Laiſh*, in the utmoſt verge north of *Paleſtine*, after new ſettlements. *Dan*, however, within its ſmall extent, had a good number of cities, the chief of which were *Caſphin*, *Thimnah*, *Beth-Shemeſh*, where the ark reſted when brought back from the *Philiſtines*; *Ajalon*, *Lachiſh*, from whence *Sennacherib* ſent that haughty meſſage to *Hezekiah*; *Modin*, *Eltek*, *Lehi*, the place where *Samſon* ſlew 1000 *Philiſtines* with the jaw-bone of an aſs; *Gibbethon*, *Zorah* or *Sorah*, the birth-place of *Samſon*; *Jamnia* and *Joppa*. Theſe two laſt were maritime cities, and very conſiderable. *Jamnia*, alſo called *Jamni*, *Jamnes*, *Jemne*, and *Jemmais*, lay between *Joppa* and *Azotus*, in a pleaſant champain country. It is not mentioned by any of theſe names in the *Hebrew* text; but we meet with that of *Jabne* among thoſe cities that king *Uzziah* took from the *Philiſtines*, which is probably the ſame. *Joſephus* tells us, it was given from the tribe of *Judah* to that of *Dan*. It was made an epiſcopal ſee under that of *Cæſarea* in the early times of chriſtianity, but at preſent hath nothing worth our farther notice. *Joppa*, now *Jaffa*, was the only ſea-port which the *Jews* in the ſouthern provinces had on the *Mediterranean* ſea, and was ſeated on a high ſpacious hill, which commanded a full proſpect of the ſea on one ſide, and of a delightful fertile country on the other. It was antiently a fine city, and is often mentioned both in the Old and New Teſtament: but during the holy war it was ſo entirely ruined, that it had ſcarcely any buildings left ſtanding but the old caſtle, and another near the ſea ſide. At preſent the town is rebuilt with good ſtone houſes towards the ſea, and drives a conſiderable trade, particularly in the *Rama* and *Jeruſalem* ſoap. There are likewiſe great quantities of rice, corn, and other commodities brought hither from *Egypt*, and afterwards exported into other countries. Though the port is ſo marred and blocked up that no ſhips of burden can come into it, the road before it, however, is ſafe and convenient enough. It is ſuppoſed to have been the ſcene of the famed adventure of *Perſeus* and *Andromeda*; and St. *Jerom* tells us, that in his time ſome links of the chain with which the latter was faſtened to the rock, were ſtill to be ſeen. It is likely, however, that this fabulous ſtory took its riſe from the prophet *Jonah*'s imbarking at this place, and being ſwallowed up by a whale, or as the *Hebrew* imports, a ſea monſter, or monſtrous large fiſh.

Of *Simeon*. The tribe of *Simeon* was confined to a very ſmall lot on the moſt ſouthern corner of *Judea*, being ſeparated on the ſouth by *Idumea*, or rather from the territories of *Egypt* by the ſmall river *Sichor*, called the river of *Egypt*. The greateſt part of it was ſo mountainous, ſandy and barren, and was moreover ſo haraſſed by the *Philiſtines* on one ſide and the *Idumeans* on the other, that finding neither room and ſuſtenance ſufficient, nor any quietneſs in their inheritance, they were obliged to ſeek their

their fortune among the other tribes. From the very beginning we find they hired themſelves out to aſſiſt their brethren in the conqueſt of their lots for the ſake of having ſome ſmall ſhare allotted to them. Others of them diſperſed themſelves among every tribe, where it ſeems they ſerved as ſcribes, notaries, ſchoolmaſters, &c. ſo truly was their father *Jacob*'s curſe verified on them, as well as on the tribe of *Levi*, on account of their bloody maſſacre of the *Shechemites*: *curſed be their anger for it was fierce, and their revenge for it was inhuman. I will diſperſe them in Jacob, and ſcatter them in Iſrael.* Their towns were few, and none of them very conſiderable. The chief of them were *Siceleg*, or *Ziklag*, given by *Achiſh* to king *David*, who after he came to the crown, ſtrongly fortified the place; *Aen*, or *Hain*, given to the *Simeonites* by the tribe of *Juda* for their aſſiſtance in the conqueſt of his lot; *Horma*, *Debir*, antiently *Kirjath-Sepher*, or the city of books, and thence ſuppoſed an univerſity; *Gerar*, or *Gezarah*, antiently the royal reſidence of the kings, ſurnamed *Abimelech*, famed for their juſtice and generous hoſpitality to *Abraham* and *Iſaac*; *Beerſheba*, at the moſt ſouthern extremity of the whole *Land of Promiſe*, given by *Judah* to the *Simeonites*; *Anthedon* and *Rhinocolura*, which two laſt lay near the ſea-coaſt, and were indeed the moſt conſiderable; but it is a queſtion whether the *Simeonites* ever got poſſeſſion of either, or if they were then in being. *Anthedon* was deſtroyed by *Alexander Janneus*, one of the kings of the *Maccabitiſh* race, but afterwards rebuilt by *Herod*, and called by him *Agrippias*, in honour of his ſtedfaſt friend *Agrippa*, the favourite of *Auguſtus*. *Rhinocolura*, or *Rhinocorura*, was the laſt city on this coaſt, and lay near the mouth of the river *Sichor*, on the north ſide. Its name, which is *Greek*, ſignifies *ſlit noſtrils*, and according to a tradition it was firſt inhabited by banditti ſtigmatized in that manner, and ſent thither, according to *Strabo* and *Seneca*, by a *Perſian* king; but according to *Diodorus*, by a king of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*. This account of its planting, however, is looked upon as fabulous. Antient writers have indifferently placed it in *Paleſtine*, *Syria*, and even in *Egypt*, it having, at different times, belonged to them all; but what name it was called by whilſt under the *Jews*, or indeed till the *Greeks* gave it the above-mentioned, is no where to be found. It became, in the early times of chriſtianity, a biſhopric under the metropolitan of *Peluſium* in *Egypt*, and ſince then a ſtrong fortreſs during the holy war, when it was called *Pharamica*, and was of ſingular uſe to prevent the *Turkiſh* auxiliaries from coming out of *Egypt* into *Paleſtine*. It is ſince gone to decay, and is now an inconſiderable place, and the territory about it a mere wilderneſs.

We ſhall now give a ſhort account of the five ſatrapies or lordſhips of the *Philiſtines*. Their country was confined between the *Mediterranean* ſea and the tribes of *Simeon*, *Dan*, and part of *Benjamin*, and extended along the ſhore from the mouth of the river *Bezor* to the ſeaport of *Jamnia*. How far their terri-

territories encroached upon the tribes above-mentioned, is not eaſy to gueſs. Though they raiſed very conſiderable armies againſt the *Iſraelites*, yet the far greater part of them ſeem to have conſiſted of auxiliaries from *Edom* or *Idumea*. The names of their capital cities, as they lay from north to ſouth, were *Gath*, *Accaron*, or *Ekron*, *Aſhdod*, or *Azotus*, *Aſcalon*, and *Gaza*, with its ſea-port, called *Majuma* and *Portus Gazæ*. Theſe cities appear to have been ſtrong, rich, and populous, and to have had each of them ſome conſiderable towns and villages under them, all of them ſituate, as far as can be gathered from the ſacred records, in fertile territories, and well cultivated by the induſtrious inhabitants. *Gath*, or *Geth*, the birth-place of the famed *Goliath*, was firſt conquered by *David*, fortified by his grandſon *Reboboam*, and though again ſeized by the *Philiſtines*, was retaken by *Uzziah* and *Hezekiah*. It ſtood about 32 miles weſt from *Jeruſalem*, and about 14 ſouth from *Joppa*. Its name in *Hebrew* ſignifies a *wine-preſs*; and there were ſeveral other cities ſo called, both among the *Philiſtines* and *Iſraelites*, ſome of them having adjuncts to diſtinguiſh them, ſuch as *Gath-ephir*, *Gath-rimmon*. It recovered its liberty and luſtre in the time of the prophets *Amos* and *Micah*; but was afterwards demoliſhed by *Hazael* king of *Syria*: ſince which period it became of but little conſideration till the time of the holy war, when *Fulk* king of *Jeruſalem* built a caſtle on its ruins.

Accaron, or *Ekron*, ſituate about ten miles ſouth of *Gath*, fell at firſt to the lot of *Judah*, and was thence given to the tribe of *Dan*. It appears to have been a very conſiderable and ſtrong city, and it is a queſtion whether it was ever reduced by either of thoſe two tribes. So early as the time of *Samuel* we find the *Philiſtines* inhabiting there; nor is there any mention of their being expelled by the *Iſraelites* either before or after.

About 14 or 15 miles ſouth of *Ekron*, on the ſame coaſt, lay *Azoth*, *Aſhdod*, or *Azotus*, a celebrated ſea-port on the *Mediterranean*. It fell at firſt to the lot of *Judah*; but continued a conſiderable time in the hands of the old inhabitants. From *Herodotus* we have obſerved that it ſuſtained a ſiege of 29 years, the longeſt that ever was heard of, under *Pſammitichus* king of *Egypt*. They could not, however, make a reſiſtance againſt the *Maccabees*, who took and burnt both city and temple, and with them about 8000 men.

Aſcalon, about eight or nine miles ſouth of *Aſhdod*, and likewiſe a maritime city, was eſteemed the ſtrongeſt of all on the *Philiſtine* coaſt. The tribe of *Judah*, however, to whoſe lot it fell, made themſelves maſters of it ſoon after the death of *Joſhua*. It is ſtill in being, though now only an inconſiderable village. *Diodorus* and *Lucian* make mention of a ſmall lake near it full of fiſhes, conſecrated to their goddeſs *Dercato*; on which account the *Aſcalonians* forbore to eat them, and alſo abſtained from pigeons, becauſe ſuppoſed likewiſe to belong to her. This city was, in the early times of Chriſtianity, made an epiſcopal ſee, and was adorned, during the holy war, with many

many ſtately edifices, all which have been ruined ſince by the *Saracens* and *Turks*.

Gaza, which was the fifth lordſhip, ſtood about 15 miles ſouth of *Aſcalon*, near five miles from the *Mediterranean* and the mouth of the river *Bezor*. It was ſituated on an eminence, ſurrounded with the moſt beautiful and fertile valleys, watered by the above-mentioned river, and a number of other ſprings, and encompaſſed at a farther diſtance on the inland ſide with hills all planted with a variety of fine fruit-trees. The city was ſtrongly fortified both by nature and art; but was nevertheleſs taken by *Caleb* chief of the tribe of *Judah*. Soon after, however, it was retaken by the ancient inhabitants, and held by them till *Samſon* carried off the gates of it in the night. It often ſhifted hands, and paſſed from the *Jews* to the *Chaldeans*, *Perſians*, and *Egyptians*, till it was deſtroyed by *Alexander* the *Great*, and a ſecond time by the brave *Maccabees*; after which we hear no more of it till St. *Luke* ſpeaks of it as a ruinated place. As to its preſent ſtate, though it be far inferior in all reſpects to its ancient, yet it ſtill retains ſo many monuments of its former grandeur, as may well be worth a curious reader's notice. It ſtands on the ſame ſpot with the old, but in a much ſmaller compaſs, and is almoſt full of the nobleſt pieces of antiquity; ſuch as ſome rows of the moſt ſtately marble columns with all their ornaments, ſome noble burying places, with all the tombs of the ſame ſtone, finely wrought. Near the city ſtands a round caſtle flanked with four ſquare towers, and in good repair, which is the reſidence of the ſangiac, who hath about 300 towns and villages under him. Over-againſt it is the harem, where the baſhaws wives and their attendants are kept; and a little above it are the remains of an old *Roman* caſtle, the materials of which are ſtill ſo firm, that the hammer can make no impreſſion on them. The *Greeks* have here a handſome church, and that of the *Armenians* is little inferior to it. Near the laſt they ſhew the ſpot where ſtood the ancient temple that *Samſon* pulled down over his head, which is now reduced to a heap of rubbiſh. The ſea-port of *Gaza* was *Majuma*, or *New Gaza*, ſituate near the mouth of the river *Beſor*. It became a place of conſiderable note in the reign of *Conſtantine the Great*, who gave it the name of *Conſtantia*, from his ſon *Conſtantius*, and endowed it with many ſingular privileges, of which it was afterwards ſtripped by *Julian the Apoſtate*, out of hatred to that pious emperor.

EDOM, *or* IDUMEA.

THEIR country made part of *Arabia Petrea*, had *Egypt* and a branch of the *Red Sea* on the weſt, *Arabia Petrea* and *Deſerta* on the ſouth and eaſt, and *Paleſtine*, or the *Land of Promiſe*, on the north. There is no ſtating its extent, without having regard to the various periods of time from the firſt planting of the nation. *Edom* and his deſcendants at firſt ſettled along the mountains

mountains of *Seir* on the ſouth eaſt of the *Dead Sea*, from whence they ſpread themſelves by degrees through the weſt part of *Arabia Petrea* quite to the *Mediterranean*; and during the captivity of the *Jews* at *Babylon*, they advanced farther north into *Judæa*, and ſpread themſelves as far as *Hebron*, which city is placed by *Joſephus* among the *Idumean* cities, when the nation was in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate. The ſame author divides *Idumea* into upper and lower, including in the former the tribe of *Judah*, and in the latter that of *Simeon*; but theſe cannot with propriety be reckoned part of the territories of the *Edomites*. The country is repreſented in the ſacred books, and all other authors that have wrote of it, as hot, dry, mountainous, and in ſome parts barren and deſert; in which reſpect it was not much unlike the ſouthern part of *Judah*, which is called a deſert, and was full of rocky receſſes, commonly afterwards the lurking places of thieves and banditti.

Some of the valleys and hills firſt poſſeſſed by *Eſau* and his deſcendants were probably that part of mount *Seir* which is more level and fertile than the reſt, otherwiſe it is not eaſy to reconcile their lot with the bleſſing of *Jacob*, that *his dwelling ſhould be the fatneſs of the earth, and the dew of heaven from above.* Beſides it may be obſerved, that though the country at this day appears a barren waſte, yet formerly, when in poſſeſſion of the *Horites*, who were driven out by the *Edomites*, might be as well cultivated as *Canaan*. At preſent it is in poſſeſſion of the *Turks*, but chiefly inhabited by wild *Arabs*, who in a manner acknowlege no maſter, and live by plunder. The *Turks* only keep a few garriſons on the ſea-coaſt, for ſecuring the road between *Paleſtine* and *Egypt*. The ſacred writings mention ſeveral ancient cities belonging to *Idumea*; the moſt conſiderable of which were, *Dinhabah*, the ſeat of *Bela* the ſon of *Beor*, prince of that territory. *Bezer*, or *Bozrah*, the capital of the eaſtern *Idumea*, and royal reſidence of *Johab* the ſon of *Zerah* duke of *Edom*. It lay midway betwixt *Arnon* and *Jordan*; on which account it was reckoned ſometimes to belong to *Reuben*, and ſometimes to *Moab* and *Edom*, according as the ſtrongeſt could make themſelves maſters of it. As it ſtood on the confines of *Arabia Deſerta*, it is mentioned as ſituate in a wilderneſs. It was nevertheleſs a conſiderable place, was made a Levitical city and city of refuge by *Joſhua*; but was deſtroyed by *Judas Maccabeus*, according to the dreadful predictions of the prophets *Iſaiah* and *Jeremiah*. It was afterwards inhabited, and ſeveral of its biſhops aſſiſted at ſome of the ancient councils. *Pau*, or *Phau*, is mentioned alſo as another royal city, and the reſidence of *Adar*, the laſt *Edomitiſh* king mentioned by *Moſes*. *Aneth*, or *Anah*, the royal city of *Hadad*. Beſides theſe, *Caporoſu* and *Gamaris* are mentioned by *Ptolemy* as chief cities of *Idumea*.

The LAND *of* AMALEK.

THE *Amalekites* inhabited a part of *Arabia Petrea*. On the weſt and north they had the *Midianites* and the *Edomites*, and on the ſouth and eaſt lay *Arabia Petrea* and *Deſerta*. Modern travellers differ in affixing the limits of their country; and the truth is, their ſituation and neighbours are ſo differently aſſigned in the places of Scripture where any mention is made of each, that they muſt either have ſpread themſelves very wide, or have occaſionally changed their abodes, like the modern *Arabs*. It is moſt likely that they had no conſtant dwelling, and were of the wandering kind, living in booths and tents, and the country being wide enough, ſhifted their abode from one canton to another, as their convenience or fancy led them. We do not find one ſingle city they had, except that which *Saul* is ſaid to have laid ſiege to, which the text doth not ſo much as name. It is probable alſo that on their out-ſkirts they lived intermixed with their neighbours; for we find them frequently joined with the other nations againſt *Iſrael*.

The LAND *of* MIDIAN.

THE territory of the *Midianites* from north to ſouth was very extenſive, reaching from the mountains at the head of the river *Arnon* to the north-eaſt gulph of the *Red Sea*. Whether they inhabited all the intermediate tract without interruption is uncertain. On the north they bordered with the *Moabites* and the tribe of *Reuben*. They had the *Iſhmaelites* on the eaſt, the *Amalekites* on the ſouth, and on the weſt the *Edomites*. Their country was hot, ſandy, and in many parts quite deſert, yet abounded with cattle, particularly ſheep, goats, deer, and camels, which laſt were very uſeful for their caravans, with which they traded into *Egypt* ſo early as the time of the patriarch *Jacob*. When the *Iſraelites* left *Egypt*, we find the north part of their country divided into a kind of pentarchy; ſo that the children of *Iſrael*, in the war which they waged with them, are ſaid to have ſlain their five kings, *Evi*, *Rekem*, *Zur*, *Hur*, and *Reba*. The ſouthern *Midianites*, among whom *Jethro* lived, ſeem not to have been concerned in oppoſing the *Iſraelites*. The *Midianites*, beſides their other towns, had a famous metropolis of their progenitor's name, often mentioned in the prophetic books and other authors, placed on the river *Arnon* by *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom*, who relate that ſome ruins of it were ſtill to be ſeen in their time. Another city of the ſame name is placed by *Joſephus* near the north-eaſt ſhore of the *Red Sea*, the ruins of which *Abulfeda* makes mention of, on that coaſt. Near this place *Ptolemy* mentions a city, which he calls *Madiana Dibon-Gad*, on the *Arnon*, and *Almon-diblathaim*, two encampments of the *Iſraelites*, were likewiſe cities of the *Midianites*.

The

The LAND *of* MOAB, *or* MOABITIS.

THE *Moabites* were ſituated in a part of *Arabia Petrea*, being ſeparated on the weſt and north from the tribe of *Reuben* by the river *Arnon* and the land of *Gilead*; and on the eaſt and ſouth they bordered with *Midian*. They had a great many cities, and ſome of them very conſiderable. Of theſe *Medaba*, *Lemba*, *Oranas*, *Thelitho*, *Zara*, with *Auron*, *Pella*, and ſome others, were poſſeſſed by the *Jews* in the reign of *Alexander Janæus*. Their limits, as well as thoſe of the neighbouring people, it muſt be acknowleged, were in a conſtant fluctuation; ſo that there is hardly any poſſibility of aſcertaining them exactly. The mountain *Nebo* we find placed by *Moſes* in the land of *Moab*, though ſeated on the north ſide of the *Arnon*, and conſequently in the kingdom of *Sihon*.

Of the AMMONITES.

THE *Ammonites* were ſeated in a part of *Arabia Deſerta*, being ſeparated from the *Reubenites* by the head of the river *Arnon*, having the *Moabites* and *Iſhmaelites* or *Arabians* on the ſouth. On the north they had the hills of *Baſhan*, and on the eaſt part of *Arabia Deſerta*. The *Iſraelites* were forbid to invade their territories; which prohibition, however, it is plain extended only to the time when the *Iſraelites* ſhould be ſettled in *Canaan*: for afterwards, when they were invaded by them and the *Moabites*, *Edomites*, *&c.* it became lawful for them to make inroads and conqueſts upon them, provided they were not the firſt aggreſſors. Of their many populous cities the capital was ſuppoſed to be *Rabbah*, or *Rabbatammana*, or *Ammana*, ſince *Philadelphia*, in which was ſeen the monſtrous iron bed of *Og* the king of *Baſhan*.

CHAP. II.

Of the Religion, Government, Laws, and Cuſtoms, of the JEWS.

The *Jewiſh* government a theocracy.

MOSES attributes the inſtitution of the *Jewiſh* religion and form of government wholly to God: for which reaſon *Joſephus* diſtinguiſhes the latter from all other governments in the world by the name of a *Theocracy*, or a ſtate immediately governed by God. And indeed though this theocracy often varied under *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, the judges, kings, and high-prieſts, and the divine authority differently interpoſed during thoſe revolutions,

tions, yet God was ſtill looked upon as the ſupreme monarch of the *Iſraelites*.

As to their laws, the greateſt part of them were given to *Moſes* on mount *Sinai*, and the reſt at different times, upon various occaſions, as will be ſeen in the ſequel. It is plain the greateſt part of them were dictated by God himſelf, and that the reſt received at leaſt their ſanction from him. If we conſider that they extended to all duties, caſes, and exigencies; that the moral were to be of eternal obligation; that the political were to laſt as long as the *Jewiſh* polity, and many of the ceremonial were typical of the Meſſiah, and conſequently to continue till his coming; if we alſo reflect that the prieſts and rulers were to be no more than the bare guardians of them, and were forbid, under the pain of death and of the divine curſe, to add to, diminiſh, or alter the leaſt part of them, it will ſcarce be credible that *Moſes* would have given them ſuch a firm and durable ſanction, backed with the divine authority, had any but God been the author and confirmer of them. Their great excellency above thoſe of all other nations has been diſplayed, and the empty cavils raiſed againſt them have been confuted, by *Joſephus*, *Philo*, *Maimonides*, *Moſes Gerundenſis*, and many others among the *Jews*, and by a greater number of learned Chriſtian writers, both of our own and other churches, particularly by *Grotius*, *Selden*, *Puffendorf*, *Cumberland*, *Gaſtrel*, *l'Abbadie*, *Cunæus*, and *Baſnage*. As the nature of our work will not allow us to dwell on thoſe particulars, we refer our readers to the authors above-mentioned, who have treated of them at large.

Their laws have been commonly divided into moral, political, and ceremonial; but this diſtinction will not hold with reſpect to very many of them, which are partly moral and partly ceremonial and political: the *Jews*, therefore, have only divided them into negative and affirmative, or, according to the genius of the *Hebrew* tongue, into *thou ſhalt do*, or *ſhalt not do*. Of the firſt they reckon 365, and of the latter 248; in all 613. They have diſtinguiſhed the books of *Moſes*, called the *Pentateuch*, by the title of *Ha-thorah*, or the law, by way of excellency, and have ſubdivided the whole five books into 54 ſections of unequal lengths; ſo that by joining two of the ſhorteſt together, they read the whole law once a year. Not contented, however, with the written law, they have collected a great many other precepts and extravagant notions, which they pretend were delivered by God to *Moſes* in mount *Sinai*, and traditionally preſerved intire and uncorrupted till they were inſerted in the Talmud. Theſe traditions, or *Cabbala*, they affirm are a neceſſary ſupplement and commentary to the written law; but they are ſo ſtuffed with contradictions, inconſiſtencies, and fabulous dreams, as clearly ſhews the great propriety of the cenſure paſſed upon the *Jews* by our Saviour, *that they had made the word of God of none effect, by their traditions*. They have, without order or method, ſo jumbled their laws together, and blended them with thoſe abſurd traditions,

that the plain text of the divine lawgiver is rendered almoſt unintelligible. Thoſe who are deſirous of being further ſatisfied on this ſubject, may ſee the abridgment which *Munſter* has given us of them, and of the *Jewiſh* comments upon them, with his verſion of each, as he has collected them from the Talmud, and other Rabinic works (H).

To return to the written laws, we ſhall endeavour to range the main body of them under ſuch diſtinct heads and claſſes as may give our readers a clear idea of them, and, to avoid prolixity, ſhall take the liberty to abridge ſome, and to omit thoſe that are either of ſmall conſequence, or of which the deſign is not ſufficiently underſtood.

Laws againſt idolatry.

Their laws againſt idolatry were; Thou ſhalt have no other gods before or beſides me.

Ye ſhall not profane or take in vain, but hallow God's holy name.

Ye ſhall utterly deſtroy all the idols, altars, groves, and other monuments of *Canaaniti ſh* idolatry.

Ye ſhall make no image or repreſentation of God, from the likeneſs of the celeſtial, the terreſtrial, or aquatic bodies.

Ye ſhall not bow down nor worſhip any kind of idol.

Whoſoever enticeth another to commit idolatry, ſhall be ſtoned as ſoon as convicted of it.

The ſpoil of a city doomed to anathema, ſhall not be ſaved upon any account; but be publicly burned: the inhabitants of it ſhall be put to the ſword; and the place ſhall continue an heap for ever.

The ſilver, gold, and other precious ornaments belonging to idols, ſhall not be turned to advantage, but be deſtroyed with the utmoſt abhorrence. Whoſoever ſacrificed his ſeed to *Moloch*, whether he be an *Iſraelite* or a ſojourner in the land, ſhall be ſtoned to death. There are ſeveral more, to the ſame purpoſe, interſperſed and often repeated in the four books of *Moſes*, which we need not dwell longer upon. Of the ſame

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(H) Though the *Jewiſh* cabbala, or oral tradition, is juſtly rejected by all Chriſtians, yet we may obſerve there is another cabbala which has been received by ſome of the ancient fathers, and is to this day ſtrenuouſly defended by many learned moderns, who allege that it contains the myſtical ſenſe of the Old Teſtament, in which it is pretended the writers of the New underſtood and explained it; which ſenſe, as being very different, if not directly contrary to the obvious and literal one, they affirm has been conveyed from *Moſes* by divine inſpiration. This they think evidenced by the interpretation given to ſeveral prophecies, quoted particularly by St. *Matthew* and St. *Paul*, ſuch as *Matth.* ii. 15. & *Rom.* x. 6. compared with *Deut.* xxx. 12. & *Epheſ.* v. 14. with *Gen.* ii. 24. *Hebr.* ii. 6. with *Pſ.* viii. 4, &c. This queſtion has been lately and learnedly debated by the writers for and againſt the accompliſhment of literal prophecy.

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nature are alſo thoſe laws that forbid all intercourſe and contracting of affinity with idolatrous nations, and thoſe alſo which condemn the uſe of familiar ſpirits, inchantments, the obſerving of times and omens, divinations, the reſorting to wizards, and ſuch like, as alſo the rounding of the corners or temples of the head, and marring the corners of their beards, cutting their fleſh, or making any marks upon it, and laſtly, the promiſcuous uſe of apparel in either ſex, which was one of the idolatrous rites of the heathens.

Laws concerning the worſhip of God.

The poſitive laws, concerning the worſhip of the only true God, were theſe; That the Lord, who delivered the law from mount *Sinai*, is the only God in heaven and earth. This precept, in one place, begins thus: *Hear*, O Iſrael, *the Lord our God is one Lord*; which words the *Jews* urge as an unanſwerable argument againſt the Chriſtian doctrine of the Trinity. They anciently wore them written on parchment about them as bracelets and frontlets. *Lightfoot* and others believe that theſe phylacteries were uſed in our Saviour's time; and St. *Jerom* aſſures us they were worn in his days, and that thoſe who had them not on their foreheads were eſteemed irreligious. Some Chriſtian writers, on the other hand, have endeavoured to draw a proof of the Trinity from the ſame text, as the word *Jehovah* is twice mentioned in it, beſides the word *Elohim*.

A ſecond precept was, That God is to be loved with all one's heart, mind, and ſtrength; that he only is to be feared above all things, and his name to be ſanctified.

That they ſhall engrave his laws in their hearts, diligently teach them to their children and grandchildren, and wear them for a ſign upon their hands, as frontlets between their eyes, and write them upon the gates, poſts, and other parts of their houſes.

That the whole law ſhall be read by the prieſts to all the people, men, women, and children, every ſeventh year, at the feaſt of the tabernacles; and the ſubſtance of it ſhall be learned by heart by every *Iſraelite*; and that every king of *Iſrael* ſhall be obliged to write a copy of it with his own hand, from that which was by *Moſes* committed to the cuſtody of the Levites, in order to be conſtantly read and obſerved by him.

That all bleſſings ſhall be thankfully acknowleged to come from God, and puniſhments inflicted by him ſubmiſſively received, as fatherly chaſtiſements, or trials of their obedience.

The law ſhall be engraven upon ſtones, and ſet upon an altar; and the bleſſings of obedience, and curſes for diſobedience, ſhall be publicly ſet upon the mounts *Gebal* and *Gerizzim* for a perpetual remembrance. No forgiveneſs, or deliverance from any puniſhment for diſobedience, ſhall be expected, without a deep ſenſe and acknowlegement of the fault.

Burnt-offerings, ſacrifices, tythes, vows, firſtlings of the flock, and free-will offerings, ſhall be brought, and ſacrificed at no other place but that which the Lord ſhall appoint.

Laws concerning the Sabbath.

The poſitive negative laws, concerning the Sabbath, were theſe: The Sabbath, or ſeventh day, ſhall be kept holy. The *Jews* have annexed a great many trifling and ſuperſtitious traditions to this precept, which are not deſerving of attention. Some of them have aſſerted, that from the time of *Moſes* they uſed to aſſemble to hear the law read and expounded on this day, which is alſo believed by ſeveral learned men among the Chriſtians; but the much greater number are of opinion, that this cuſtom was not ſet on foot till the time of *Eſdras*. Some likewiſe think, that the obſervation of the Sabbath, or ſeventh day, was as old as the creation; while others maintain, that it was a cuſtom ſolely appropriated to the *Jews*. *Joſephus* and *Philo*, among the *Jews*, are of the former opinion; and even among the heathens we find ſeveral ancient writers, ſuch as *Homer*, *Heſiod*, and others, quoted by the fathers, who ſpeak of the ſeventh day as ſacred to religion. *Macrobius*, however, refers the origin of the ſeptenary or weekly diviſion of the days, to the number of planets, to which each day of the week was reſpectively conſecrated.

No ſervile work ſhall be done on the ſabbath-day, by maſter, ſervant, ſlave, ſtranger, or cattle. There ſhall be no fire kindled on that day, nor any thing bought or ſold. No perſon ſhall be put to death for what crime ſoever on the Sabbath, nor ſhall any travelling be allowed on that day. The Sabbath-breaker ſhall be ſtoned to death.

Their three grand feſtivals.

With regard to their three grand feſtivals, the *Jews* were commanded to appear with all their men-children three times a year before the Lord their God, at the place by him appointed, namely, at the feaſt of unleavened bread, or paſſover, at the feaſt of the weeks, or pentecoſt, and at the feaſt of tabernacles. They were forbid to come empty-handed before him; but every man was ordered to offer unto the Lord according to the ability wherewith he had bleſſed him. The Talmud exempts from this obligation, 1ſt, the women who were to take care of their families. 2d, Boys under twelve years of age, who were not under the obligation of the law. 3d, All old men above ſixty. 4th, All the ſick, impotent, lunatic, *&c.* and 5th, All that either lived at ſuch a diſtance from the tabernacle, and afterwards from the temple, or were ſo weak that they could not perform the journey on foot. This was a very wiſe inſtitution for preſerving the union of the whole *Jewiſh* nation; but two very great difficulties have ariſen concerning it. Firſt, how *Jeruſalem* could contain ſuch prodigious multitudes as did flock to thoſe ſolemnities from all parts of *Judea*? and ſecondly, how the *Iſraelites* could leave their towns and villages deſtitute of males, without being apprehenſive of an invaſion from their neighbouring nations? To the firſt difficulty it has been anſwered, that they did not all appear together on the ſame day, but took it by turns, and ſtaid in the city only one night; and after performing their devotions in the morning, departed. Beſides, there were tents and other conveniencies for their reception,

tion, not only in the empty ſpaces within, but likewiſe in all convenient places without the walls of the city. As to the ſecond difficulty, ſome have ſuppoſed that only a certain proportion of men, as one in ten or twelve, were ſent to *Jeruſalem*, to be as it were the repreſentatives of the reſt, and to offer their gifts: but there is no mention of any ſuch thing in holy writ. Others therefore think, that as there was a permiſſion from God, that thoſe who were unable to celebrate the paſſover on the firſt month, ſhould do it in the ſecond, the ſame indulgence might be alſo extended to the other feſtivals. There was indeed a promiſe from God, that none ſhould deſire their lands whilſt they went up to appear before him. This promiſe, however, was only conditional; that is, as long as they continued ſtedfaſt in their obedience; which was ſo ſeldom their caſe, that had their faith in his promiſes been ſtronger than it was, yet their diſobedience would have given them but ſmall encouragement to lay hold on them.

Laws concerning *Eaſter*, or paſſover.

The laws relating to the paſſover (which grand feſtival was inſtituted in memory of their ſignal and miraculous deliverance from their *Egyptian* bondage) are to the following purpoſe.

It ſhall be of perpetual obligation, both to the *Iſraelites* and to all circumciſed proſelytes; but no ſervant or ſtranger ſhall eat of the ſacrifice, unleſs he become circumciſed.

No circumciſed perſon, whether of the ſeed of *Abraham*, or admitted into the commonwealth by circumciſion, unleſs hindered by ſickneſs, journeying, or ſome legal impurity, ſhall omit the annual celebration of it, under the penalty of being cut off from his people. The feſtival being deſigned as an irrefragable memorial to all poſterity of the truth and certainty of the amazing works which God did in *Egypt* and at the *Red Sea*, nothing could be more expedient than to inforce the obſervance of it under ſome ſevere penalties. It is evident, however, the *Jews* did not underſtand the puniſhment to be capital, ſuch as was to be inflicted on blaſphemers, idolaters, ſabbath-breakers, and the like, ſeeing they not only omitted to celebrate it in the wilderneſs, but were afterwards guilty of a moſt ſhameful neglect of it during ſeveral wicked reigns.

The feaſt ſhall begin on the eve of the 14th day of the month *Abif*, or, as the original expreſſes it, between the two evenings, reckoning the firſt evening to begin at ſun-ſet, and the ſecond when the ſtars appear; at which time the paſchal lamb ſhall be killed, and the feſtival ſhall continue till the one and twentieth day of the ſame month at evening; that is, a whole week.

The firſt and laſt day ſhall be kept holy and free from all ſervile work, even as the Sabbath, except only that victuals may be dreſſed on them, which is not lawful on the Sabbath; theſe two days ſhall likewiſe be ſolemnized by an holy convocation.

No leaven of any kind ſhall be uſed, or even kept in the houſe, during thoſe ſeven days: whoſoever uſeth any leaven on thoſe days, ſhall be cut off from *Iſrael*.

On the firſt day of the paſſover ſhall be offered a burnt ſacrifice of two young bullocks, one ram, and ſeven lambs of the firſt year, with ſome inferior offerings; and on the ſecond day of the feaſt, beſides the uſual ſacrifices, ſhall be offered a ſheaf of the firſt-fruit of that year's harveſt, and before this firſt ſheaf has been preſented unto the Lord, no new corn ſhall be eaten in any way.

Thoſe who by reaſon of any legal impurity, whether accidental or voluntary, were unfit for, and thoſe who were hindered by any lawful impediment from celebrating this feſtival on the month *Abif*, were ordered to keep it on the following month.

The inſtitution of the feaſt of weeks.

The feaſt of weeks, or pentecoſt, was inſtituted in memory of the law being given on mount *Sinai*, 50 days after the *exod*; or their departure from *Egypt*. Seven weeks, or fifty days, were to be reckoned from the 16th day of the month *Niſan*, which was the 2d of the paſſover, and the 50th day was to be the firſt of the feſtival, which was called the feaſt of weeks, from the ſeven weeks, and pentecoſt by the *Greeks*, from the fifty days. The ſacrifices ordained upon this day were two loaves of fine flour, of a certain ſize, as the firſt-fruits of the harveſt, the wheat being then ripe, beſides ſeven lambs of the firſt year, one young bullock, and two rams, for a burnt-offering, together with their uſual meat and drink offerings, and likewiſe a kid for a ſin-offering, and two lambs for a peace-offering. No ſervile work was to be done on that day, ſave that victuals might be dreſſed; and an holy convocation was to be called, as on other feſtivals. *Buxtorf* tells us, that the *Jews* were ſo afraid leſt they ſhould be miſtaken in their calculation of this feſtival and that of the paſſover, that they kept them two days inſtead of one; which removes the difficulty ſtarted on account of our Saviour's eating the paſſover one day before the reſt of the *Jews*.

Laws concerning the feaſt of tabernacles.

The feaſt of tabernacles was ordained to perpetuate the memory of the 40 years abode of the *Iſraelites* in the wilderneſs; and by ſome is thought to have been a feaſt of thankſgiving for the concluſion of their harveſt and vintage, which generally ended there about the time of the feſtival. It was called the feaſt of tabernacles or tents, not only becauſe they had lived in tents and booths in the wilderneſs, but becauſe it was to be celebrated in ſuch kinds of booths, made of the branches of ſeveral ſorts of trees, ſuch as willows, palms, olives, and the like, and erected in the moſt decent and convenient manner.

This feaſt was the third grand one, and equal in ſolemnity to the other two, except in what related particularly to the paſſover. It began on the eve of the 15th day of the 7th month, called *Tiſri*, which was the firſt of the civil year, and anſwered to the latter part of our *September*; by which time all the harveſt being finiſhed and brought in, they returned their ſolemn thanks to God for it *. The feaſt was to laſt ſeven days, and the firſt

* Exod. xxiii. 16.

day

day was ushered in by a general procession, in which the men carried branches of trees, some in one hand and some in the other, waving them about to the four winds, singing some psalms or hymns proper for the solemnity, and crying *Hosanna*, which word properly signifies, *save we beseech thee*. On the last day of the feast this procession was again repeated with greater solemnity, the palms and branches being carried seven times round the altar. The 118th psalm is supposed to have been sung on this festival, if not composed for it, as there is a great analogy in the whole composure with the ceremonies of the feast, one of which, we are told, was the fetching of water from the pool of *Siloah*, which some think was first introduced by the prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah*; though others suppose it only commenced a little before the time of our Saviour, who is thought to have alluded to it when he cried out in the temple on the last day of this feast, *If any man thirst, let him come unto me, &c.* During the feast there was a cessation from all servile work, except cookery; and over and above the usual sacrifices, others also were performed peculiar to the solemnity; and the people were obliged to dwell in the booths all the seven days, and to eat and drink and lie in them, unless lawfully hindered. On the eighth and last day a solemn assembly of the congregation was held, and on this day the first-fruits of those things which were of later growth were brought up, and offered to God; and these came sometimes in such numbers, that they were forced to continue the feast one day longer. From the ceremony of carrying branches in their hands, *&c.* *Plutarch* probably took the notion that the *Jews* celebrated this feast to *Bacchus*, and that they entered into their temples with branches of the vine and thyrse in their hands, tho' he knew not what was done in the inside of them.

The feast of trumpets, and

Besides these three grand festivals, which the *Jews* were commanded to keep to God every year, they were also ordered to observe *the feast of the trumpets, and of the new moons.* The feast of the trumpets was appointed to be kept on the first and second day of the month *Tisri*, which was the first month of their civil year. It was to be ushered in by the sound of the trumpets, to be kept holy, free from all servile work, and to be distinguished from the other new moons by particular sacrifices. As there is no reason given for this festival in Scripture, authors are much divided what cause to assign for its institution. The *Jews* in general believe it was instituted in memory of the creation, which they think happened on that month. According to some Rabbies, it was also in memory of *Isaac*'s deliverance, and of the ram that was caught by the horns, and substituted for him. Some of the fathers suppose it was in memory of the law being given upon mount *Sinai*. Others, from some of the ceremonies observed by the *Jews* by way of preparation for this festival, and from some of their notions about it, particularly that God at this time passed a judgment upon men for the good or bad deeds of the foregoing year, and or-

dered his bleſſings and puniſhments for the next accordingly, have fancied that it was to put mankind in mind of the general reſurrection. But the moſt probable reaſon for this feaſt, and for proclaiming the entrance of the civil year by the ſound of trumpets, ſeems to be to render it the more obſervable, ſeeing all their contracts, mortgages, bargains, and ſuch like, as well as their ſabbatic years and jubilees, were to be regulated by it: on which account the trumpets ceaſed not to ſound every-where, from ſun-riſing to ſun-ſetting.

The feaſt of new moons.

The feaſt of the new moons was ſtill leſs conſiderable, and was to be obſerved on the firſt day of every month or moon, when they were to offer, beſides the uſual ſacrifices, a burnt-offering of two young bullocks, one ram, and ſeven lambs, with the uſual quantity of flour, wine, and oil. Excepting the firſt, which was alſo the feaſt of trumpets above-mentioned, the other two had nothing to diſtinguiſh them from common days but the peculiar ſacrifices, which were accompanied with the ſound of the trumpets, making better cheer, and perhaps uſing ſome kind of public devotion or aſſemblies. The two laſt particulars, though not mentioned as injoined by *Moſes*, may be gathered, the firſt from *David*'s excuſe for abſenting himſelf from *Saul*'s table on the firſt day of the month; and the latter from what the *Shunamite*'s huſband ſaid to diſſuade her from going to the prophet *Eliſha*, that it was *neither new moon* nor *ſabbath*. However, though in all other reſpects this day was like a common day, they were very ſcrupulous in obſerving it, and for the greater ſecurity kept two days; which cuſtom appears to have begun very early, from the inſtance we have given of *David*, wherein it is ſaid, that he excuſed *David* for his abſence on the firſt day, but reſented it on the ſecond. From the ſame inſtance it would appear that they did not always wait till they ſaw the new moon, but by repeated obſervations had aſcertained the ſpace from new moon to new moon. They were obliged, by the moon's irregularity, to make ſome tranſpoſitions of the days of the month, in order to fix the beginning of that of *Tiſri*, and of the reſt of the months according to that. *Scaliger* has taken an infinite deal of pains to find out and rectify thoſe tranſpoſitions, to whom, and to *Goodwin*, *Buxtorf*, *Uſſher*, *Munſter*, and others, we muſt refer the readers that are curious about ſuch things. To theſe feaſt-days appointed by the *Moſaical* law, the *Jews* in proceſs of time added ſeveral others, in memory of ſome great mercies, ſuch as that of *Purim*, or of lots, in memory of their deliverance from *Haman*'s cruelty; that of the dedication of the temple, and many others.

Laws concerning the ſabbatic and jubilee years.

Among the *Jewiſh* feſtivals may alſo be reckoned the ſeventh or ſabbatic year, and the jubilee, which happened once in ſeven times ſeven years. The *Moſaical* law diſtinguiſhes four ſorts of years. Firſt, the civil, according to which all political matters were regulated, conſiſting at firſt of twelve ſolar, but afterwards, by the expreſs command of God, computed by lunar months, beginning at the month *Tiſri*, anſwering to the middle of

of our *September*. The ſecond, or ſacred year, began at the month *Niſan* or *March*, which was the ſeventh of the civil year, and regulated the order of all their religious ceremonies. The third was the ſabbatic or ſeventh year. The fourth, the jubilee, or 50th year, which was kept at the end of ſeven weeks of years.

The obſervation of the ſabbatic year conſiſted chiefly in the five following articles: firſt, in a total ceſſation from all manner of agriculture; ſecondly, in leaving all the product of their ground to the poor, the orphan, and the ſtranger; thirdly, in the releaſe of all *Hebrew* ſlaves, unleſs they voluntarily renounced their proffered liberty, and choſe to abide by their old maſters; in which caſe they were to be brought before the judges, and to have their ears bored in their preſence, in token that they freely embraced a perpetual ſervitude, or at leaſt till the year of jubilee; fourthly, in a remiſſion of all debts from one *Iſraelite* to another, ſtrangers however being excluded from this benefit; fifthly, it was to begin and end on the month *Tiſri*, that there might be ſufficient time for gathering all the fruits of the earth of that year, and for ſowing it for the year after, that ſo the land might not lie fallow two years together. This, though not mentioned by *Moſes*, is gathered from the time fixed for the commencement of the jubilee, as well as from the generality of *Jewiſh* authors. The learned *Uſher* fixes the firſt ſabbatical year on the 7th after the manna ceaſed, which is alſo the opinion of *Cunæus*. We find ſome other laws relating to this year, ſuch as, for making a compenſation to the releaſed ſervants for their ſervice; againſt withdrawing any needful aſſiſtance from their poor brethren; for the opening of their fields, orchards, and vineyards, to all comers, and the like; and for reading the law before all the people on the day of pentecoſt. The overplus of the ſix preceding crops in ſuch a land of plenty, would doubtleſs be more than ſufficient to ſupport all the people during the whole year of reſt, eſpecially when joined to the great variety of fruits produced by the trees without culture, and to the ſpontaneous roots and herbs.

The jubilee, which was the laſt and moſt conſiderable ſolemnity which God enjoined to the *Iſraelites*, was to be celebrated every 50th year. It had this advantage over the ſabbatical year, that it releaſed all ſlaves that had refuſed their liberty, annihilated all debts, reſtored to every man all his lands, houſes, wives, children, and poſſeſſions, however alienated; and every *Hebrew* ſervant or ſlave to his tribe and family, liberty and property, how and upon what account ſoever he had been deprived of them during thoſe 50 years. Becauſe every thing by this feſtival was reſtored to its priſtine ſtate, many commentators have thought that it was called *Jubelee*, or *Yobel*, from the obſolete root *Yabel*, which ſignifies to recal, reſtore, bring back, &c. It may be obſerved, however, that its privileges extended only to the original *Iſraelites*, or to thoſe who had been incorporated into their religion and commonwealth by circumciſion.

Theſe

Theſe according to *Maimonides*, might claim the privilege of the feſtival, though they had been ſold for ſlaves for any crimes, even by ſentence of the grand ſanhedrim. The *Iſraelites* are ſuppoſed by ſome to have reckoned by jubilees, as the *Greeks* did by olympiads, and the *Romans* by luſtra. It is very probable that they ſo reckoned becauſe they were always to have regard to that year in all bargains of lands, houſes, and the like, which ſold for leſs or more according to the nearneſs and diſtance of the feſtival. During the whole 12 months which it continued, all kind of agriculture was expreſsly forbid, and all the product of that year was appropriated to the benefit of the poor, all other things of that nature being obſerved after the ſame manner as in the ſabbatic year. By God's appointment the feſtival was to begin in the month *Tiſri*, that is, about the time of the autumnal equinox; but in what year they celebrated the firſt jubilee, and whether from the beginning of every 49th year or 50th year, is not eaſy to determine. As to the former, the *Jews* begin to reckon the firſt of the 50 years from the 14th after *Joſhua*'s paſſing the *Jordan*. The latter is more warmly conteſted. The learned *Uſher*, *Scaliger*, *Petavius*, *Cunæus*, *Spanheim*, and many other Chriſtian writers, think the feſtival was celebrated every 49th year; but all the *Jews* in general, Talmudiſts, and even Caraites, and ſome fathers, ſuch as *Euſebius*, St. *Jerom*, *Auguſtine*, and others, and a great many moderns, ſuppoſe it was obſerved on the 50th year. The truth is, that from the different expreſſions of *Moſes* in the inſtitution of it, either hypotheſis may be defended; and on the other hand, each of them is attended with difficulties not eaſy to be ſolved. In one place *Moſes* expreſsly commands them to number ſeven ſabbaths of years, or 49 years, and on this laſt to proclaim the jubilee; which, however, two verſes below, he ſays ſhall be celebrated on the 50th year. To the jubilee's being on the 49th year it is objected, that *Moſes* forbids all kind of agriculture and the like, which would have been an unneceſſary precept, as this year was always a ſabbatical year. It is objected, on the other hand, that if the 50th year was to be the jubilee, the land muſt in that caſe have had two ſabbaths, or lain fallow two years; which is thought an unreaſonable ſuppoſition, ſince, in all likelihood, it muſt have cauſed a dearth in the land. Thoſe who are for the 50th year, however, allege in defence of their opinion, that there is no neceſſity to ſuppoſe the land reſted two years, as the lawgiver's intention ſeems fully anſwered by the repoſe of one, on account of its being ſabbatical; and that as *Moſes* uſes the ſame calculation for the feaſt of pentecoſt, which was on the 50th day after the ſeven weeks of days, ſo probably the jubilee was on the 50th year after ſeven weeks of years. The deſign of this ordinance, it is plain, was to prevent the too great oppreſſion of the poor, and to hinder the rich from accumulating lands upon lands. The freedom and order of the *Iſraelitiſh* families was thereby maintained, and a kind of equality preſerved with reſpect to their poſſeſſions; than which nothing could more

effectually

effectually inſpire them with a particular fondneſs for their country and patrimony, which laſt they knew could never be alienated from their poſterity for above half a century. This year was to be celebrated with the greateſt tokens of joy, being deſigned to put them in mind of their freedom from their *Egyptian* ſervitude. The joy of the ſlaves and the poor was doubtleſs ſincere. On the 10th day of the month, otherwiſe called the day of expiation, and therefore kept as a ſolemn faſt, the trumpet was ſounded all over the land, and at that inſtant the ſlaves were ſet at liberty, and the reſt reſtored to their poſſeſſions.

The expiation day, or day of atonement, was the laſt ſolemn day of divine inſtitution, being a day of faſting, humiliation, and confeſſion of ſins, and the only one of that kind of divine appointment, if we except that occaſional one, which God enjoined the *Iſraelites* after their ſetting up the golden calf; which does not appear to have been made annual by *Moſes*, or obſerved by the people till after the captivity, when they became ſo religious as to fill near the fourth part of their calendar with faſts for the miſcarriages and misfortunes that had happened to their nation. There is not any expreſs mention of faſting on this day of expiation, but it is ſuppoſed implied in the words *afflicting your ſouls*, and is alſo inferred by the early practices of it among the *Jews* *, and even among the heathens on ſuch occaſions. Some think this faſt was ordained in memory of the golden calf; others of the fall of our firſt parents, who they imagine tranſgreſſed on the tenth day after their creation; but it is more probable it was rather inſtituted to expiate the ſins of the whole *Jewiſh* nation, both public and private, more particularly thoſe of the foregoing year. It was appointed to be held from the evening of the ninth day of the ſeventh month, till the evening of the tenth day; during which time they were obliged to abſtain from all labour or pleaſure, and to continue in the work of mortification, under the penalty of being cut off from among their people. They were likewiſe to hold a ſolemn convocation to confeſs their ſins, and to offer a ſacrifice by fire to the Lord.

The expiation day, or day of atonement.

It was the only day in the whole year in which the high prieſt was permitted to enter into the moſt holy place, under pain of ſudden death from the Lord; and therefore he was obliged to prepare himſelf for this grand ceremony in the extraordinary manner preſcribed by God himſelf. As ſoon as he came to the holy place, he was there to offer a young bullock for a ſin offering, and a ram for a burnt offering for himſelf and his whole houſe, confeſſing his and their ſins over them. After this he received from ſome of the heads of the aſſembly a couple of kids for a ſin offering, and a ram for a burnt offering for the whole congregation. Two goats were then ſet before the

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* Joſh. vii. 6. Judg. xx. 26. 1 Sam. vii. 6. 2 Sam xii. 16. Jorah ii. 5, 6.

taber-

tabernacle, and the high prieſt caſt lots for them which of the two ſhould be ſacrificed on that day, and which ſhould be ſent away. This laſt was called hazazel, or *ſcape goat*; though ſome have thought that hazazel was rather the name of the precipice where this goat was carried and thrown down. The high prieſt, after ſelecting the goats, entered the holy of holies with his cenſer, and a large quantity of incenſe, that the ſmoke of it might fill the place ſo as to cover the mercy ſeat from ſight. Having ſet the cenſer upon the altar, he came out and dipped his fingers in the blood of the bullock already ſacrificed, and ſprinkled it towards the mercy ſeat eaſtward ſeven times. He then killed the goat for the peoples ſin offering, and in like manner ſprinkled the mercy ſeat with its blood, by which aſperſions the tabernacle was purified from all the pollution it had contracted by ſtanding in the midſt of that ſinful people. During all this ceremony, neither prieſts nor people were permitted to come even into the courts of the tabernacle. The oblations being ended, and the prieſts and people purified, the goat whoſe lot it had been to eſcape was brought to the high prieſt, who laid his hands upon its head, and confeſſed his own ſins and thoſe of the whole nation. The confeſſion being ended, he delivered the ſcape goat to a man appointed for the purpoſe, who conducted it into a deſert place, and there, according to ſome, left it to ſhift for itſelf, or according to others, threw it down a ſteep precipice. After this ceremony, the high prieſt waſhed himſelf all over, and changing his cloaths, offered a burnt offering of two rams, one for himſelf, and the other for the people. Among the other cuſtoms obſerved on this day, the *Jews* made reſtitution for damages, and mutually aſked and granted forgiveneſs. The high prieſt, awed by the ſolemnity of the place, and by pronouncing the myſterious name of God when giving the people the ſolemn bleſſing preſcribed by *Moſes* *, uſually made what haſte he could decently out of the holy of holies, leſt he ſhould be ſtruck dead for ſome accidental miſcarriage or inadvertency during his ſhort ſtay there. The *Jews* were ſo afraid of ſhortning this ſolemn day, that they began it half an hour ſooner, and ended it half an hour later than other feaſt days; after which the trumpet gave notice that the ſolemnity was expired †.

Laws concerning other expiations.

Several other expiations or atonements were alſo enjoined by *Moſes* to the *Jews* upon their contracting of any legal impurities; ſuch as thoſe of a woman after childbirth, of a woman by touching any unclean thing or perſon; and, 2dly, by the breach of any one branch of the law, whether knowingly or through ignorance. Perſons were purified from this laſt kind of defilement, by offering ſuch ſacrifices as the law appointed, after the manner preſcribed in the 4th, 5th, and 6th chapters

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* Numb. vi. 24. Miſhna. *yoma*.

† Leo de Modena. Buxtorf. Maimon.

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of *Leviticus*. For the cleanſing of legal pollutions there was added another ceremony, namely, the aſhes of a red heifer, reſerved for that purpoſe. This heifer was killed and burnt with great ceremony *, and its aſhes gathered and laid up for uſe. Any perſon that had contracted a legal pollution, ſuch as made him unclean ſeven days, was to be ſprinkled with water in which ſome of theſe aſhes had been thrown. How often the grand ceremony of burning the heifer was repeated from *Moſes* to the captivity, is not agreed. Some affirm the heifer burnt by *Eleazer*, the ſon of *Aaron*, laſted them all that time; others, that there was one burnt every year, and that ſome of the aſhes of it were ſent to every city and town in *Iſrael*. The *Jews* have a very antient tradition, that *Solomon*, who was maſter of all other myſteries and knowlege, and could account for every precept in the law, yet owned himſelf ignorant of the meaning of this *red heifer*. They all, except *Maimon*, allow that there is a deeper myſtery in the ordinance of the red heifer than any in the whole ſcripture, and highly condemn the preſumption of thoſe who pretend to dive into that deep abyſs. However, what was a myſtery to the *Jews*, is ſufficiently explained to the chriſtians by the apoſtle to the *Hebrews*, where it is ſhewn to be a figure of *Chriſt*, who therefore ſuffered without the gates of the city, even as the heifer was burned without the camp, and whoſe blood is of much greater efficacy towards the purging and ſanctifying of men than that of bulls and goats, the aſhes of an heifer, or any other legal ſacrifices.

Laws concerning ſome other ſacrifices and oblations.

Beſides the ſacrifices that were enjoined to be offered upon every ſolemn feſtival, there were alſo a few others that may be reduced under the ſeven following heads. 1. The daily ſacrifice. 2. Meat and drink offerings. 3. Peace offerings. 4. Offerings for cleanſing. 5. Firſt fruits. 6. Firſt born. 7. Tithes. There were alſo other occaſional ſacrifices, one ſort directed by ſome prophets, as in the caſe of *Samuel* and *Elijah*, and others obſerved by particular families, which were rather feaſts than ſacrifices †. The daily, or according to the *Hebrew*, the continual ſacrifice, was ſo called becauſe it was not to be interrupted by any other ſacrifices or ſolemnity. It conſiſted firſt in burning a certain quantity of incenſe upon the golden altar, after which two lambs of the firſt year, and without blemiſh, were to be offered as a continual burnt offering for the whole nation every morning and evening. A certain quantity of wine and flour, mixed with oil, which was called the meat and drink offering, and was to accompany all ſacrifices made by fire, was alſo offered.

Peace offerings were either euchariſtical, in acknowledgement for ſome mercies received from God; or ſupplicatory, in

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* Numbers xix. 30. 1 Sam. xx. 29.

† 1 Sam. ix 12. xii. 9 xvi. 2. 1 Kings, xviii.

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order to obtain ſome bleſſings from him, or out of meer devotion in honour to God; or laſtly, upon account of ſome vow. Theſe were all free and voluntary, no law obliging the *Iſraelites* to them, except where it is ſaid, *they ſhould not appear empty handed before the Lord, but be liberal, according as God had bleſſed them.* The votary was to bring the ſacrifice to the door of the tabernacle, lay his hands upon the head of it, and kill it; then the prieſt took ſome of the blood and ſprinkled it upon and round the altar, and poured the remainder upon the ground at the foot of it.

Beſides the offerings for cleaſing, mentioned under the head of expiation, there were two others, namely, that of the two pigeons, to be offered by a woman for her purification after child-bed, in caſe ſhe could not afford a lamb; or if the pigeons were alſo above her circumſtances, an handful of flour and oil: and that of two ſparrows, which the leper offered after his cure for the cleanſing himſelf and his houſe. In both theſe caſes one of the birds was inſtead of a lamb for a burnt offering, and the other for a ſin offering. Under this head was alſo the ſhew bread, called in the original *the bread of faces*, becauſe it was always to ſtand before the Lord upon the golden table in the holy place. The loaves were to be without leaven, and to be accompanied with incenſe, and preſented in the name of the twelve tribes, their number alſo being twelve. They were to be ſet up in two piles, ſix in each pile; each was to contain two tenthdeals, or about three wine pints of flour, and the prieſts were to take care to bring freſh ones warm every Sabbath day in the morning, at which time they took away the old, which were to be eaten by none but prieſts, and were called the hallowed bread, in oppoſition to the common ſort.

Beſides the firſt fruits which were offered in the name of the whole nation at the paſſover, pentecoſt, and the feaſt of tabernacles, as we have mentioned, every private man was likewiſe obliged to bring the firſt fruits of his fields, orchards, and vineyards to the tabernacle, and afterwards to the temple, as an acknowlegement that God was the giver of them. The written law neither having preſcribed the time nor quantity, the former was left to the conveniency of the people, and the latter, though determined in ſome manner by the wiſe men, yet was left greatly to the generoſity of the proprietors, ſome of whom offered the ſixtieth part, which was the loweſt, others the fiftieth part, and ſome even the fortieth. We refer our readers for the ceremonies performed on this occaſion, to the 7th, 22d, and 23d chapters of *Leviticus*, and the 26th chapter of *Deuteronomy*.

As to the firſt born, the Moſaic law makes a three-fold diſtinction, namely, the firſt born of men, of cattle, and of the product of the earth. Here we may obſerve, that the *firſt-born* in the original, properly implies the principal or moſt excellent of every thing or creature in its kind.

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The firſt born alſo was not reſtrained to the eldeſt ſon of a family, but to the firſt that opened the womb; and as polygamy was allowed among the *Jews*, a man might have ſeveral firſt borns, which were all to be redeemed at the price of five ſhekels as ſoon as they were thirty days old; at which time they were preſented to the prieſt, and the price being paid for the child's redemption, he began to belong to the parents, and not to them. The firſt born of clean beaſts, ſuch as calves, lambs, kids, and the like, were alſo conſecrated to God; but with this difference, that they could not be redeemed, but were to be brought to the tabernacle, or the temple, and there killed. But if it was a firſt born of an unclean beaſt, ſuch as an aſs, a dog, and the like, the owner was at his liberty either to redeem it with a lamb, or with five ſhekels of money, or to break the neck of it. All that is meant by the firſt product of the trees is, that every new planted tree was to be reckoned uncircumciſed and impure for the firſt three years, during which time it was not lawful to gather, much leſs to eat, the fruit of it. On the fourth year, all that grew on it was the Lord's, and conſequently the perquiſite of the prieſts, from whom, however, it might be redeemed. The laſt offering we ſhall here mention were the tythes, which with the firſt fruits, and the redemption of the firſt born, were the moſt conſiderable income of the prieſts and levites. The tythes were given to the levites as an equivalent for their not having any ſhare in the diviſion of the land. They were of four ſorts; namely, 1. Thoſe thus aſſigned to the tribe of *Levi*, which not being of the higher rank of holy things, all the Levites, men and women, clean or unclean, might eat of them. 2. The tenths of theſe tythes which were aſſigned to the prieſts, and ſent to *Jeruſalem* by the Levites who gathered the tythes, but were not to touch any part of them till they had paid that proportion to the prieſts. 3. After the payment of the firſt tythes, every perſon was obliged to ſet aſide a ſecond tenth, or exchange it for an equivalent in money, with an addition of a fifth part above the value. This tythe he was obliged to bring to *Jeruſalem*, and there make a feaſt, and invite, beſides his friends and relations, the prieſts and Levites to it. 4. The laſt kind of tythes was to be ſet by every third year, and conſumed at home in feaſts, to which they were obliged to invite the Levites, the poor, fatherleſs, widows, and ſtrangers. It is, however, ſuppoſed, and with great probability, that this tythe differed in nothing from the third, but only in being ſpent at home every third year. To theſe kind of offerings ſome others might be added, ſuch as that of incenſe, and thoſe that were offered on ſolemn feſtivals, new moons, ſabbaths, and the like, beſides ſome others of leſs note. The prieſts alone were to burn the incenſe every day upon the altar of perfume before the morning and evening ſacrifice, and the high prieſt once a year in the holy of holies. Though this continual burning of incenſe might be typical of the prayers of the

the ſaints, yet the reaſon aſſigned by *Maimonides* may likewiſe be conſidered, namely, that the holy place, on account of the multitude of victims continually offered up, would have ſmelled too much like a ſlaughter-houſe, had it not been for the agreeable fragrancy of thoſe perfumes. To conclude, as *Jeruſalem* became afterwards to the *Jews* what the camp was during their abode in the wilderneſs, thoſe victims which were ordered to be burnt out of the camp, were after the building of the temple burnt without the walls of the city.

The laws concerning vows.

We ſhall now add the laws concerning vows, which made a ſolemn part of the *Jewiſh* offerings and worſhip, but were nevertheleſs free and arbitrary. They appear from *Jacob*'s vowing the tenths of all his acquiſitions as he went to *Padan Aram*, to have been early practiſed. Under the moſaic diſpenſation vows were twofold, namely, ſuch as devoted the thing vowed, whether man, beaſt, money, or any part of a man's poſſeſſion to the ſervice of God, and ſuch as devoted them to utter deſtruction. The firſt kind is diſtinguiſhed in the original by the word *Nador*, which ſignifies to vow; and the ſecond by *Cherem*, which implies to lay a thing or perſon under an anathema or curſe. Under the firſt head perſons that were *ſui juris*, or *their own maſters*, might vow themſelves, their children, or any part of their poſſeſſions to God. The vows of a ſon, or daughter, a wife, or a ſlave, were only ſo far of force as they were approved or diſapproved by thoſe under whoſe power they were; ſo that a parent, huſband, or maſter, when he heard or was informed of the vow, was at liberty either to give it a ſanction or to diſanul it, provided he declared his ſentiments the ſame day, according to the text, or in 24 hours, according to the *Jewiſh* doctors, otherwiſe it muſt be fulfilled. The law, however, allowed of a redemption or commutation for a ſum of money, and the valuations, according to the different circumſtances, were regulated.

With reſpect to thoſe things that were vowed to deſtruction, the caſe was quite different; for they could not be redeemed at any rate. That which had life was to be put to death, and that which had not, was to be deſtroyed by fire, or ſome other way, of which we meet with various inſtances in the *Jewiſh* hiſtory. Some think theſe laſt kind of vows were not in the power of private men to make, but only either of the whole nation, or of the kings and judges. The precept, however, after all, may be only an enforcement of that vow which *Moſes* had exacted of the whole nation a little before his death, of obſerving all the commandments of God, one of which was the exterminating the idolatrous *Canaanites*, as in the original the future tenſe is very often uſed for the paſt, and the paſt for the future; ſo that the words, *ſhall vow*, may properly be rendered, *ſhall have vowed*.

What curſe *Jonadab* the ſon of *Rechab* laid upon his poſterity if they did not obſerve his arbitrary injunctions of abſtaining

ing from wine, from planting, ſowing, and the like, doth not appear; but how ſtrict obſervers they were of them, we may conclude from their anſwer to *Jeremiah*, when he invited them to drink wine.

The *Nazarites*, often mentioned in the Old Teſtament, were perſons that either dedicated themſelves, or were dedicated by their parents, to the obſervance of the laws of *Nazaritiſm*. They were of two ſorts, namely, of ſuch as obliged themſelves to it only for ſome ſhort ſpace, as a week, or a month; and thoſe who were bound to it all their life; which laſt moſt commonly were dedicated by their parents. All that we find peculiar in their way of life was, that they were to abſtain from wine, and all intoxicating liquors, and to wear their hair to its full length. Women as well as men might bind themſelves by this vow, and after preſenting themſelves to the prieſts, and performing certain ſacrifices and ceremonies preſcribed by *Moſes*, particularly the cutting off of the hair, they were abſolved from their vow.

Under this head of the worſhip of God, or of the laws of Laws con- the firſt table, are ſtill to be mentioned the perſons and things cerning which were in a more peculiar manner conſecrated to his ſer- the prieſts vice. The perſons were the prieſts, *Levites*, and *Nethinims*; and Le- and the conſecrated things were the tabernacle, and afterwards vites. the temple, with all the pompous apparatus of utenſils preſcribed by God himſelf to *Moſes* on the mount, in order to inſpire that carnal people with a greater awe and reverence for his religion.

The prieſthood is generally thought to have belonged anciently to the firſt born; and though the tribe of *Levi* was peculiarly ſelected by God, yet *Moſes* tells us, that God took the *Levite* inſtead of the firſt born of *Iſrael*, to be his own tribe. When the ſums of both tribes were taken, and the number of the latter exceeded that of the former, it is remarkable, that he commanded the overplus to be redeemed at the price of five ſhekels a head, and the price to be given to *Aaron* and his ſons, which ſhewed an actual ſubſtitution of the *Levitical* tribe for that of *Reuben*.

The choſen tribe conſiſted of three main branches, diſtinguiſhed by their principal heads, namely, *Gerſhon*, *Kohath*, and *Merari*. The prieſthood, however, was ſolely appropriated to the family of *Aaron*, which was no more than a ſmall branch of that of *Kohath*. All the other families of this branch, even the ſons of *Moſes* himſelf, remained with the other two branches in the common rank of *Levites*, and were always ſubject to be dependant on the prieſts, being admitted only to the inferior functions of the miniſtry. At the head of the prieſthood was the high prieſt, who was the final judge of all controverſies, whether concerning religion, or even the adminiſtration of common juſtice; for in all difficult caſes, the people were ordered to ſubmit to the determination of the prieſts on pain of

death *. In this reſpect, however, he acted rather as a civil judge than as high prieſt, and the ſame may be ſaid of the ſubaltern prieſts and *Levites*, who were commonly admitted to ſit in their inferior courts of judicature.

The office of the high prieſt.

The high prieſt, whenever he pleaſed, might perform any of the functions of the inferior prieſt, was alone poſſeſſed of the divine oracle of *Urim* and *Thummim*, and was alone authorized to enter into the holy of holies; all which great privileges were confined to him, and entailed on his ſucceſſor, who was generally his ſon, though upon various occaſions in the *Jewiſh* hiſtory, it was frequently transferred from the elder branch of *Eleazar* to the younger of *Ithamar*. There was ſuch a particular ſacredneſs inherent in his dignity, as obliged him to ſeveral ſtrict laws, from which the other prieſts were exempt. Beſides, in common with other prieſts, he was to be free from all natural defects; that is, he was neither to be blind, lame, maimed, crooked, or a dwarf, and was to have neither ſcurvy, itch, nor any diſeaſe in his ſkin, or defect in any of his limbs. As many as had any of theſe blemiſhes, were abſolutely excluded from all prieſtly functions, or from entering the ſanctuary, but were allowed, however, to live upon a portion of the offerings that were made there.

The ceremony of his conſecration was preſcribed by God himſelf in the mount, and was performed by *Moſes* on his brother *Aaron* with a ſolemnity anſwerable to the ſacredneſs of his office. Among the other ceremonies he was inveſted with all the pontifical veſtments, and anointed with the ſacred oil, the compoſition of which was preſcribed alſo by God, and was not to be uſed for any other purpoſe. This his inauguration was ſignalized by the glory of God appearing unto all the people, and by the deſcent of the holy fire from Heaven, which was thenceforward preſerved till the deſtruction of the firſt temple, and the uſe of any other in the ſacred miniſtry expreſsly forbid under pain of death.

Concerning the prieſtly veſtments, all that can, with any certainty, be advanced is, that they were likewiſe preſcribed by God himſelf, and conſiſted of every thing that could make them truly rich, ſumptuous, and venerable; ſuch as a great variety of precious ſtones, gold, ſilver, purple, ſcarlet, the fineſt of ſilk, linen, and the like. As to the faſhion of them, all that has been advanced about it, though with ever ſo poſitive an air, is mere conjecture; as *Moſes* has contented himſelf with giving us the names of them only, thinking any farther deſcription of them needleſs.

No inſpired writer having given us any hint concerning the oracle of the Urim and Thummim that was added to the breaſtplate, the commentators have almoſt all varied in their opinions about it. We therefore refer our readers, who are cu-

* Deut. xvii. 8. xix. 17. xxi. 5. Ezek. xliv. 24.

ſious

rious to see all their different fancies on the subject, to the treatise of the learned *Buxtorf* the younger. We are inclined to prefer the opinion of the judicious *Hottinger*, who thinks that the *Urim* and *Thummim* were not any distinct thing from the breast-plate; but that when *Moses* is commanded to put into the breast-plate the *Urim* and the *Thummim*, that is, *lights* and *perfections*, all that is meant is, that he should make choice of the most perfect set of stones, and have them polished, so as to give the most consummate lustre. The plural number is supposed to be here used to express the highest degree of lustre and perfection. To express the holiness of the character of the high priest, on the fore part of his mitre or bonnet was fastened by two blue ribbands a golden plate, on which were engraven in *Hebrew* words, HOLINESS TO THE LORD.

The other priests, though subordinate to the high priest, were of a rank and office superior to the *Levites*. Their consecration, if we except that of *Aaron*'s two eldest sons, who were consecrated with their father, was performed with little or no ceremony. It was requisite, as we have already mentioned, that they should be free from all natural defects and impurities, which the superstitious nicety of the *Jews* hath enlarged at a very strange rate. To mention only the heads of them; they reckoned eight of them belonging to the head, nineteen to the eyes, five to the eyelids, seven to the eyebrows, nine to the ears, as many to the nose, six to the mouth, three to the lips, two to the neck, three to the belly, three to the back, sixteen to the genitals, twelve to the joints of the hands and feet, eight to the skin and flesh, and at least eleven to the upper skin. Their office was severally determined at their first coming into waiting by lot, and was either to burn incense morning and evening in the holy place, or to offer up the daily sacrifice, to kill, dress, and offer up the victims proper for the day, to keep a continual fire on the altar of burnt offerings, to light the lamps, and to make and offer the shew-bread, with some other duties of the like nature. They were also to instruct the people to judge controversies, and to proclaim the sabbath and other feasts by blowing the trumpets; but the most sacred part of their function was the bearing of the ark, preserving the volumes of the law, and blessing the people in God's name. Their waiting was weekly from sabbath to sabbath, and quarterly, according to their classes. The age at which they were to begin to minister, was fixed by *Moses* at about 28 or 30 years of age, and ended about 50, when they were still maintained by the perquisites of the priesthood. In *David*'s time it appears they were made to serve from the age of 20. During the same prince's reign, the families of *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* were for the sake of order divided into 24 classes, 16 of the former, and 8 of the latter, each of which took their turns in the ministry according as it was assigned them by lot. These classes were denominated from their heads and chiefs, and continued to be called by their names to the end of the *Jewish*

commonwealth; and from this the heads of each claſs came afterwards to be called chief prieſts, who we find aſſembled with the high prieſt, and with the elders and ſcribes to condemn our Saviour*. Their dreſs conſiſted of a veſt, a pair of drawers, a girdle, and a mitre or cap all of linen They were only bound to wear it at the time of their miniſtring, being at other times left at their liberty. When they went into waiting alſo they were obliged to clip their hair with a pair of ſciſſars, being prohibited to wear it to its full length.

As to the dreſs of the *Levites*, it was the ſame with that of the reſt of the *Iſraelites*, *Moſes* not having appointed them any particular habit. Before they were preſented by the people to the high prieſt to be conſecrated, they were obliged to ſhave their whole body, and to waſh all their cloaths, and the ceremony began with ſprinkling them with the water of ſeparation uſed to purify thoſe who had contracted any legal impurity. They officiated under their brethren of the family of *Aaron*, in the lower and more laborious branches of the miniſtry, during all the time that the ark and the tabernacle were removing from place to place; but after theſe were once fixed, they were freed from that labour, and their ſervice became eaſier and more delightful. When *David* had fixed the ark at *Jeruſalem*, he divided each of the three families into 24 claſſes, which were to ſucceed one another weekly in their turns. Some were ordered to aſſiſt the prieſts at the tabernacle, others appointed to ſing and play on muſical inſtruments at proper periods of the divine ſervice, and a third claſs to keep a conſtant guard about the tabernacle, and afterwards about the temple. He choſe likewiſe from among them men of learning and piety to teach and breed up the younger *Levites* either to their miniſtry or to expound the law to the people, beſides thoſe whom he appointed to aſſiſt at the courts of judicature of every city. *Solomon* diſtinguiſhed the ſingers from their brethren, by allowing them to wear a linen robe or ſurplice when they were upon duty; but the reſt did not obtain that privilege till the reign of king *Agrippa*, about the 62d year of *Chriſt*, and ſix years before the deſtruction of the laſt temple. *Joſephus* adds, that this innovation was highly reſented by the prieſts.

Their revenues.

The revenues of the prieſts and *Levites* were intermixed by God's own appointment, at leaſt in their main branches, namely, thoſe of the cities, the tithes, and ſome other perquiſites. The whole tribe having been excluded by an expreſs law mentioned in the 18th chapter of *Deuteronomy*, from having any ſhare in the diviſion of the land, had their portion aſſigned to them out of the tythes, offerings of the altar, and the redemption of the firſt born, all which we have already taken notice of. As it was alſo neceſſary that they ſhould have ſome certain places of abode appointed for them, God was pleaſed

* Matth. xxvi. 3. Mark xv. 1.

to assign them 48 cities with their suburbs, 13 of which were to belong to the priests, and the other 35 to the rest of the tribe. The cities of the priests were chiefly in the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and consequently nearer to *Jerusalem*; but those of the *Levites* were divided to them by lot out of all the other tribes on either side *Jordan*, as they are mentioned in the 21st chapter of *Joshua*. They not only enjoyed the revenues of those cities during life, but were absolute proprietors of them, and had power to sell or mortgage their houses and lands, as well as the other tribes, even with this advantage on their side, that they might redeem them at any time if they were able, and if not, they devolved to them on the year of the jubilee: whereas those alienated houses of the other tribes that stood in walled cities, if not redeemed within the year, were irrecoverably lost to their first owner *. Hence it is plain their right to their houses was even stronger than that of the people, for which reason it is called their possession. The lands, however, that were annexed to those cities, could not be alienated by the *Levites* on any account, being in the nature of a common to them all. They not only had their part of the possession of the land as being absolute proprietors of the cities allotted to them, but had even a right to make purchases. *Jeremiah*, who was a priest, gives us an account, in his 32d chapter, of a purchase he himself made. *Solomon*, we find, banished *Abiathar* the high priest to his own estate at *Anathoth*. The houses or lands vowed unto the Lord, and which were not redeemed, were to continue sacred unto God; that is, the priests became the right owners of them. Even in the apostles time, *Barnabas*, who was a *Levite* of *Cyprus*, had some land which he sold for the use of the church.

Laws concerning the cities of refuge.

Out of the 48 cities, above-mentioned, as the possession of the *Levites*, six were appropriated as cities of refuge, being designed to protect innocent persons only from the rigour of the law in cases of involuntary homicide, differing greatly from the *Asyla* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, which equally sheltered the guilty and innocent. Wilful murderers, by an express command, were ordered to be torn even from God's altar to be put to death; from which may naturally be inferred, that the tabernacle was a sanctuary to the innocent. So severe were God's laws against murder, that if it was even committed in a fray, in correcting a servant, or in some other cases which our milder laws call chance-medly, the guilty person could not go unpunished. Where the fact was accidental and involuntary, God appointed these cities for the innocent person's protection; yet he condemned him to a kind of banishment till the death of the high priest for the time being, insomuch, that if he ventured out of the limits, or, according to *Josephus*, out of the walls of the city, any relations of the deceased might

* Levit. xxv. 29 and 30.

either kill him or have him put to death by the hand of jus tice. Theſe cities, three of which were on the eaſt and thre on the weſt of *Jordan*, were to be a refuge for all ſtrangers a well as for the *Iſraelites*. They were alſo permitted by God t add three more cities to their number, whenever the largenes of their conqueſts ſhould make it neceſſary. As ſoon, there fore, as a man had been unfortunately guilty of accidental ho micide, his firſt buſineſs was to flee with all convenient haſt to the next city of that kind. That nothing might retard hi ſpeed, the ways leading to the city were to be kept in good re pair by God's own appointment. This is inferred from the words of the text, *thou ſhalt prepare thee a way*; but the *Jews* have added a number of other laws concerning theſe roads. According to them, they were to be 32 cubits broad, ſmooth, plain, and without aſcent, deſcent, or ditches; and where the road parted, a poſt was to be ſet up with the word *refuge* engraven in *Hebrew* upon it. Every brook or river was to have a good bridge, and all watery places were to be drained. The words of the Baptiſt, *prepare the ways of the Lord, make his paths ſtraight: every valley ſhall be filled, and every mountain levelled*, are thought to allude to thoſe precepts. The magiſtrates of every city were alſo obliged to viſit them once a year, and to ſee that they were kept in good order. The offender, upon arriving at the city gate, immediately preſented himſelf to the judges of it, declared the occaſion of his coming, and the manner of his killing the perſon; and according as his account was found true or falſe, he was admitted to their protection or excluded from it. Some, however, think, that as the cities of refuge would probably ſometimes be at ſo great a diſtance from where the fact would be committed, that the man-ſlayer might be eaſily overtaken by the proſecutor before he could reach any of them; therefore he ſurrendered himſelf firſt to three judges of the neareſt place, and having cleared himſelf before them, was conducted by their order to the next city of refuge. Beſides theſe cities of refuge, the tabernacle, and afterwards the temple, had likewiſe the privilege of being ſanctuaries, eſpecially the altar of burnt offering. According to the *Rabbees*, the latter was only for prieſts, but the contrary is evident in the inſtance of *Joab*.

Of the *Nethinims*. The laſt perſons dedicated to the ſervice of God were the *Nethinims*, the deſcendants of the *Gibeonites*, whom *Joſhua* condemned to the loweſt and moſt laborious offices in the tabernacle under the *Levites*. This name, which imports *the given*, ſeems not, however, to have been given to them till after the captivity, when a ſmall number returned with *Ezra*, and other *Iſraelites*, from *Babylon*. They are in another place called the children of *Solomon*'s ſervants; ſo that by this time the name was alſo applied to the deſcendants, thoſe *Canaanites* whom *David* and *Solomon* had conquered and converted.

Of the things The things conſecrated to the ſervice of God were, 1. The tabernacle. 2. The ark. 3. The two altars. 4. The candleſtick

dleſtick and other utenſils belonging to it. 5. The table of ſhew bread. And, 6. The court, with all the utenſils repoſited in it. 1. The tabernacle, by the command and directions of God himſelf, that he might dwell in the midſt of his people. As they were condemned for their murmuring and rebellion to wander forty years in the wilderneſs, it was neceſſary that this ſacred place ſhould be fitted to their frequent marches, and be eaſily ſet up and taken down, as occaſion required. It was called in ſcripture by ſeveral names, ſuch as, *the holy place*, *the habitation*, by way of excellency, *the habitation of teſtimony*, *the palace*, and *the palace of the Lord*; but moſt commonly *the tabernacle*, or *tent of the congregation*. It was ſo magnificent both in its ſtructure, materials, and utenſils as might inſpire the *Iſraelites* and all other nations with an awful reſpect and regard for the ſervice of God. It was of an oblong figure, thirty cubits long, ten cubits broad, and ten in height. It had two apartments within divided by a row of four columns of *Shittim* wood, covered over with maſſive gold, and fixed in the ſame number of pedeſtals or ſockets of ſilver. *Moſes* does not mention whether they were round or ſquare; but it ſeems more likely they were ſquare, which became afterwards much in vogue under the name of *Pilaſters* in the inſide of great buildings. To the chapiters of theſe was faſtened by golden hooks a rich embroidered curtain, which extended the whole breadth of the place, and diſtinguiſhed the outward called the holy from the inward apartment called the moſt holy or holy of holies. The curtain or veil that divided the two apartments was made of the richeſt ſtuff, both for matter and workmanſhip, and was adorned with cherubim, feſtoons, and other ornaments curiouſly embroidered upon it. The whole was enclоſed on the north, weſt, and ſouth ſide with boards of *Shittim* wood, covered alſo with plates of gold, and fixed below and above into ſockets or mortiſes like the columns. Theſe boards were faſtened to one another by a five-fold row of golden rings all round the three ſides, through which were run five bars of gilt *Shittim* wood that locked or unlocked them at pleaſure. The eaſt end had no boards, but was formed by a veil like that above mentioned, only without any embroidered cherubim. The whole had four different coverings, the two innermoſt of which were by far the richeſt, being of a beautiful light blue mohair, ſtriped with ſcarlet and purple or crimſon, and adorned with cherubim. The other two were made, the under one of ram ſkins with the wool on of ſcarlet dye, and the uppermoſt of badgers ſkins of a light blue. The inſide of both theſe apartments was made ſtill more awful by the darkneſs that reigned in them, for we do not find that there were any apertures made for the light.

ſecrated to the ſervice of God. Of the tabernacle.

The two chief things that were depoſited in the moſt holy place, were the mercy ſeat and the ark of the teſtimony, the former being as a lid or cover to the latter. The word *Kaphoreth*, by which *Moſes* calls it, is properly rendered by moſt verſions

The mercy-ſeat and the ark.

the propitiatory, by ſome the oracle, and by ours the mercy ſeat, becauſe God is ſaid to have heard their prayers, to have delivered his oracles from thence, and to dwell between the cherubim which cover it. It is plain it had a more than ordinary ſanctity attributed to it, and was looked upon as the place of God's immediate preſence, for which reaſon there were ſuch ſevere judgments inflicted on thoſe who preſumed to approach it. It was all made of ſolid gold, and of the thickneſs, ſay the *Rabbins*, of an hand's breadth. At the ends of it were two cherubims looking inward towards each other with wings expanded, and meeting on each ſide in the middle after embracing the whole circumference of the mercy ſeat.

The ark was a ſmall cheſt made of *Shittim* wood, and covered over with beaten gold. Its heighth and breadth were each one cubit and a half, or about two feet and a half, and its length two cubits and a half, or ſomewhat more than four feet. It is called the ark of the covenant and the ark of the teſtimony; being a ſymbol of the covenant made between God and his people. It contained the two tables of the law, the pot of manna, and *Aaron*'s miraculous rod, and had on each ſide two gold rings, through which were faſtened the two bars by which it uſed to be carried on the prieſts ſhoulders. *Moſes* does not mention whether it had either a pedeſtal or feet to ſtand upon, and yet it is hardly to be ſuppoſed that it ſtood upon the bare ground.

Beſides the ark and the mercy ſeat, there was ſtill in this moſt holy place the volume of the law which *Moſes* gave the *Levites* to depoſite by the ſide of the ark, whether on the in or outſide is not agreed; but moſt probably on the latter, as the word in the original is the ſame with that uſed when the *Philiſtines* ſent back the ark with an offering put into a coffer by the ſide of it, and the mercy ſeat or lid was never to be removed. This volume of the law however is not ſuppoſed to have been the only authentic copy, as it could not be fetched out and appealed to correct errors in other copies but on expiation day. According to the *Jews* there were thirteen authentic copies of the law, one for each tribe, and one to be preſerved in the ark, which is not at all improbable.

The altar of incenſe.

In the outer apartment of the tabernacle were, 1. The altar of incenſe; 2. The golden candleſtick; 3. The table of ſhew-bread. The altar of incenſe or perfume is ſometimes called the golden altar; becauſe though it was made of *Shittim* wood, yet it was ſo well covered over with that metal that it looked like a ſolid piece of gold. To diſtinguiſh it from the altar of burnt offerings that ſtood without the tabernacle, it was ſometimes called the inner altar. Incenſe was burnt upon it morning and evening, and it was ſprinkled with the blood of the ſacrifices offered for ſins of ignorance. It was one cubit ſquare and two cubits high, ſo that the ſmoke had ſtill eight cubits to aſcend. There was a golden ornament round the top of it, and four horns on the four corners likewiſe covered with gold.

It

it is difficult to underſtand how it could be ordered ſo as to bear the heat of the burning coals without burning the wood through the gold that overlaid it. According to *Le Clerc* the metal was either very thick, or by the *Shittim* wood is meant the *Larix* of *Vitruvius*, which was an incombuſtible wood. But the opinion of *Cunæus* is more probable, that the burning coals were not ſet upon the altar itſelf, but upon a cenſer like a chafing diſh, which conjecture he ſupports by a text or two, where ſuch cenſers are commanded to be filled with coals and ſet upon the altar. The author of the ſecond book of *Maccabees* tells us, that *Jeremiah* ſeeing the captivity approaching, hid this altar and the ark of God in a cave in mount *Nebo*, which he ſtopped ſo cloſe that it could never afterwards be found. But the *Talmudiſts* ſay, that *Joſiah* being admoniſhed by the prophets that the precious veſſels of the ſanctuary would be carried away to *Babylon*, depoſited the holy fire, the ark, the breaſt-plate of *Urim*, and this altar of incenſe in a ſubterranean place built by *Solomon*; but at the return from the captivity they could never be found nor ever will be, if we believe the *Jews*, till the coming of the *Meſſiah*. If they had indeed been carried to *Babylon* with the other ſacred utenſils, they would probably have alſo been reſtored; but on the contrary, the *Jews*, we find, at their return were forced to make new ones.

The golden candleſtick.

2. The candleſtick was by far the richeſt piece in the whole ſanctuary, being in weight a talent of the ſanctuary, and made of pure beaten gold all of a piece without joint or ſolder. It conſiſted of ſeven branches ſupported by a foot or ſtalk, the upper end of which formed the ſeventh branch, and had three on each ſide. They were all adorned with cups, knobs, and flowers alternate and equidiſtant, and on the top of each was placed the lamp, ſhaped like an almond, which might be put on or taken off at pleaſure. It was the prieſt's buſineſs in waiting to go in every evening and light them at the time of incenſe, and about the ſame time in the morning to put them out to clean and repleniſh them. It is generally ſuppoſed to have been of ſuch an height that a man might eaſily reach the top of it, that is, about ſix feet high. After the building of the temple *Solomon*, inſtead of one placed ten candleſticks in the holy place all of gold with their appurtenances, but whether that of *Moſes* was one of the number or made the eleventh is not certain.

The table of ſhew-bread.

3. The table of ſhew-bread was alſo made of *Shittim* wood, and covered with gold. It had a golden border or crown, of ſhew-bread, which may be ſuppoſed to be a kind of rim round it like that of our tea-tables. To this rim were faſtened four gold rings, two on the oppoſite ſides, through which the bars were put that ſerved for handles to carry it by. The author of the book of *Chronicles* ſays that *Solomon* made ten others, which ſerved to ſet all the other utenſils upon, and *Joſephus* affirms there were as many more of different makes and ſizes in the firſt temple as ſerved

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to hold 20,000 cups and veſſels of gold, and twice that number of ſilver ones.

We ſhall now conclude this head with an account of the court of the tabernacle and its utenſils. The court was in length one hundred cubits, and in breadth fifty, incloſed on all but the eaſt ſide, where there was an opening of twenty cubits, for the prieſts, *Levites*, and people to go in and out with their offerings. This incloſure was not intended to conceal what was done in the court, the curtains that ſurrounded it being made of a kind of net or point work, through which even the heathens might have a view of it. Theſe curtains were ſupported by a row of pillars, probably of *Shittim* wood with braſs pedeſtals or ſockets, and adorned with ſilver fillets or rather chapiters. They were fifty-ſix in number, twenty on each ſide, ten at the weſt and ſix at the eaſt end; and are ſuppoſed by *Joſephus* to have been five cubits high, being deſigned to hinder only the approach to the temple and not the view of it.

Though this court bore the ſame proportion with the tabernacle, and the four ſides ran parallel with it, yet it is probable the tabernacle did not ſtand in the middle but near the weſt end of it, as there were ſeveral utenſils placed in the eaſtern area, where all the victims were alſo ſlain, and all kinds of offerings brought and offered up. According to the *Jews* the tabernacle was placed in the weſt end, in oppoſition to the heathen who worſhiped toward the riſing ſun.

The altar of burnt-offerings. The altar of burnt-offerings, which ſtood in the eaſtern court, was placed, we may ſuppoſe, at ſuch a convenient diſtance from the tabernacle as not to damage the outward veil by the ſmoke of its conſtant fire. It was five cubits ſquare and three cubits high, made of *Shittim* wood, and covered over with braſs, having four braſs rings, through which the handles for carrying it were put. In the cavity of it, which probably went through, was hung by four braſs rings a croſs bar grate through which the aſhes fell, and over which, according to *Saurin*, the victims to be conſumed were placed in another grate, the whole being ſo contrived as to prevent the wood of the altar from taking fire. On this altar the ſacred fire which deſcended from heaven at the conſecration of the tabernacle was to be continually kept.

The brazen laver. The laſt conſiderable utenſil in the court of the tabernacle was the brazen laver, which was conveniently ſituated between the altar of burnt offerings and the eaſt end. *Moſes* having given no account of its ſhape and capaciouſneſs, nothing certain can be affirmed about them. It ſerved firſt for the prieſts to waſh their hands and feet in, they being expreſly forbid under ſevere penalties to preſume upon any part of their function till they had performed that ceremony. Secondly, the entrails and legs of the victims are ſaid to have been waſhed there; but according to ſome *Jews* there was another reſervoir of water for the laſt uſe, which is not improbable, not only as it was

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more decent, but becauſe we find it ſo ordered in *Solomon*'s temple, where the brazen ſea was for the ſole waſhing of the prieſts, and for waſhing the victims ten other lavers were appointed. This fountain was to be continually repleniſhed with water, which office belonged to the *Levites*, unleſs perhaps they made the *Nethinims* bring the water to them to the entrance of the court.

To theſe utenſils already mentioned a great number of others might be mentioned ſubſervient to various uſes, ſuch as kettles, pans, frying-pans, ovens, ſhovels, tongs, pick-axes, hatchets, cleavers, knives, forks, tables, tubs, trays, diſhes, and many more, all of which were either made of braſs or of wood covered with that metal. Whenever they removed, it was the buſineſs of the *Levites* to pack and cover them up with clothes and ſkins made for that purpoſe. In all the above account it is obſervable that there is no mention made of any flooring or pavement ſo much as for the tabernacle, and yet it is hardly credible that its rich and ſacred utenſils ſhould ſtand on the bare ground. There is nothing to hinder us from ſuppoſing that *Moſes* might add many appendages to the things of the tabernacle as he ſaw needful in proceſs of time without deviating in material points from the original pattern, and among others this flooring might be one.

Laws concerning the admiſſion of proſelytes.

Before we proceed to the laws of the ſecond table we ſhall here mention thoſe that related to the admiſſion of proſelytes into *the congregation of the Lord*. There was an expreſs command of God that if any ſtranger was deſirous to be admitted to eat of the paſſover, he was firſt to be circumciſed, after which he was to be admitted not only to that grand ſolemnity, but to all the other religious privileges of the *Iſraelites*. Great part of the mixed multitude that came with them out of *Egypt* and of the conquered inhabitants of *Canaan* were of this number. And indeed the condition of thoſe that became circumciſed was ſo preferable to that of thoſe who continued in their old religion, that the number of the former increaſed very much. The ſelfiſh *Jews*, it is ſuppoſed, on this account invented the diſtinction of *proſelytes of the gate*, and *proſelytes of righteouſneſs*, circumciſion not being required of the former, who were only bound to abjure their idolatry, and to obſerve the *Noachid* law or precepts of *Noah*, and were kept in a ſtate not many degrees better than ſlavery. We find no leſs than 153,000 and upwards of this kind in *Solomon*'s time, who were all employed in the moſt ſervile and laborious works. The *Jews* were very ſhy of admitting proſelytes, and they refuſed their admiſſion three times according to the *Talmud*, where they are compared to the ruſt in iron, or ulcers in the body. After the time, if they perſiſted in their deſire of being admitted, they were to be circumciſed before two or three ſufficient witneſſes, then to be baptized, in order to waſh away the filth of heatheniſm, and laſtly, to offer up the uſual ſacrifices for ſin, after which they were received as ſervants of the God of *Iſrael*. Some nations

were

were excluded by *Moſes* longer than others. The *Edomites* and the *Egyptians* were received after the ſecond generation, becauſe the former were brethren, and *Iſrael* had ſojourned among the latter. The *Moabites* and *Ammonites* were not to be admitted till after the tenth generation, or according to the letter of the original, not even after the tenth generation, becauſe they hired *Balaam* to curſe *Iſrael*. Baſtards and all illegitimate iſſue were under the ſame excluſion with them. The *Amalekites*, as well as eunuchs of all kinds, were totally excluded, the former becauſe they were under the divine *anathema*, and the latter becauſe their condition was accounted a legal defect. What is meant by being excluded from the congregation of the Lord, is not agreed. Some underſtand by it, their being denied admittance into the *Iſraelitiſh* commonwealth by circumciſion, and others, their being excluded from places of authority; which laſt is moſt received among chriſtian interpreters. The proſelytes of righteouſneſs were obliged to circumciſe all the males, and baptize all the females in their family under the age of thirteen. Thoſe that were above that age, were at liberty to follow their own choice. None under thirteen could be admitted as proſelytes without the conſent of their parents, or in caſe of their refuſal, that of two or three judges; in which caſe their admiſſion was looked upon as a new birth, and their parents were no longer eſteemed as ſuch, and they even believed this kind of converts received new ſouls after baptiſm. All former ties, either of blood or alliance, they imagined, were ſo totally cancelled thereby, that even parents and their children might intermarry without committing inceſt; on which account, probably, it was that our Saviour accuſes the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* of rendering their proſelytes ten times more the children of hell than themſelves *.

The laws of the ſecond table.

The laws of the ſecond table, or concerning the *Jewiſh* government, we ſhall mention in the ſame order as they are in the decalogue, and we ſhall begin with thoſe relating to parents, both in a political and natural ſenſe. The patriarchal government being become impracticable by reaſon of its being branched out into ſo many families, God, to prevent the *Jews* from murmuring at any alteration of that form, declared that he himſelf would be their king, and would appoint, from time to time, proper vicegerents, under whom the heads of families ſhould govern and adminiſter juſtice in exact conformity to his laws. *Moſes* was declared the firſt vicegerent, and accordingly it is ſaid, *he was king in, or over, Jeſhurun, or Iſrael, when the heads of the people and the tribes of Iſrael were gathered together*; that is, probably when the divided power of the heads of tribes and families centered in one head. To him

* Seld. de Synedr. & de jur. N. & G. Alting diſput. de proſely. Leo de Modena. Calmet

ſucceed-

ſucceeded *Joſhua*, the *Judges*, and laſtly the *Kings*, but ſtill as ſubſtitutes to God.

What is very remarkable with reſpect to their monarchs is, that in the whole body of the *Moſaic* laws, there is nothing to enforce obedience to them except the command, *honour thy father and thy mother*, which alluded moſt likely to the patriarchal government; and the prohibition againſt *curſing the rulers of the people*; whereas there are ſeveral expreſs precepts to reſtrain the kings from abuſing their power and oppreſſing their ſubjects. Of this nature are thoſe that exclude all ſtrangers from being raiſed to that dignity, that forbid a king of *Iſrael* to multiply horſes, wives, riches, to marry ſtrange women, and the like; to oblige him to write with his own hand a copy of God's law, to govern himſelf by it, without deviating from it to the right or left; that enjoin him to make choice of perſons of wiſdom and integrity to be judges over the people, and others of that kind. Though they acted many times very arbitrarily, yet in many inſtances we find that the congregation of all *Iſrael* put a negative upon their proceedings *. In latter times, however, they appear to have been above the controul of this council, and too often were not even reſtrained by the laws of God, on which account ſeveral prophets were commiſſioned by him to reprove them. Submiſſion to governors as to parents enjoined.

Their being anointed, or the eldeſt ſons of anointed perſons by ſome celebrated prophets, and appointed ſovereigns of a nation called in ſcripture a royal prieſthood, gave them a full power not only in matters purely civil and military, but in eccleſiaſtical alſo. Many divines, indeed, think that they never exerciſed any authority in the latter as kings of *Iſrael*, but as prophets and inſpired perſons, ſuch as were *David* and *Solomon*. But the reformations and regulations made by *Heſekiah*, *Jehoſhaphat*, *Joſiah*, and others, who were neither prophets nor inſpired perſons, plainly evince the contrary. They had power to conſult the oracle of *Urim*, and were commanded ſo to do upon all emergencies, as well as the general congregation. On ſome occaſions they aſſumed an abſolute power of life and death, and there are frequent inſtances of perſons being put to death by their ſole will; though according to the law of *Moſes*, the criminals ought to have been convicted by two or three witneſſes before proper judges.

That profound reſpect was paid to the regal dignity appears both from the ſubmiſſive language with which they were addreſſed, and the humble manner of approaching them. Even queens and prophets proſtrated themſelves with their faces to the ground before them, as *Nathan* and *Bathſheba* did to *David*. His ſon *Solomon*, doubtleſs, raiſed the grandeur of the throne to a much greater heighth. God nevertheleſs was ſtill acknowledged as ſupreme ſovereign, and neither the king, nor the

* Lowman on the civil government of the Hebrews, c. viii.

congre-

congregation, nor both united, had ever any legiſlative authority. When there was a neceſſity of making a new law, God by his oracle exerted that prerogative.

The judges who governed *Iſrael* from *Joſhua* to *Saul*, were appointed from time to time by God himſelf, and differed in nothing from kings but in title, pomp, and grandeur, and in their dignity not being hereditary. They could make peace and war, ſummon the tribes to arms, conſult God by *Urim*, and the like. They are ſaid to have judged *Iſrael*, and to have taken yearly circuits through the land to adminiſter juſtice, the people alſo repairing to them at their abodes for judgment; but whether this was done by way of appeal from the judgment of inferior courts, as the dernier reſort, or by way of conſulting them in doubtful caſes, is not eaſy to determine. The latter, however, ſeems moſt probable from the command of *Moſes*, that in all doubtful caſes they ſhould apply themſelves to the prieſts and to the judges or head of the people then in being, to whoſe judgment they ſhould ſubmit under pain of death.

Of the judges and courts of judicature.

Beſides theſe judges, emphatically ſo called, *Moſes*, and after him thoſe who were at the head of the *Iſraelitiſh* commonwealth, were commanded to appoint a number of judges and magiſtrates in all cities to adminiſter juſtice to the people. Theſe were to be men of wiſdom and probity, well verſed in the law of *Moſes*, free from covetouſneſs and partiality, ſuch as would protect the innocent, the fatherleſs and widow, the helpleſs and ſtranger, and puniſh the guilty and evil doer. Theſe regulations, however, we find afterwards were but little regarded. Even the ſons of the upright *Eli* and *Samuel* proved moſt unrighteous deputies to their fathers: and in the reign of the pious *David*, a great deal of corruption had crept into the courts of judicature, otherwiſe his ſon *Abſalom* could have had no pretence for wiſhing that he had been a judge, to redreſs the grievances of the oppreſſed.

Theſe courts were held at the gates of the cities, and became in time very conſiderable; but how they were kept, or how many judges belonged to each, whether their power was equal, or ſome ſubordinate to others, cannot be gathered from ſcripture. In proceſs of time they became ſo corrupted, that the prophets were obliged, from time to time, to exclaim againſt them. The good king *Jehoſhaphat* was ſo affected with the remonſtrances of one of them, that he immediately ſet about a thorough reformation, appointing new judges in every walled city, and charging them, in the moſt preſſing terms, to be more watchful and upright than their predeceſſors. He appointed two tribunals for the city of *Jeruſalem*, the one conſiſting chiefly of prieſts and *Levites* for matters of religion, and the other, which was moſtly compoſed of the heads of families, for matters of ſtate. The courts are ſuppoſed to have continued in this form till the captivity; but as the princes became more and more wicked, ſo did the judges under them, till God was

provoked

provoked to drive them out of the land. Theſe tribunals, it appears, took cognizance of all civil and criminal caſes, even where the offence was of a religious nature; ſuch as idolatry, witchcraft, ſacrilege and the like, for which reaſon the prieſt and *Levites* were appointed to aſſiſt if not to preſide in them. According to the *Talmudiſts*, beſides the ſanhedrim or grand council of 70 which reſided at *Jeruſalem*, and was ſupreme over all other tribunals throughout the land, there were other two courts, one conſiſting of 3, and the other of 23 judges, which they ſay were to be in every city or town that had 120 inhabitants according to ſome, or families, according to others. The three judges were only arbitrators choſen one by each party, and the third by the other two. Their cognizance extended only to ſmall matters, and the heavieſt puniſhment they could inflict was whipping. The other judged of all capital cauſes, and condemned criminals to death.

Next in authority to the magiſtrates were natural parents, and theſe were to be honoured and obeyed in a moſt particular manner. The *Talmudiſts* obſerve, that the law lays a greater ſtreſs upon honouring our parents than upon honouring God; becauſe we are only enjoined to honour the latter with our ſubſtance, whereas we are bound to honour the former whether we have any ſubſtance or not, and to work in order to be able to maintain them. St. *Paul* remarks, that this was the firſt command with a promiſe. The puniſhment of diſobedient and wicked children was no leſs ſevere; for it was death for any to curſe or ſtrike their parents, or even to continue in a ſtubborn diſobedience to their commands. In this laſt caſe they had power to inflict any puniſhment but death upon them. If they ſtill continued refractory, they might then bring and accuſe them before the judges, who upon full proof, were obliged to condemn them to death without mercy or delay.

Now we are upon the ſubject of puniſhment, we ſhall, before we proceed to the following precept, give an account of thoſe which were either appointed by the *Moſaic* law, or made uſe of at the prince's will againſt obnoxious perſons before the captivity. The ſmaller ſort of puniſhments were either, 1. Fines by way of compenſation for wrongs, theft, and the like. 2. Selling for ſlaves thoſe who were not able to pay their debts or make ſatisfaction for a wrong. 3. The talian law, *eye for eye, tooth for tooth, ſtripe for ſtripe*, &c. 4. Whipping, which was not to exceed forty laſhes.

The capital puniſhments were of four kinds, namely, ſtoning, burning, beheading, and ſtrangling. 1. Stoning was the moſt uſual, and when the law condemned a perſon to death without naming the kind, this was always underſtood to be meant by it. The crimes deſerving this death were all ſorts of inceſt, ſodomy, beſtiality, raviſhing a betrothed virgin, or her conſenting to be defiled by another man, blaſpheming, ſabbath breaking, witchcraft, idolatry, the inticing of others to idolatry, rebellious children, offering ones ſeed to *Moloch*, and ſome others

of

of the like nature. The execution was always without the city, and the witneſſes, after laying their hand upon the head of the criminal, and ſaying, *thy blood be upon thee*, threw the firſt ſtone, and the reſt of the ſpectators helped to diſpatch him. There were ſometimes indeed irregular caſes, wherein it was allowed to ſtone the criminal upon the ſpot, without further trial. Theſe, however, ought rather to be looked upon as zealous mobbings, though encouraged in ſome degree under the title of *Judgments of zeal*. 2. The puniſhment of burning appears to have been uſed before *Moſes* from *Judah*'s condemning his daughter-in-law to the flames. The *Moſaic* law condemned the daughters of prieſts to be burnt for incontinency; and *Achan* was condemned to be ſtoned and burned for ſacrilege. Theſe are the only two places where that puniſhment is mentioned. The *Jews* ſay, ſome other crimes were alſo puniſhed with burning, and ſay it was two fold, namely, burning with fire, and with melted lead poured down the criminal's throat. 3. Beheading, the *Jewiſh* doctors ſay, was a puniſhment appointed only for murderers, and for towns that were fallen into idolatry. But nothing like it appears to have been practiſed before the captivity. The ſame may be ſaid of ſtrangling, though the *Talmudiſts* reckon ſix ſorts of criminals who were condemned to this death, namely, thoſe that ſtruck their parents; menſtealers; the prieſts that refuſed to conform to the determination of the court; falſe prophets, or thoſe who propheſied in the name of falſe gods; he that defiled another man's bed, and he that had criminal converſation with a prieſt's daughter. As for ſome other puniſhments, particularly that of crucifixion which Chriſt ſuffered, though ſome have fancied it to be implied in the words of *Deuteronomy*, *if a man be hanged on a tree, his body ſhall not remain all night upon it*, yet it is generally allowed to have been not a *Jewiſh* but a *Roman* puniſhment. But the moſt dreadful of all the *Jewiſh* puniſhments, though not a capital one, was excommunication, eſpecially that entitled *Shematta*, anſwering to the *Syrian Maranatha*, uſed by St. *Paul*, which ſignifies in both tongues, *the Lord comes, or is at hand*.

The laws againſt murder.

The ſecond law of the ſecond table prohibited murder, which *Moſes* tells us, from the time of the flood could not be expiated but by the death of the murderer, whatever might be the puniſhment of it before that time. God, under the law, expreſſes the greateſt abhorrence againſt it, and ordered the guilty perſon to be torn, as we obſerved, from his altar. He prohibited both the avenger and the judges from making any compoſition, or accepting of any recompence for the crime; and the laws againſt it extended equally to the *Iſraelites* and to the ſtrangers that dwelt among them. To inſpire the people with an uncommon horror againſt wilful murder, an expiation was ever inſtituted for uncertain murder. The judges and elders of that city that was neareſt to the place where a perſon was found murdered, were obliged to ſtrike off the head of a heifer that

had never been yoked, to wash their hands over her, and to profess that their hands had not shed this blood, neither their eyes seen it done; after which they were to pray God not to lay it to their charge.

The law, *thou shalt not commit adultery*, is understood by the *Jews* as a prohibition of all kind of illicit coition and unnatural lusts. Besides, incest, rape, sodomy, and bestiality, were forbid by other express laws under pain of death. Fornication was forbid by several laws, and in some cases was made capital; for any woman who ventured to marry under the notion of being a virgin, and was proved to be otherwise, was to be stoned. If she complained, indeed, against the man who had deflowered her, he was obliged to pay her father fifty shekels of silver, and to marry her, without having it in his power to put her away during her life. Adultery was punishable with death in both parties, if they were both married, or only the woman; but the punishment of a married man who committed adultery with an unmarried woman, cannot be affirmed to be the same. Against adultery.

With respect to the wives, to deter them from all unlawful liberties of that kind, as well as, perhaps, to prevent those that were innocent from being unjustly suspected and ill treated by their jealous husbands, *Moses* was commanded to appoint the waters of jealousy, with the promise of a constant miracle, by which the guilty should be punished in a very dreadful manner, and the innocent cleared with applause. The suspected woman was brought by her husband to the priest, who having heard the accusation, brought her before the Lord to the tabernacle or temple, uncovered her head, that is, according to the *Jews*, shaved her hair, and put the offering of her husband, namely, a cake of barley meal, into her hand. He himself, at the same time, took some holy water impregnated with wormwood, and put some of the dust of the pavement into it, together with the words of the curse written at full length. The substance of the curse was, that if she had been guilty of defiling her marriage-bed, those waters should swell and burst her belly and rot her thigh, but if she was innocent, they should have no power to hurt her. After he had washed out the words of the curse in the bitter water, he gave it her to drink, and taking the cake from her hand, he waved it to the Lord, and burnt part of it upon the altar. The consequence was, that if she was guilty, the water did burst her belly and rot her thigh, and she died soon after the drinking of it; but if she was innocent, she not only came off unhurt, but as a token and reward of her continence became more healthy and fruitful; and the husband was for the future to cherish her the more for having given him such an eminent proof of her chastity. The *Jews* add, that these laws could have no effect upon the wife, how guilty soever, if the husband had likewise been guilty of transgressing the laws of wedlock. Whether the *Israelites*, in this institution, imitated any custom of the *Egyptians*, or of any other nation, is uncertain; but it is plain that almost every The waters of jealousy.

country, ſince, had a kind of trial or ordeal, not only for caſes of incontinency, but almoſt for every crime.

Laws relating to marriage.

The other laws relating to marriage were very few. The *Moſaic* law no where obliged men to marry, yet the *Jews*, from the words *increaſe and multiply*, always looked upon it as an indiſpenſable duty; for which reaſon they uſed to marry their children very young, their daughters particularly when they came of age, which with them was at twelve. *Moſes* only reſtrained the *Iſraelites* from marrying within certain degrees of conſanguinity, which had till then been permitted, to prevent their taking wives from among the idolatrous nations. Theſe are therefore the degrees prohibited by him under pain of death as inceſtuous: 1. To marry one's own father or mother. 2. Father and mother-in-law. 3. The brother or ſiſter of one's father or mother. 4. A grandſon or grandaughter. 5. An uncle or aunt. 6. A ſon or daughter-in-law. 7. Two brothers or ſiſters, by which the *Jews* underſtood thoſe only by the mother's ſide. 8. A brother or ſiſter-in-law. 9. The huſband or wife of an uncle or aunt. 10. The father and ſon, or mother and daughter, either together, or one after the death of the other. *Moſes* alſo prohibited the firſt born to be diſinherited out of favour or affection to another wife, and commanded, that upon the marriage of a ſecond wife during the life of the firſt, the huſband ſhould be ſtill bound to continue to the former her food, raiment, and the duty of marriage. As to the law called *levirate*, which obliged a man whoſe brother died without iſſue to marry his widow to raiſe up ſeed to his brother, *Moſes* left it in ſome meaſure to a man's choice whether he would comply with the law or not. In caſe of a refuſal, the widow could only ſummon him before the judges of the place, where if he perſiſted, ſhe untied his ſhoe, ſpit in his face, and ſaid, *thus ſhall it be done unto the man who refuſes to build up his brother's houſe*; after which he was branded with the name of the man whoſe ſhoe was unlooſed. The *Rabbies* have underſtood this law in a very reſtrained ſenſe, and affirm, that only the eldeſt of the ſurvivers was required to marry the widow, and not even he if he was already married. But *Boaz*, who was not even neareſt of kin to the deceaſed huſband of *Ruth*, we find, thought himſelf obliged to marry her when the neareſt kinſman refuſed to do it; and from the caſe of the ſeven brethren put to our Saviour by the *Sadducees*, the opinion of the *Rabbies* appears to be groundleſs. The huſband, we find by another law, was obliged to pay down a competent dowry for the wife, or, as the *Jews* term it in their contracts, the price or equivalent of her virginity. The marriages were contracted by the parents or relations of the parties on both ſides, and when the matter was agreed, the bridegroom was introduced to his bride, preſents were exchanged, and the contract ſigned before witneſſes. After conſummation, the bride tarried ſtill ſome time with her relations, and was then ſent away to her huſband's habitation, with ſinging and dances at the ſound of

of ſeveral inſtruments. This laſt was generally performed in the night, and the parable of the ten virgins plainly alludes to it. It was likewiſe uſual with them to contract theſe marriages very young, both parties continuing ſtill with their parents till they were of age to conſummate. The daughters, whether they were eſpouſed or not, were kept very ſtrict, and out of ſight, by the *Iſraelites*, from which privacy the unmarried damſels came to be called *almaks*, which ſignifies hidden and concealed.

By another law heireſſes were forbidden to marry out of their own tribe, from which limitation the reſt were exempted. A man however was left to his liberty to marry not only in any of the twelve tribes, but even out of them, provided it was with nations that uſed circumciſion, ſuch as the *Midianites*, the *Iſhmaelites*, *Edomites*, *Moabites* and *Egyptians*. Thus *Moſes* married a *Midianite*, *Boaz* a *Moabite*, *Abſalom*'s mother was the daughter of the king of *Geſhur*, and *Solomon* in the beginning of his reign married *Pharoah*'s daughter. Whenever therefore we find him and other kings blamed for marrying ſtrange women we muſt underſtand it of theſe nations that were idolatrous and uncircumciſed, and of thoſe women who had not become proſelytes to the *Jewiſh* religion.

As for their manner of celebrating marriage, though *Moſes* has been ſilent concerning it, ſome few ceremonials may be gathered from ſcripture and the reſt from the *Rabbies*. It does not appear that it was accompanied with any religious ceremony, ſuch as going to the tabernacle, or temple, offering of ſacrifices; or even that it was performed by or before a prieſt. From the examples of *Iſaac* with *Rebecca*, of *Boaz* with *Ruth*, and of *Tobias* with *Sarah*, we may conclude that the parents and the reſt of the company did pray for the proſperity of the new married couple. Theſe nuptials were accompanied with feaſting and mirth, which laſted a whole week, and it may be concluded the feaſts were very ſplendid, from that beautiful compariſon of the Pſalmiſt, of the glory of a riſing ſun to a bridegroom coming out of his nuptial chamber.

Their plurality of wives was far from being either a charge or incumbrance on them, conſidering their ſimple way of living. The women we find from the ſacred books employed themſelves in dreſſing of victuals, taking care of the children, ſpinning, carding, weaving, and the like, whilſt their huſbands choſe the more laborious works in the fields and vineyards.

For the hardneſs of their hearts, as our Saviour obſerves, *Moſes* indulged the *Jews*, who thought themſelves unhappy in wedlock, with the remedy of divorce. We do not find that it had ever been practiſed by any of the patriarchs whatever it might have been by other nations. Theſe are the words of the law, or rather permiſſion, "When a man hath "taken a wife and married her, and it come to paſs ſhe finds "no favour in his eyes, *becauſe he has found in her ſome uncleanneſs*, then let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give And divorce

" it into her hand, and ſend her out of his houſe. And when " ſhe is departed ſhe may go and be another man's wife; and " if her ſecond huſband hate her and write her a bill of divorce " —or if he chance to die—her former huſband ſhall not take " her again to be his wife after ſhe is defiled, for that is an " abomination to the Lord."— Both *Jews* and *Chriſtians* are divided in their opinion concerning the words *he has found in her ſome uncleanneſs*, turpitude or nakedneſs. Some of the *Jews* have ſo extended them as to make divorce lawful even upon the ſlighteſt fault; ſuch as, according to *Hillel*, ſpoiling his meat in cooking, or according to *Akkiba*, if he finds another that pleaſed him better. To make this out they divide the text thus, *if ſhe do not find favour in his eyes, and if he find in her any uncleanneſs*. Others however condemn ſuch a perverſe reading, and confine the cauſe of the huſband's diſlike to the caſe of unchaſtity, or a defilement of that kind, which we find did not even always excite the huſband to ſeek a divorce. *David* we find did not repudiate thoſe concubines or wives of the ſecond rank, whom his ſon *Abſalom* had publickly debauched. The *Levite* alſo went to ſeek and bring home his concubine, after ſhe had played the harlot and forſaken him; and the ſame may be ſaid of *Samſon*, who went and demanded his wife after ſhe had been given to another man. The firſt ſenſe of the words has been moſt followed by the *Jews*, but ſufficiently condemned by *Chriſt* in the goſpel, not only becauſe divorces were become too frequent, and permitted upon every trivial occaſion *; but alſo to aſſure the people that the marriage knot was not to be diſſolved upon any pretence, except that of infidelity. According to *Joſephus* the women were not permitted on any account to divorce their huſbands. He adds *Salome*, ſiſter to *Herod* the Great, was the firſt that took upon her to divorce her huſband, whoſe example was ſoon followed by others whom he mentions.

Laws againſt theft.

The precept in the decalogue *thou ſhalt not ſteal*, was underſtood by the *Jews* of men ſtealing. The other ſorts of theft they imagined were implied in the laſt precept, *Thou ſhall not covet*. We ſhall however include under the ſame head, the laws againſt the firſt kind mentioned, and the taking away of another man's property, whether privately or by open force, and alſo thoſe againſt every act of fraud and injuſtice, which is contrary to the right and common faith of mankind.

The ſtealing of a man was the only capital theft under the law of *Moſes*. The *Jews* however, not without ſome foundation, confine it to the ſtealing of an *Iſraelite*, as *Moſes* in one place expreſſes the precept, *If a man be found ſtealing any of his brethren of the children of* Iſrael. All other theft was puniſhed by reſtitution, and the addition of a fine, according to

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* Joſeph. Ant. l. iv. c. 8. & l. de ſua vit. ad fin. Phil. de ſpecial legib.

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the nature of the theft. The man however who broke into an houſe in the night to rob, might with impunity be killed, though not in the day-time. If the thief had not wherewith to make ſatisfaction according to the law, it was lawful for the proſecutor, if he was an *Iſraelite* to ſell him to an *Iſraelite*. If he had a wife and children, they might likewiſe be ſold with him till ſatisfaction was made to the offended; at leaſt, it ſeems to have been ſo underſtood and practiſed by the *Jews* in caſes of debt, as may be gathered from the words of the prophet *Eliſha* to the widow, and from the parable in the goſpel, where the creditor commands the inſolvent debtor and his wife and children to be ſold, and payment to be made. If a thief was unmarried, and his maſter gave him a wife during his ſervitude, the children he had by her were his maſter's property. In caſes of petty larceny the law was very indulgent, and *Solomon* tells us a thief was not deſpiſed that ſtole to ſatisfy his hunger. *Moſes*, however, was far from countenancing ſuch kind of theft, as he allowed a man in caſes of extreme want to ſell himſelf, and even his unmarried daughter, on condition either that the buyer ſhould marry her, or if he did not, that ſhe ſhould be redeemed by the higheſt bidder that would. A man that was accuſed of theft was obliged to clear himſelf by oath before the judge, and if he could be afterwards proved forſworn, he was put to death, not for the theft, but for the perjury. The ſame law reached alſo to the receiver or concealer of ſtolen goods, knowing them to be ſuch, for ſo the *Jews* underſtood the words, *he ſhall bear his iniquity*. All kind of uſury was alſo forbid by the law of *Moſes* from one *Iſraelite* to another, but of ſtrangers, that is, of the *Gentiles*, they were permitted to take ſome uſury, yet ſo as not to oppreſs them by too great extortion, or indeed in any manner whatever, they being in ſuch caſes put upon the ſame foot with the fatherleſs and the widow, whoſe protector God every where declares himſelf. Oppreſſing of ſervants and hirelings, defrauding them, or even detaining their wages though but for one night; denying them neceſſary food and reſpite; private miſchiefs, ſuch as miſleading the blind or even another's cattle, removing of land marks, digging of pits and leaving them uncovered, and many more of the like nature, were likewiſe reckoned enormous crimes; and terrible curſes were denounced againſt the tranſgreſſors by God. *Moſes* likewiſe gave them many wholeſome laws relating to things committed to another's care or pledged for a time, and forbad not only the uſe of falſe weights and meaſures, but alſo all kind of frauds, circumvention in contracts, whether written or verbal, both in merchandizing and all other dealings between man and man.

The law againſt falſe witneſs.

The chief law againſt falſe witneſs was that of the Decalogue, *Thou ſhalt not bear*, or according to the original, *Thou ſhalt not anſwer falſe witneſs againſt thy neighbour*. The judges were bound to abide by the teſtimony of two or three witneſſes, eſpecially in capital caſes, a ſingle witneſs not being ſuffi-

ſufficient to condemn any man. The law condemned a falſe witneſs to the ſame puniſhment, which, in conſequence of his teſtimony, would have been inflicted upon the innocent; and if examined upon oath and proved forſworn, he was to be put to death. The judges were alſo required to be very ſtrict in examining the witneſſes as to their character, and to weigh the nature of the evidence, in order to prevent as far as poſſible the guilty being acquitted, or the innocent being condemned.

And againſt coveting another's property.

The tenth precept of the Decalogue, *Thou ſhalt not covet thy neighbour's houſe, wife*, &c. is juſtly eſteemed by the *Jewiſh* doctors the prop and foundation of all the other laws of the ſecond table, and he that obſerves this is in no danger of breaking the reſt. The *Talmudiſts* underſtand it in the refined and ſtrict ſenſe of the goſpel; but whether it was ſo interpreted by the antient Jews is not eaſy to determine.

Some miſcellaneous laws.

We ſhall now ſubjoin an account of ſome other mixed laws relating to food, raiment, planting, ſowing, decency, and cleanlineſs, and ſuch diſeaſes as excluded men from common ſociety.

The eating of blood prohibited.

Of all the food prohibited by the *Moſaical* law, blood may be reckoned in the firſt place, that prohibition being as old as the deluge, *Noah* being forbidden, under ſevere threatnings, from eating not only the blood itſelf, but the fleſh alſo, if not entirely freed from it. The eating of it is expreſly forbidden by *Moſes*, not only to the *Iſraelites*, but to the ſtrangers that lived among them, even under pain of death. A modern traveller* tells us, this law is ſtill ſtrictly obſerved by ſome eaſtern churches, by virtue doubtleſs of the apoſtolic canon, which has been kept ever ſince by the eaſtern, and for ſeveral ages by the weſtern church, and confirmed by ſeveral councils from time to time. God ſeems even to put it on the level with ſacrificing ones ſeed to *Moloch*, when he threatens to ſet his face againſt him that tranſgreſſes in either caſe, which expreſſion is not uſed in any other prohibition.

Unclean meats.

Next to the blood was forbidden likewiſe the fleſh of a conſiderable number of beaſts, fowls, fiſhes, and reptiles, which were therefore to be deemed unclean. This diſtinction, however, of clean and unclean, ſeems to have been prior to the *Moſaical* law, and to have been known before the deluge, as we have formerly mentioned. The general rules given by *Moſes* for diſtinguiſhing the clean from the unclean were the following. Of beaſts, whatever did not both chew the cud and divide the hoof was to be reckoned unclean. Of fowl, all carnivorous birds, ſuch as the eagle, vultur, and the like, all that had four feet and yet flew, as the bat, were alſo unclean. Of fiſhes, all that had fins and ſcales were lawful, and all that wanted either were forbidden. Of inſects, all that had wings

* Ludolph. hiſt. Æthiop. l. 3. c. i.

might

might be eaten, but whatever did only crawl on the earth was unclean. Laſtly, the fat of the clean beaſts was forbidden, becauſe in all ſacrifices it was to be burnt upon the altar, as appertaining unto God. The fleſh of beaſts torn in pieces, or that died of themſelves, was likewiſe forbidden.

Raiment.

As to dreſs, *Moſes* has left no poſitive laws, except thoſe relating to the peculiar dreſs of prieſts, and where he orders the people to wear blue fringes to the borders of their garments for a remembrance that they were now no longer to live after their own will, but after the commands of God. The ſecond moſt conſiderable negative precepts of this kind were thoſe which forbad the promiſcuous habit of both ſexes, and the weaving of two different ſtuffs, ſuch as linen and woolen, in the ſame garments, which precepts, and others of a like kind, are ſuppoſed to have been given in oppoſition to ſome idolatrous practice among the heathens. Cleanneſs and decency, though very neceſſary in hot climates, are enjoined by *Moſes* under ſevere penalties, and thoſe who laboured under any defilement, were ordered to purify themſelves by proper ceremonies.

The leproſy a defilement.

The greateſt of all defilements was reckoned the leproſy, for which reaſon thoſe who were infected with it were obliged to live ſeparate from the reſt till they were cured. Monarchs themſelves were not exempted from this law, as appears from the inſtance of *Uzziah*; and indeed one kind of it was of ſo infectious a nature that too much caution could not be uſed to prevent its ſpreading. Thoſe that died of it were even buried ſeparately from the reſt. The milder kind, namely, the dry one, ſeems rather to have been an eye-ſore than an infectious diſeaſe. *Moſes* diſtinguiſhes three ſorts of leproſy, namely, that of the body, of garments, and of houſes. Of the firſt there were two kinds, the moſt violent of which not only corrupted the fleſh, but corroded the bones, being reckoned incurable when it ſeized the ſolid parts. *Tournefort*, who had ſeen it in the Levant, thinks it a kind of venereal diſeaſe, and that if taken in time it might be cured by the ſame method. The leproſy of the garments is ſuppoſed to have been owing to ſome defect in the management of the wool, &c. The marks of this kind of leproſy were ſpots either of a reddiſh or greeniſh hue, which appeared upon the garments, whether of linen, woolen, or of ſkins. The leproſy of the houſes was diſtinguiſhed by a kind of ruſt or ſcurf that ſpread itſelf along the walls, which if it was found incurable, the houſe was ordered to be demoliſhed. The prieſts were the proper judges both of the diſeaſe and of the cure, concerning which *Moſes* left them ſeveral plain directions *.

* Levit. xiii. 47, &c. xiv. Calmet. comment ſur Levit.

The *Jewiſh* cuſtoms, both religious and civil, being chiefly founded on their laws, and many of them being already mentioned above, we ſhall have the leſs to ſay here, eſpecially as books and authorities of a date old enough to be depended on are wanting to clear the ſubject. We have already mentioned the cuſtoms they uſed at weddings and feſtivals; we ſhall now ſpeak of thoſe that were practiſed at births and feaſts, to which we ſhall add a ſhort account of their abominable rites at their high places, groves, &c. and of their various kinds of divinations, games, and ceremonies uſed at burials.

Ceremonies uſed at circumciſion.

Circumciſion, it may be remembered, was not enjoined by the *Moſaic* law, but by virtue of the expreſs command given to *Abraham*. No precept was given how the ceremony was to be performed, but it was entirely left to the option of the parent. The inſtrument for cutting off the prepuce was generally a ſharp ſtone, as being leſs dangerous than ſteel. The child was circumciſed at home, where the father or ſome friend held him in his arms, while ſome other expert perſon cut off the foreſkin. It was always looked upon as a high compliment to be choſen to this office. After having cut off the foreſkin, he applied his mouth to the wound, and having ſucked the blood twice or thrice, and ſpit it out into a tumbler of wine, he threw ſome ſtyptic powder upon the wound and dreſſed it. He then put the cup of wine and blood to the infant's lips, pronouncing theſe words of the prophet, *Live in thy blood*, repeated the cxxviii pſalm, and wiſhed his parents joy, and that they might thus aſſiſt at his wedding. This ceremony was uſually accompanied with great rejoicing and feaſting, and at this time the child was named by the parents in preſence of the company. Theſe names were generally ſomething relating to the parents or the child, or to ſome other circumſtances of time. The *Jews* afterwards added ſeveral ſuperſtitious cuſtoms to this ceremony; ſuch as placing a ſtool for *Elijah*, who they ſay aſſiſted inviſibly at the ceremony, writing the names of three friendly angels, and affixing them to the walls of the room, to preſerve the child from the power of *Lillith*, who according to them was *Adam*'s firſt wife, and being parted from him, uſed to vent her ſpleen againſt women in childbirth and new-born children.

And at their feaſts.

As for the cuſtoms and ceremonies uſed at their feaſts, which beſides thoſe commanded or permitted by the law were neither many nor ſumptuous, we ſhall only mention ſuch as bear an analogy with ſome paſſages in the goſpel. Theſe were the ſaluting of the gueſts, waſhing their feet, which *Joſeph* ordered to be performed to his brethren when they came to dine with him in *Egypt*, anointing the head with oil, the only inſtance of which before the goſpel we find in that alluſion of the Pſalmiſt, *Thou haſt prepared a table for me – thou haſt anointed my head with oil.* Theſe firſt ceremonies being over, the maſter of the houſe began to crave a bleſſing; but if there was any ſtranger or perſon of ſuperior rank preſent, he complimented him with that

office,

office, which was not to be refuſed upon any pretence; for they believed that he who refuſed to crave a bleſſing ſhortened his own days. The maſter then took a cup of wine, and having bleſſed the creator of the vine, he ſipped a little of it and gave it to the next perſon till it had gone round. Our Saviour is obſerved by St. *Luke* to have begun with it. After the cup had gone round, the bread was then bleſſed, broke and diſtributed to the gueſts, which *Chriſt* alſo did to the apoſtles. As ſoon as they had done eating, the ſame perſon who had craved the bleſſing alſo gave thanks, the feaſt being concluded with another cup full of wine. Our Saviour is ſuppoſed to have inſtituted the ſacrament in this laſt cup. Some of theſe laſt ceremonies however it is likely were only uſed at their grand feſtivals, eſpecially that of the paſſover; though the firſt was ſeldom or ever omitted. In antient times it appears that they ſat at meat; but in our Saviour's time, the cuſtom was altered into that of lying down *.

Their high places.

Their high places were of two ſorts. In ſome they worſhiped the true God, and in others they ſerved ſtrange Gods, and committed the moſt horrid wickedneſs in their worſhip. Both became very common, and we read but of few kings who had the courage to pull down thoſe that ſerved for idolatrous purpoſes. The former were even expreſly forbidden by God, though ſeemingly countenanced by the examples of *Samuel*, *David*, *Eliſha*, and other inſpired perſons, who might perhaps however be juſtified by ſome divine permiſſion. Nothing could be more ſeverely threatned than the frequenting of the latter; *Joſhua* nevertheleſs had been ſcarcely dead above 20 years, when they began to embrace the idolatrous rites of the heathen with great fondneſs. *Solomon*, by the multitude of his ſtrange women, is branded for having brought this evil to its greateſt height, which was never thoroughly rooted out till *Joſiah*'s reign, that is, about 369 years after.

Divinations.

In conſequence of theſe abominable idolatries they gave themſelves up to all kinds of divinations and witcheries practiſed among the heathen. Theſe were of various kinds, and are expreſſed by *Moſes* in the terms following; *There ſhall not be found among you any one that maketh his ſon or his daughter to paſs through the fire, or that uſeth divinations, or an obſerver of times, or an inchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a conſultor with familiar ſpirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer.*

Games, for aught appears, they totally abſtained from. They had not ſo much as a name for them, but what doth properly ſignify to laugh, play, toy, and ſuch like innocent amuſements. Even *Solomon* himſelf, who had imitated or rather outdone the grandeur of other kingdoms, doth yet make

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* Leo de Mod. Cærem. Jud. p. iv. Goodwin's Moſ. Luke xxii. 1 Sam. ix. 13. xx. 5.

no mention of any kind of games either of hazard or of the theatre; neither do the ſcriptures any where ſpeak of them. According to the *Talmudiſts* and other *Jewiſh* commentators, all good *Iſraelites* utterly abhorred all kinds of games, ſpectacles, &c. One of them rendered the firſt words of the firſt pſalm, *Bleſſed is the man who hath not ſet his foot in a theatre.* From Mr. *Selden* it appears that games of hazard were looked upon by them as a kind of theft, no gain being thought lawful that reſulted from a contract depending upon chance.

Their diverſions.

Eating, drinking, dancing, and muſic, ſeem to have been their chief diverſions; at leaſt they are thoſe which good old *Barzillai* ſeems to bewail his incapacity for; and for the exceſs of which they were often blamed by the prophets. Whether they uſed hunting, fowling, fiſhing, and ſuch like, we will not pretend to ſay; but we find frequent mention made of nets, gins, traps, fowlers, hunters, &c.

Diet.

Their diet, except on feſtivals, ſeems to have been very plain. Their bread was made either of barley or wheat, baked into thin cakes, ſome in ovens, ſome on the hearth, and others in a frying pan, ſome with and ſome without oil; and inſtead of bread they often uſed parched corn. Honey was commended for its deliciouſneſs.

Titles.

High titles were unknown among them, unleſs thoſe which implied ſome office, ſuch as general, treaſurer, recorder, and the like. They chiefly valued themſelves upon their genealogies. Some regard was alſo had to the diſtinction of tribes or families, as to that of *Levi*, *Judah*, and *Ephraim*; and every tribe reſpected thoſe who were the heads or fathers of it. All the elder branches in general, and next to theſe old men of what tribe or branch ſoever, were held in great veneration. This reſpect however did not conſiſt in giving to any man how great ſoever, the king excepted, any pompous title, but in a ſubmiſſive approach and behaviour, and in a reſpectful phraſe peculiar to the *Hebrews*, in which, though the ſecond perſon was always uſed even to a prince, yet the ſpeaker always expreſſed himſelf in the third with the addition of ſervant or handmaid.

Diſeaſes rare among them.

On account of their laborious and frugal lives, and the healthfulneſs of the country, we read of very few diſeaſes among them; much leſs of phyſicians, except ſuch as are now known by the name of ſurgeons, whom the antient *Grecks* as well as the *Hebrews* called phyſicians or healers.

Their Mourning.

Their mourning, either on a private or a public occaſion, was expreſſed much after the ſame manner, not with ſuch formalities as are uſed among us; but by ſuch as expreſſed all the tokens of inward grief, or would at leaſt be apt to cauſe a real one in thoſe who were obliged to go through ſuch a ſeries of mournful ceremonies. They rent their clothes, uncovered their heads, ſmote their breaſts, tore their hair and beards, put aſhes and dirt upon their heads, went barefoot, put on ſack-

ſack-cloth next the ſkin, lay upon the bare ground, and the like. They were however expreſly forbid to cut or ſcarify themſelves after the example of the neighbouring nations. The mourning was longer and ſhorter according to the occaſion. When it was for an ordinary perſon or near relation it laſted but about a week; but for the death of a conſiderable perſon it continued a whole month, as was done for *Moſes* and *Aaron*.

Their funeral ceremonies were no leſs mournful. As ſoon as a perſon was dead, all the near relations came to the houſe in their mourning habit, and ſat down in ſilence upon the ground, while another part of the houſe ecchoed with the voices of the mourners, and the ſounds of inſtruments ſuitable to the occaſion. The muſical inſtruments we only find practiſed in our Saviour's time; but the *Talmudiſts* aſſure us, that it was not only an antient cuſtom, but was even obligatory, the pooreſt huſband being obliged to hire two on the death of his wife. The muſic and mournful ſinging continued till the funeral was over, after which the neareſt relations reſumed their melancholy poſture, and remained in it all the time of the mourning, eating, ſitting, and lying upon the ground, and never ſpeaking to any unleſs ſpoken to. Proper perſons were appointed to prepare the corpſe for the burial; but it was looked upon as a duty incumbent upon the neareſt relation preſent to cloſe the eyes of the deceaſed. If the perſon was of conſiderable rank they embalmed him; if otherwiſe they contented themſelves with waſhing him. Sometimes they added a mixture of ſweet drugs and ſpices, in which they either wrapped the body, as was done to *Joſeph* and our Saviour, or which they burnt about it, as was done at the funeral of *Aſa* king of *Judah*. Funerals.

The provident care of the patriarchs to make ſure of a ſepulchre for their poſterity, and ſeveral expreſs threatnings in the ſacred writings, made them eſteem it as a ſevere curſe from God to be deprived of burial, and a bleſſing to be interred among their anceſtors. For this reaſon, thoſe who had inherited a burying-place were extremely careful of preſerving it to their poſterity, and thoſe who had not, were no leſs ſolicitous to provide one for themſelves and their families. The law having ordained nothing concerning them, they thought it indifferent where they had them, whether in a garden, an orchard, a field, a mountain, or in a rock, ſo they could but ſecure the poſſeſſion of it. They denied ſepulture to none but ſuch as were guilty of ſelf-murder, and not even to theſe but till after ſunſet: and they had burying-places for ſtrangers, and ſuch as were put to death for capital crimes. They generally choſe to have their ſepulchres in a rock; and according to the rules laid down in the *Talmud* they were to be ſix cubits long, four broad, and ſeven high. In the ſides were niches for repoſiting the dead bodies, and the mouth was covered with a large ſtone called *Gallal*, from the rolling of it upon the cave. This ſtone, if there were no other ornaments over the grave, was to be Sepulchres.

often

often whited, that paſſengers might ſee it at a diſtance; and the ſame was done at leaſt to thoſe monuments that were erected for conſiderable perſons. Our Saviour's comparing the hypocritical *Phariſees* to theſe ſepulchres ſufficiently ſhews how they beautified them in his time.

And houſes.

From theſe houſes of the dead paſſing to thoſe of the living, we may obſerve in the firſt place, that they were plain, low, and flat, with rails round the tops, to keep people from falling. Their furniture was of a piece with their houſes, being neither rich nor ornamented. Chimnies, ſaſhes, and caſements were needleſs, where they were forced to ſtudy coolneſs and freſhneſs. Their beds ſeem to have been at ſome conſiderable height from the ground from their common phraſe of climbing up to them. If we might gueſs at the reſt of their furniture by that which the *Shunamite* put into the prophet's chamber, we muſt ſuppoſe that they did not value themſelves upon the richneſs or ſuperfluity of it. The prophet *Amos*, however, we find upbraids the effeminate with lying upon beds of ivory, upon their ſoft couches; and the harlot in the Proverbs ſpeaks of the fine furniture and perfumes with which ſhe has decked her own.

The largeneſs of their houſes and number of apartments, we may ſuppoſe were anſwerable to the richneſs of each, and the numerouſneſs of the family. The women had their ſeparate apartments both for privacy, in which they were like other eaſtern nations, and for legal infirmities, that ſecluded them from the reſt of the family for a time, during which none muſt make uſe of their beds, chairs, tables, or any other part of their furniture or utenſils. Upon this account, as well as ſome others, they were likewiſe forced to have places for bathing in every houſe. Their laborious life, the heat and drineſs of the country made waſhing likewiſe neceſſary; and as it is apt to dry the ſkin too much, they uſed to anoint themſelves either with oil, or with ſome other ointments more or leſs coſtly, according to their circumſtances, but generally perfumed.

Their arts and trades.

The arts in which the *Iſraelites* chiefly excelled were thoſe of war, huſbandry, poetry, and muſic. Whoever obſerves the regular order of their encampments, intrenching, fighting, retiring, and ſuch like, muſt allow *Moſes* to have been as experienced a general as any of his time, and his people as well trained up in the military art as any of their neighbours. *Folard* has been at the pains to prove the antient *Jews* to have been a warlike nation, not only from the many inſtances of their proweſs mentioned in holy writ, but likewiſe from the great number of warlike terms which he has collected out of the ſacred books *. Their whole nation, the tribe of *Levi* excepted, conſiſted of free ſubjects, whoſe eſtates were unalienable, and all of whom fit to bear arms, were obliged to appear at the general rendezvous, when legally ſummoned; ſo

* Folard Diſſert. ſur la tactique des Hebreux.

that

that for the defence of the country they had a ſtanding militia of 600,000 men.

Their arms were like thoſe of other antient nations, either offenſive or defenſive; the former were ſwords, ſpears, javelins, bows and arrows, and ſlings. Their ſwords were ſhort, crooked, broad and ſharp, which when they were called out to action they were ordered *to gird upon their thigh*, from whence it may be concluded that in time of peace they did not uſe them. We read alſo of two-edged ſwords; as for javelins, they ſeem rather to have been a kind of ſhort pikes, ſuch as that which *Saul* threw at *David*. They were likewiſe very expert at the ſling, as appears from *David*'s killing of *Goliah*; and from what is recorded of the inhabitants of *Gibeah*, that they hit within an hairs-breadth. Their defenſive arms were the helmet, ſhield, breaſt-plate, coat of mail, and target; and ſome wore even greaves upon their legs. Though in the beginning of the reign of *Saul* they were very defenceleſs, and had almoſt no weapons in the country, yet before the end of the reign of *David* the nation was much better provided, and in proceſs of time *Uzziah* is ſaid to have had ſuch a ſufficient quantity of all kinds of arms as to furniſh his whole army, though conſiſting of upwards of 300,000 men. Theſe arms were commonly made of braſs, ſometimes alſo of iron, ſteel, and other materials. Their arms.

In ſo mountainous a country cavalry could be of no great ſervice; and therefore in the more early times they did not encumber themſelves with any. *Abſalom* was the firſt we read of that made uſe of them in his unſucceſsful revolt againſt *David*. *Solomon* did indeed ſend for a conſiderable number of horſes from *Egypt*, with a proportionable number of chariots; but 'tis generally imagined he purchaſed them rather for grandeur than uſe; and indeed the expence did ſo far outweigh their ſervice, that his ſucceſſors contented themſelves with hiring them of the *Egyptians*, upon any exigence. *David* is ſuppoſed by ſome to have had an immenſe army of regular troops, no leſs than 288,000 men, 24,000 of whom came regularly upon duty every month throughout the year; but others with greater probability think that theſe were only the national militia of all the tribes, and the repreſentative of the *Hebrew* nation as well as a ſtanding guard *. He kept indeed in his pay a body of *Cherethites* and *Pelethites*, who were ſtrangers, and his ſon *Solomon* made an addition to theſe forces of a prodigious number of horſes and chariots, inſomuch that he is recorded to have had 40,000 ſtalls for his chariot horſes, beſides 12,000 horſes for his cavalry or life guard, and 1400 chariots of war. Whether the forces of the ſubſequent kings were ſtanding troops regularly paid, or the national militia, is not determined; but the latter ſeems the moſt probable, on account of their immenſe numbers.

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* Lowman on the Civil Govern. of the Hebr. p. 58, 59.

Abijah,

Abijah king of *Judah*, we find, with an army of 400,000 men, took the field againſt *Jeroboam* king of *Iſrael*, followed by an army of 800,000 men, 500,000 of whom were killed in the action *. *Aſa* king of *Judah*, with near 600,000 men, routed the army of the king of *Ethiopia*, which conſiſted of a million of men †. The army of *Jehoſhaphat* is ſaid to have amounted to 1,160,000, beſides his garriſons throughout the kingdom ‡. We read that *David* entertained a conſiderable number of thoſe troops that could uſe both the right hand and the left in hurling ſtones and ſhooting arrows, thence called *ambi-dexter*, being exceeding fierce of aſpect and ſwift of foot.

In the beginning of the *Jewiſh* monarchy their kings uſed to fight on foot, as the judges had done before them; at leaſt we do not read of any horſes or chariots uſed by them till a long time after. The frequent alliances which the kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael* were forced to make with the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and other nations, probably put them under a neceſſity of appearing at the head of their army with horſes and chariots, and a grandeur anſwerable to that of their allies. The officers of war under them were, 1. The head or general of the army, called the prince of the hoſt. 2. The princes or generals of each tribe. 3. The commanders of thouſands. 4. Of hundreds. 5. Of fifties. 6. Of tens. 7. Of threes. 8. Their ſcribes or muſter-maſters, who kept exact rolls of all that bore arms in their diſtricts. 9. Laſtly, their *ſoterim* or inſpectors, or, as others think, a kind of provoſts or miniſters to inflict puniſhments on all delinquents.

Their manner of life.

As every family poſſeſſed an independant unalienable inheritance, there was no acceſs for luxury or ambition, nor any danger of a family's being totally ruined. Every man cultivated his own vine, field, orchard, &c. and could indifferently handle the plough and flail, or the ſword and bow, as occaſion required; but preferred ſtill a quiet life under his vine and fig-tree. By their lawgiver they were promiſed, in conſequence of their obedience, neither gold, ſilver, nor precious ſtones, ſtately houſes, or ſumptuous furniture, but the former and latter rain, regular ſeaſons, plenty of corn, wine, and oil, increaſe of cattle, multitude of children, and victory over their enemies; all which, joined to the natural fertility of the ſoil, proved ſuch powerful encouragements to agriculture, that there is ſcarce any known people that gave themſelves more intirely and univerſally to it than the *Jews*. It was even attended to by judges and kings themſelves, the only difference between whom and private men was, that they had more lands and more numerous herds. Thus in the mention of *David*'s riches, beſides the immenſe quantities of gold and ſilver, notice is taken of his arable and paſture grounds, of his ſtore-houſes for corn, wine, and oil; of his plantations of fig, olive, and other fruit-trees; his numerous herds of oxen, camels, ſheep, and aſſes. His ſon

* 2 Chron. xiii. 17. † Ibid. xiv. 8. ‡ Ibid. xvii. 14.

Solomon

Solomon not only multiplied them in proportion to the great consumption which the vaſt number of his wives, concubines, and ſervants required, but tells us likewiſe what pains he took to outdo all that had gone before him in the number and elegancy of them.

Manufactures.

After what has been here obſerved of their agriculture, we muſt not expect to find any trades or manufactures among them before the time of *David* and *Solomon*, except ſuch as were abſolutely neceſſary; which were even carried on in a different way from other great nations. They built their own houſes, their wives and ſervants ſpun, wove, and made their cloaths, baked their bread, dreſſed their meat, and, in a word, ſupplied the buſineſs of many manufacturers. The plainneſs of their food, cloathing, and houſhold furniture, ſome few utenſils excepted, rendered thoſe trades unneceſſary till a more luxurious way of living got footing among them.

Their dreſs.

Their cloathing was plain and artleſs enough, both in its materials and make, to be done within doors. From what we find in the ſacred books, it appears that they had a long looſe tunic and drawers, made of linen, next to their body, and a looſe garment, ſomewhat like a cloak, of light woollen cloth, which they threw over their bodies when they went abroad. The beauty of them conſiſted either in the fineneſs of the cloth or the richneſs of the dye, ſuch as purple, ſcarlet, blue, and yellow; but the plaineſt and moſt commonly worn, was the white, becauſe it was the natural colour of the linen and wool, and could be more eaſily waſhed; upon which account it was much recommended by *Solomon*, *Eccleſ.* ix. 8. it being highly neceſſary, in hot countries, to ſhift frequently. Breeches were ordered to be worn by the prieſts; and probably enough they may be ſuppoſed to have been alſo worn by the reſt, for decency-ſake. As for the youth of both ſexes, it is probable they wore their ſtuffs ſtriped or flowered with various colours; for ſuch were thoſe of *Joſeph*, of *Tamar*, and of all *David*'s other unmarried daughters. We do not read of any other ornaments to the men's dreſs, except that of the fringes that were ſewed round the bottom of their garments. Some covering they wore upon their head; but the faſhion of it is not to be gueſſed at. They wore likewiſe ſhoes abroad, and perhaps a kind of ſtockings; but how, and of what they were made, cannot be determined: only their ſhoes, or rather ſandals, ſeem to be a ſole, whether of wood, ſkin, or ſome other material, tied round the top of the foot, without any other covering; which made the waſhing of the feet ſo frequent among them.

The dreſs of the women, eſpecially of the rich ones, was indeed more curious; becauſe they beſtowed more ornament upon it, chiefly of needle-work, which was ſtill within their own province. They wore jewels of gold and ſilver; a great deal of finery, which was at firſt brought from *Egypt*; but as their faſhions did not alter as ours do, when they were once furniſhed

niſhed they had no farther need of artiſts. Some of theſe ornaments they probably had alſo from *Tyre*, in exchange for their corn, balm, and other commodities, eſpecially after *Solomon*'s time, when pride and luxury grew to a great height. *Ezekiel*, in his xvith chapter, gives us a deſcription of the female garb; and the prophet *Iſaiah* employs almoſt a whole chapter in enumerating the coſtly ornaments with which that ſex uſed to deck themſelves in his time.

The exceſs of finery does not appear to have prevailed before the latter end of *David*'s life. Till then a wonderful œconomy ſeems to have reigned in every family, under the wives at home and the huſbands abroad. The laborious life of the men doth account for that valour, ſtrength, ſwiftneſs, and ſurprizing exploits, for which the Scripture doth ſo highly extol them, eſpecially *David*'s worthies and excellent troops. *Solomon*, however, on account of raiſing his ſumptuous buildings, introducing a great number of artificers, ſuch as carvers, maſons, carpenters, joiners, gold and ſilver ſmiths, founders, and all manner of workmen in metals, wood, and ſtone. Theſe brought in a number of others, without which they could not ſubſiſt, and probably gave his ſubjects ſuch a reliſh of his more elegant way of building, that the number of workmen multiplied ſtill more.

Their poetry.

Poetry is perhaps the only art in which the *Hebrews*, ſince the time of *Moſes*, have excelled all other nations; theirs having this great advantage above all others, that the authors of it were divinely inſpired, and ſeem to have conſecrated it wholly to the honour of God. Not only their great lawgiver, their monarchs, judges, prieſts, and prophets, men and women, have endeavoured to eternize their memories by ſome excellent performance of this kind; witneſs the two inimitable ſongs of *Moſes*, thoſe of *Deborah* and *Hannah*, the whole book of *Pſalms*, the *Canticles*, the thankſgiving of *Hezekiah*, the book of *Job*, a great part of the prophet *Iſaiah*, and the *Lamentations*. Other prophets, beſides theſe mentioned, are alſo ſuppoſed, by the loftineſs of their ſtile, to have written at leaſt part of their prophecies in verſe.

Concerning theſe performances, it is univerſally agreed that nothing can be conceived more majeſtic or more ſurpriſingly ſublime, whether we conſider the variety of action, the greatneſs of the ſentiments, the richneſs of the figures and imagery, or the ſtrength and beauty of the expreſſions. To all theſe we may add that a ſtrain of the moſt ſeraphic piety and of the moſt excellent morality, runs through the whole, which conveys to the reader's mind the moſt important truths and the nobleſt precepts and inſtructions; whilſt the expreſſions, however ſtrong and lofty, are adapted to the reach and underſtanding of the young and illiterate, and at the ſame time raiſe the deepeſt attention and admiration in the ableſt maſters. And yet it is certain that the poetical pieces of Scripture, like all ancient works of that kind, frequently allude to things cuſtoms

cuſtoms, and ſayings, to which we are utter ſtrangers at this diſtance of time, and abound with words and idioms the true meaning of which we are left to gueſs at, for want of ſuch parallels as might determine it. From theſe and the imperfection of modern tongues, one may eaſily judge how ſhort all tranſlations muſt come of the beauty and energy of the original, which, in ſpite of the thick medium through which we behold it, is ſtill able to caſt an amazing luſtre.

Tho' there be nothing more univerſally agreed on than the excellency of the ancient *Hebrew* poetry above all others in the above-mentioned reſpects, nevertheleſs there is ſcarce a point more debated, or leſs poſſible to be determined, than the nature, metre, cadence, and rules of it. Thoſe that have made any attempts this way, have been forced to ſhift, alter, and overturn, the order, the words, and punctuation, and even ſometimes the very ſenſe, in order to bring the text to ſuit their hypotheſis. The truth is, our ignorance of the true pronunciation of that tongue, which, for aught appears, has been loſt ſince the captivity, makes it morally impoſſible to determine any thing about it with any probability, as we can never be ſenſible of the length or ſhortneſs of the ſyllables, or of the harmony of the words and verſes in which a great part of the poetic beauty conſiſts. Some ancient authors, however, both *Jews* and Chriſtians, ſuch as *Joſephus*, *Philo*, *Origen*, *Euſebius*, and St. *Jerom*, expatiate largely on this ſubject, and give ſuch an account of every poetical piece of the Old Teſtament, as if both the genuine pronunciation of the *Hebrew*, and all the rules of that poetry, had been preſerved to their time. The two ſongs of *Moſes*, they tell us, were written in heroic verſe; the *Pſalms* were of a mixed ſort, trimeters, pentameters, and others hexameters. We rather think, however, with the generality of the moderns, that the greateſt part of them, even thoſe two ſolemn ſongs of *Moſes*, were of the lyric kind, compoſed and ſet to muſic, ſung in an alternate manner, and accompanied with the ſound of divers inſtruments, and with dances ſuitable to the muſic.

Of their muſic we know little but from conjecture, having nothing left of it that can aſſure us that it was equal to their poetry. However, if we judge of the excellency of the one from that of the other, and if the moſt elegant and harmonious words and phraſes, compoſed upon the ſublimeſt ſubjects, could inſpire a muſical perſon with a ſuitable melody, it will be abſurd to ſuppoſe their muſic to have been otherwiſe than ſweet, elegant, and beautifully varied, though attended with a noble gravity anſwerable to the grandeur of the ſubject and occaſion. It is by no means probable that they who ſo greatly excelled in the one, would admit in the other ſuch harſh and inharmonious inſtruments as *Le Clerc* and ſome other moderns have imagined. We read of eight or ten-ſtringed inſtruments in vogue among them, of the *nebel* and *kinnor*, from which the Greeks had their *nabla* and *cinyra*, ſuppoſed to be of the nature Their muſic.

of the lute and harp. They had alſo ſeveral kinds of wind-inſtruments, ſuch as the flute, trumpet, and organ, whatever reſemblance this laſt might have to ours. To theſe they joined the drum, and perhaps the tabor and kettle-drums. Were we to judge of the excellence of their muſic from its wonderful effects, ſuch as quieting the mind of *Saul* in his moſt melancholy and diſtracted moods, and calming the ſouls of the prophets, and fitting them for divine inſpiration, we ſhall be forced to own that it was vaſtly more moving than any thing we have now. *David* was a good muſician, as well as an excellent poet; and how much a prince's inclination contributes to the advancement of any art, is obvious to every one. Beſides thoſe who aſſiſted conſtantly by turns at the altar of burnt-offering, we read alſo of women who applied themſelves to muſic, both vocal and inſtrumental, ſuch as *Heman*'s three daughters, 1 *Chron.* ii. 3. and thoſe which are mentioned by the Pſalmiſt *. Their kings alſo had their own muſicians of both ſexes: ſome of the *Pſalms*, eſpecially the xxth, xxiſt, and lxxiid, are ſuppoſed to have been compoſed in order to be ſung on the day of their inauguration. The xlvth and the *Canticles* are reckoned a kind of epithalamium proper for a wedding-day. In a word, no nation ſeems to have been fonder of muſic than the *Jews*; inſomuch, that though the *Babyloniſh* captivity had made them hang their harps on the willows, yet at their return we find they brought back a troop of 200 muſicians of both ſexes †.

Their dances.

What has been ſaid of their muſic may alſo be ſuppoſed of their dances, namely, that thoſe which were of a religious nature were generally more grave and ſolemn than their other ſorts: but whether confined to rules, or directed only by cuſtom and imitation, is uncertain. Referring our readers who are curious in theſe ſubjects to *Mercer*, *Sikard*, *Meibomius*, *Gemarras*, *Le Clerc*, *Calmet*, and others, we ſhall paſs to another article in which we have fuller information.

Of the *Hebrew* tongue.

THE *Hebrew*, ſuch as we have it in the writings of *Moſes* and other ſacred authors, was the primitive language of the *Jews*. Not to repeat what we have formerly mentioned about the confuſion of languages in general, and of the uncertainty of the *Hebrew* being the mother tongue, we ſhall only give an account of its idiom and genius, and of its particular excellencies, for which it is ſo generally ſuppoſed to have been the mother of all others. Its claim to be a primitive language is chiefly founded on its ſimplicity, its pureneſs, energy, fecundity of meanings and expreſſions, notwithſtanding its natural barrenneſs of words, over and above its great affinity to the *Syriac*, *Arabic*, *Ethiopic*, and *Armenian*, which languages it ſeems to excel in all theſe particulars. To this may be added the ſignificancy

* Pſalm lxviii. † Ezra ii. 65.

of the names both of men and brutes, the latter of which are generally allowed to expreſs their nature and properties in this more than in any known tongue. Several learned men indeed have obſerved ſome defects in it, as we have it now in the ſacred books, which plainly ſhew, that if it was the original tongue, and the parent of the reſt, it muſt have ſuffered many changes; ſuch as the loſing many of its primitive roots and idioms, and adopting thoſe of ſtrange nations, of which number are generally allowed all roots that have above three letters, beſides very many ſcriptural words, whoſe roots are intirely loſt. It will, however, hardly be conteſted, that its genius is pure, primitive, natural, and exactly conformable to the native ſimplicity of the *Hebrew* patriarchs. Its words are conciſe, yet expreſſive, derived from a ſmall number of roots, yet without the ſtudied compoſition of the *Greek* and *Roman*. It has the happieſt and richeſt fecundity in verbs of any tongue; which ariſes from the variety and ſignificancy of its conjugations, ſome of which even imply a whole phraſe, and cannot be well expreſſed in any other language without paraphraſing. Their pronouns and prepoſitions are only ſingle letters; put the former at the end, and the latter at the beginning of a word. The grammar is ſimple, eaſy, and natural, and the language is of all others the moſt conciſe, maſculine, pathetic, and freeſt from lightneſs and bombaſt.

The manner of writing it.

Their way of writing, however, is liable to many objections. It may perhaps be allowed to be equally eaſy and natural to write as they did, from the right to the left, as from the left to the right, after the manner of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and the modern *European* nations. But whether we ſuppoſe *Moſes* uſed the *Samaritan* character, now only preſerved in ſome few medals and the *Samaritan* pentateuch, or wrote in the preſent *Hebrew* character, which is univerſally allowed to have been the old *Aſſyrian*, and is thought to have been firſt introduced by *Ezra* after the captivity, objections are made to both. The firſt is, perhaps, the moſt uncouth and unnatural, the moſt puzzling and unſightly, that ever was invented; and the latter, though perhaps contrived for its beauty, is far from being recommendable for expedition.

The *Samaritan* whether the ancient *Hebrew* character.

It is now the moſt received opinion, that the *Samaritan* was the ancient *Hebrew* character, and that it was the ſame, or very near ſo, with the old *Phœnician*. It is alſo far from being improbable that the old *Egyptian* reſembled it; ſo that *Moſes*, *who was learned in all the wiſdom of Egypt*, might write his laws in the common character of that and the neighbouring nations. Sir *Iſaac Newton* is of opinion that *Moſes* uſed the character of the *Midianites*, among whom he reſided ſeveral years; but we think it is now impoſſible to determine which of thoſe eaſtern nations had the art of writing moſt early, or whether each of them had a peculiar character of their own. Several learned men, and the authors of the Talmud, inſiſt, that the modern

Hebrew, or *Chaldee* character, was that uſed by *Moſes* and the other inſpired writers of the Old Teſtament, and that in which the decalogue was written on the two tables: but without involving ourſelves further in the controverſy, we refer our readers to *Morinus*, father *Simon*, *Calmet*, *Whiſton*, *Prideaux*, and others, where they will find the whole argument at length, from which the *Samaritan* character is proved to have been the ancient *Hebrew*.

Theſe characters, notwithſtanding their great affinity to the old *Phœnician*, if they be not indeed the ſame with them, and the vaſt progreſs of this latter all over the world, would have been intirely loſt, had they not been preſerved to us in the *Samaritan* Pentateuch, the firſt copies of which were brought into *Europe*, not 200 years ago, by the learned *Uſher*, though in the firſt centuries of Chriſtianity well known to the ancient fathers. To conclude, though *Moſes* is the oldeſt writer we know of, yet whoever conſiders the vaſt interval between the creation of the world and the time in which he wrote, the great increaſe of mankind, their early commerce, arts, ſciences, and the like, will hardly think the knowlege of letters to be ſo late as that lawgiver's writings. It will be more reaſonable to divide the honour of that invention, and its gradual improvements among other nations, and perhaps more ages than one; for had he known it to have been the invention of one man, eſpecially of one of the patriarchs, he would doubtleſs not have failed recording him as well as the inventors of muſic, forging, and ſuch like.

Of the points or vowels.

It has likewiſe been a famous diſpute among the learned whether the *Hebrews* uſed any vowel letters, or whether the points which are now called by that name were ſubſtituted inſtead of them: and if the latter, whether they are as old as *Moſes*, or invented by *Ezra*, or by the *Maſorites*. Without entering into this ſpacious field of controverſy, which has exerciſed the wits of the moſt learned critics of the two laſt centuries, and is far from being yet adjuſted, we ſhall acquaint our readers with the moſt received opinions upon both heads. As to the firſt, it is now the general received opinion, that the *Aleph*, *He*, *Vau*, *Jod*, and *Ain*, ſerved inſtead of vowels, though they were ſometimes omitted, or, according to the grammarians, underſtood, in their declenſions and conjugations, and often varied in their ſounds, and had, in ſome caſes, the power of conſonants. The *Samaritans*, it is certain, never admitted of any others, and yet they read their Pentateuch without difficulty. Points were alſo not admitted anciently into the *Chaldee*, *Syriac*, and *Arabic* verſions in the laſt eſpecially not till ſeveral centuries after Chriſt. Nay the *Jews* have never as yet admitted them into their ſynagogues. It is from thence plain that the ſacred writings may be and are eaſily read without thoſe points, which ſeem only invented for the greater eaſe of learners, and to preſerve the true pronunciation of that tongue.

Thol

Thoſe who are for ſupporting the antiquity and authority of the points, are far from being agreed in their ſentiments. Some, both of the *Jews* and Chriſtians, attribute them to *Moſes*, and make them equally authentic with the text: others think they were invented by *Ezra* and the men of the great ſynagogue. *Elias Levita*, however, a learned *German Jew*, who flouriſhed at *Rome* about the middle of the 16th century, made it appear that they had never been in uſe till after the finiſhing of the Talmud, that is, according to him, about 500 years after Chriſt. Many *Jews* and Chriſtians immediately endeavoured to refute his opinion, which was as ſtrenuouſly defended by others. At length *Morinus* having examined all that had been urged on both ſides, wrote his learned diſſertation on that ſubject, againſt which there has been nothing replied of any conſequence; on the contrary, his opinion has been univerſally applauded and confirmed by thoſe that have come after him. He has made it appear that neither *Origen*, nor St. *Jerom*, nor even the compilers of the Talmud, which, according to him, was not finiſhed till the 7th century, knew any thing of them, no, nor any of the *Jewiſh* rabbies that wrote during the 8th and 9th centuries. The firſt footſteps of them he met with, he adds, were in the writings of the rabbi *Aaron Ben-Aſher*, chief of the weſtern, and of *Moſes Ben-Naphtali*, chief of the caſtern ſchool, that is, about the middle of the 10th century; ſo that they can hardly be ſuppoſed older than the beginning of it.

They were not known till the 10th century.

The *Jews*, even thoſe who believe them the invention of the *Maſorites*, look upon them nevertheleſs to be of ſuch authority, that nothing ought to be altered in them. The generality of Chriſtians, however, reject ſuch a ſuperſtitious fear, and make no difficulty of departing from them whenever a better ſenſe may be attained by a change of them; becauſe their reading is found not always exactly to agree with either the Septuagint verſion, or that of St. *Jerom*, or their targums, or the *Chaldee* paraphraſe, or with the interpretation of ancient *Rabbies*. Their being rejected, it may alſo be obſerved, does not throw any obſcurity upon the ſacred text, or introduce any ambiguity, ſo as to render the ſenſe undetermined and dubious.

At the time the vowel points were invented, the grammatical points, namely, the comma and full-ſtop, are ſuppoſed alſo to have been introduced. The learned *Vojſius* aſſures us, that he had examined above 2000 *Hebrew* manuſcripts of all ſorts, and that he never met with any having grammatical or vowel points that were above 600 years old. This invention has been acknowleged as very uſeful; but few Chriſtian interpreters have thought it neceſſary to confine themſelves to theſe *Maſorete* diviſions. On the contrary, there is ſcarce a modern verſion that doth not very reaſonably depart from them, when a clearer ſenſe, a parallel place, or the analogy of faith can bear them out in it. And if a new verſion of the Old Teſtament were now to be made, it is to be believed that the punctuation of the *Maſorites* would be altered in a much greater number of places

The grammatical points then introduced.

than we have seen hitherto. The *Jews* had too wrong a byas in every thing that related to the religion and reign of the Meſſiah, to have ſucceeded thoroughly in ſuch an undertaking, if their intentions had been ever ſo upright. It may indeed be queſtioned whether their fear of giving the Chriſtians any advantage has not cramped them more than all the reſt, and made them ſit down ſatisfied with a pointing which left the text dark and intricate, rather than to give a better, which might be afterwards uſed againſt them. Their other productions, tho' equally laborious, are of a more trifling nature. They invented a great variety of other points, ſome rhetorical, ſome muſical, and others critical; the former of which were deſigned to keep up the right cadence of the *Hebrew*, and the latter to fix the ſenſe of ambiguous places in their own way; all which grew as various, numerous, and intricate, as they were indeed uſeleſs.

What materials the *Jews* wrote upon,

As to the materials the ancient *Jews* wrote upon, and the inſtrument they wrote with, theſe in ſome meaſure may be gathered from ſeveral places of Scripture. Tho' their firſt writing we find mentioned, namely, the decalogue, was upon tables of ſtone, it is, however, probable that *Moſes* made uſe of a leſs heavy and cumberſome material to write the reſt of his laws upon, ſuch as the *Shittim*, or ſome other hard wood. This way of writing upon tables was ſtill in uſe, not only in *Iſaiah*'s days, but even in the time of our Saviour. Beſides theſe, we find frequent mention made in *Job*, the *Pſalms*, and in the prophets, of their writing upon rolls, which are reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been made of ſkins, or of ſome pliable matter fit to roll up, as the original word imports. The *Indians* and *Perſians*, we find from *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, uſed to write upon the ſkins of ſheep and goats long before the time of king *Pergamus*, who is rather, therefore, to be looked upon as an improver than the inventor of parchment. The *Jews* retain in their ſynagogues the uſe of rolls to this day. The lines were not continued through the whole breadth of the roll, but were conveniently divided into columns, which our verſion renders leaves or pages, in that place of *Jeremiah* where the king cut the roll in pieces, after they had read three or four pages of it. From what has been ſaid, we may conclude their writing-inſtruments were of two ſorts; the firſt of ſteel, or of ſome hard metal, for engraving upon ſtone or wood; but of what kind the other ſort was with which they wrote upon the ſkins, is uncertain.

Their little regard for ſecular learning.

We do not find in Scripture any mention of ſchools and colleges for inſtruction of their youth, except thoſe of the prophets, which were of a peculiar kind. The *Jews*, however, to wipe off this imputation, have coined two names for their ſchools, of which there is no mention in the ſacred books, and alledge, that many of the tribes of *Simeon* and *Levi*, who, according to *Jacob*'s prophecy, were to be ſcattered through *Iſrael*, having no inheritance, were obliged to keep ſchools for a livelihood; and they interpret theſe words of the *Pſalmiſt*, *paſſing through the valley of* Bacca, *as it for a well*, of theſe wells of learning. But

if we conſider their manner of education and life, we ſhall find they had no great uſe for ſchools. They bred up their ſons to bodily exerciſes, ſuch as would beſt fit them either for war or huſbandry, and their daughters to houſhold occupations, without troubling themſelves much about cultivating their minds, farther than to inſtruct them in the knowlege of their religion and laws, which was the province of the parents, chiefly on the ſabbath. Beſides the Pentateuch, or books of *Moſes*, they had the books of *Job*, and the prophets, the *Pſalms*, the *Proverbs*, and *Eccleſiaſtes*, with many other writings of *Solomon*, a great part of which have long been loſt. All theſe they were inſtructed in, even from their infancy, by hearing them expounded on the ſabbath and other feſtivals by the prophets and levites; and in them they found ſuch a dreadful account of the theology of other nations, that we cannot ſuppoſe them to have had the leaſt curioſity to know more of it. They thought themſelves alſo obliged to be verſed in the hiſtories of *Joſhua*, of their judges and kings, and had alſo ſeveral other hiſtories, that have been ſince loſt, ſuch as the book of *the Wars*, of *the Lord*, that of *Jaſher*, and eſpecially the book of *the Kings*, and *the Chronicles* of the kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, to which thoſe we have extant continually refer.

Their lawgiver, to prevent their applying themſelves to the ſtudy of aſtronomy, and thence falling inſenſibly into that of aſtrology, and being inſnared into the worſhip of the heavenly bodies, altered the ſolar year, and complete month of 30 days, into a lunar year and irregular moons of 29 and 30 days; and inſtead of dividing the day and night into 24 equal parts, as the *Egyptians* are thought to have done long before, parted the day into four diviſions, and the night into four watches, neglecting the more perfect diviſions of the neighbouring nations, which are thought to have been accommodated by them to aſtrological purpoſes. What inſtruments they had to reckon the time by, whether the *Egyptian clepſydræ* or water-glaſſes, or ſun-dials, or any other, we cannot affirm, except that we read of the ſun-dial, or, as the original ſignifies, the ſtair-caſe or flight of ſteps of *Ahaz*. But allowing it to have been a real and regular ſun-dial, it may eaſily be ſuppoſed to have been rather the work of ſome foreign aſtronomer than a common thing among them; that prince's character ſhews that he was not over-ſcrupulous of introducing new things of a much more dangerous nature, witneſs his new altar from *Damaſcus*.

Though they manifeſted not only a contempt but an averſion for the ſciences and the learning of their heathen neighbours, ſo that in the time of *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus* a ſentence of anathema was publiſhed againſt thoſe who ſhould ſuffer their children to be inſtructed in any part of the *Greek* learning, they were nevertheleſs careful, as we obſerved, to cultivate the knowlege of religion among themſelves. We cannot indeed be ſure that they had any ſynagogues before the captivity, though it be far from improbable, conſidering the great diſtance at which

The schools of the prophets.

some of them lived from the temple, and that they were only obliged to resort thither but three times a year. Some other places it appears they had for prayer and instruction, namely, the schools of the prophets, to which they might repair on the sabbaths, new moons, and other festivals. By prophets here is not meant those strictly so called, men endowed with the spirit of prophecy, but their disciples, or, according to the *Hebrew* idiom, *the sons of the prophets*. The former were generally consulted by the kings, priests, and elders of the people, upon all extraordinary occasions, whether about religion or state affairs; and the latter were brought up under them, and fitted for instructing the people in the way of virtue and the worship of God. These last generally had their habitations in the country, lived in a kind of society among themselves, and had one or more of the prophets to be heads over them, to whom they gave the title of father. Their houses were but mean, and of their own building. Their food was chiefly pottage made of herbs, when the people sent no better fare to them. Their dress was plain and coarse, and tied about with a leathern girdle. Their wants being few, were easily supplied by their own hands; and their temporal views reaching no farther, they employed their time chiefly in prayer, study, and retirement. This laborious, recluse, and abstemious course of life, joined to their meanness of dress, gave them such a strange air, especially among the courtiers, that they looked upon them as no better than madmen. Their extraordinary freedom in reproving even princes for their wicked deeds, did likewise expose them frequently to persecutions, imprisonments, and sometimes to death. They were, however, always respected by the better and wiser sort, even of the highest rank, and used with the utmost reverence and regard *.

Some writers have added, without authority, that they lived in perpetual celibacy, poverty, obedience, and the like. It is indeed true that we do not read of any women living amongst them; and that when the *Shunamite* went to acquaint *Elisha* with the death of her son, he sent *Gehazi* to meet her; and that when she would have fallen down at his master's feet, he offered to hinder her. It is certain, nevertheless, that several of the prophets were married and had children, as *Samuel*, *Isaiah*, whose wife is called a prophetess, *Ezekiel*, and *Hosea*. The prophetesses were likewise married: *Deborah* was the wife of *Lapidoth*; and *Huldah*, who was consulted by *Josiah*, was the wife of *Shallum*; and she is observed in the text to have lived in *Jerusalem*. These inspired persons, while they continued in *Israel*, which was till the return from *Babylon*, being the surest expounders of the *Mosaic* law, proved such a strong fence against schism and heresy (the political one of *Jeroboam* excepted) that

* 1 Sam. ix. 5. 1 Kings xiv. 3. xviii. 7. 2 Kings iv. 38. 42. vi. & v. xiii, xiv. 1. Zech. xiii. Calmet.

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it could never get footing amongſt them; whereas prophecy no ſooner ceaſed, than ignorance prevailing, they ſplit themſelves into ſuch a variety of ſects, and gave ſuch a ſcope to their fertile fancies, that the *Talmudiſts* own *Elias* himſelf would be at a loſs to ſolve the ſubtle difficulties which they have raiſed againſt each other. The *Talmudiſts* reckon theſe prophets from *Abraham* to *Malachi*, to the number of 48, and add ſix propheteſſes. Several of the former are known to us by nothing but their names. We ſhall defer the farther account of the actions, writings, and character of the others, till we come to the hiſtory of thoſe kings in whoſe reigns they lived. The ways by which God revealed himſelf to them were various. To ſome he appeared and ſpoke, either in a human voice, or in ſome other audible manner, as to *Abraham* and *Moſes*; to others by voice only, as to *Samuel*, *Jeremiah*, *Hoſea*, and others; ſometimes by viſions, as to *Iſaiah*, *Ezekiel*, and others; at other times by dreams; but the moſt uſual and general way was by the ſole operation of the ſpirit of God acting on the mind of the prophet.

CHAP. III.

SECT. I.

The JEWISH *Hiſtory from the Call of* ABRAHAM *to the* Babyloniſh *Captivity.*

The *Jewiſh* hiſtory divided into four grand periods.

THE *Jewiſh* hiſtory may very properly be divided into four grand periods. The firſt, from *Abraham*'s entrance into *Canaan* to the exod under *Moſes*, is reckoned, according to the chronology of the learned archbiſhop *Uſher*, which we follow, 430 years. From thence to *Solomon*'s laying the foundation of the temple, the text tells us, was 480 years. The deſtruction of the temple by *Nebuchadnezzar*, when *Judah* was carried into captivity, concludes the third period, which is reckoned to contain 425 years. The fourth period is, from thence to the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by the emperor *Titus*, reckoned 656 years. As to the kingdom of *Iſrael*, it laſted only 254 years from its defection from that of *Judah* in the 37th year after their building of the temple to their being carried away captive by *Shalmanezer*, which happened 134 years before the *Babyloniſh* captivity.

Tho' *Abraham*, as we have already mentioned, was the father and founder of the *Jewiſh* people, yet they were never, as we can find, called by his name, but either by that of *Iſraelites* or *Jews*, or by the more common one of *Hebrews*, which was given to *Abraham* and his firſt deſcendants. We, in compliance with cuſtom, have called them *Jews*, though that name was not given them till after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, when the tribe of *Judah* became the moſt conſiderable, if not almoſt the whole of what was left of *Iſrael*.

Abraham

Abraham was born in *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, and was about 75 years of age when his father *Terah* removed from thence with his family into *Charan*, where they had not been seated long before *Terah* died. His funeral was scarce over, when *Abraham* was commanded by God to depart thence into a land which he should shew to him, God assuring him that he would bless, protect, and multiply him in an extraordinary manner, and that in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed. He readily obeyed, being doubtless acquainted with the call; and taking *Sarah* his wife, and *Lot* his brother's son, with all his servants and cattle, went into the land of *Canaan*, and pitched his tents near the city of *Sichem*, then inhabited by the *Canaanites*, where he built an altar unto the Lord. His houshold was even then probably very numerous, which might give occasion to the story of *Nicolas* of *Damascus*, that *Abraham* came with an army from *Chaldæa*, and before he went to *Sichem* stopped and reigned some time in the country of *Damascus*, where his name was still famous. *Josephus*, after repeating the story, adds, that there was still a village in that country which bore the name of *Abraham*'s habitation.

Abraham's call.

At *Sichem* God was pleased to appear again to *Abraham*, to confirm all his former promises, and to assure him he would one day give that land to his posterity. Soon after a great famine, which happened in those parts, forcing him to remove into *Egypt*, he agreed with his wife *Sarah* (who, though past the 65th year of her age, retained yet beauty enough to endanger the man's life who should pass for her husband) that she should pass for his sister in every place they came to: from which descent into *Egypt* the generality of chronologers compute the space of 430 years mentioned by St. *Paul*. Before *Abraham* had been long in *Egypt*, *Sarah* captivated the heart of *Pharaoh* the king, who took her into his house, and was extremely liberal to her pretended brother, making him presents of vast numbers of sheep, oxen, camels, asses, men and maid servants, besides gold, silver, and other precious things. The king, however, and all his house, being afflicted with such plagues from God as plainly convinced him on whose account they suffered, sent for *Abraham*, and having sharply rebuked him for deceiving him in a matter of such consequence, delivered up his wife to him, free from any stain of disloyalty, and gave orders that they might safely depart his dominions with all the wealth they had.

He goes into Egypt. Bef. Chr. 1920.

The famine, in the mean time, being ceased in the land of *Canaan*, *Abraham* returned directly thither, and on the altar he had built before offered a sacrifice of thanks for his happy and safe return. Soon after, agreeing to a separation with his nephew *Lot*, on account of the great increase of their flocks, which occasioned disputes among their herdsmen, God again renewed his promise to him to give all the land he beheld to him and his posterity. *Abraham* then removing to the land of *Mamre*, which is in *Hebron*, there built an altar unto God, and contracting a friendship with three of the chief men of the country, namely, *Mamre*,

Returns to *Canaan*, and separates from *Lot*.

Mamre, *Aner*, and *Eshcol*, lived peaceably among them near 10 years. *Lot* about this time being taken captive by *Chedorlaomer* and his allies, *Abraham* no sooner heard of his disaster, than he applied to his three friends *Mamre*, *Aner*, and *Eshcol*, for assistance, and joining their forces to 300 men of his own family, marched in pursuit of the conquerors, whom he surprized and routed at *Dan*, rescuing *Lot*, with all his family, servants, and cattle, and conducted them back to their old habitation. Upon his return he was met by the king of *Sodom* and *Melchizedek* king of *Salem*, who was also a priest of the most high God; and having blessed *Abraham*, received from him the tythes of all the spoil. Hercules Lec. Bef. Chr. 1912.

After this victory *Abraham* removed to *Mamre* or *Hebron*, where God was pleased to appear to him a fifth time in a vision, and to give him fresh assurances of his special favour, adding, that he would be his exceeding great reward. *Abraham*, who had hitherto hearkened to God's promises without any expression of distrust, ventured now, for the first time, to expostulate with him, not comprehending how they could possibly be fulfilled while himself remained childless. God did not leave him long in that suspence; but assured him that a son of his own should be his heir; and commanding him to lift up his eyes to heaven, promised to make his posterity more numerous than the the stars thereof, and that he would infallibly give the land wherein he dwelt to them; assuring him that it was for that very end that he had brought him thither out of *Chaldea*. *Abraham* was now upwards of 85, and *Sarah* turned of 74; he believed nevertheless in God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness. He could not, however, forbear desiring of God a token, whereby he might be assured that his seed should possess the land; which request God was pleased to comply with: and that they might therefore enter into a formal covenant upon this occasion, he ordered him to take a heifer, a goat, and a ram, of three years old each, with a pigeon and a turtle-dove, and to offer them up. *Abraham* did as he was ordered; and having killed the four-footed beasts, cut them in two, and laid the halves at proper distances directly opposite to each other; but the fowls he left whole. He is supposed, on this occasion, to have passed between the dissected bodies, as the manner of covenanting then was, and to have made his solemn vows of perpetual obedience to God *. He continued by the sacrifice, and took care to drive away the birds of prey from it. About sun-set a deep sleep fell upon him, attended with an horrible darkness and dread of spirits, during which it was revealed to him from God, that his posterity should sojourn and be afflicted in a strange land 400 years; at the expiration of which God would punish their oppressors, and bring his children into the land which he had promised him, while himself should be ga- He removes to *Hebron*.

* See Jerem. xxiv. 18, 19.

thered

thered to his fathers in a good old age. For confirmation o this, he caused the symbol of his divine presence, namely, a smoaking furnace and a burning lamp to pass between the di vided pieces of the victims, and probably consume them, i ratification of his part of the covenant. Expositors have bee very much divided in their opinions, how to make it out that his seed were afflicted for 400 years, as they remained in *Egyp* but about 215 years, during 93 years of which, that is, till the death of *Levi*, they were not afflicted. But all difficulties are removed, if their sojourning be computed from the birth o *Isaac* till their deliverance under *Moses*, during all which time they certainly were sojourners in a strange land, and were fre quently ill treated. There is no necessity to think their servi tude and oppression were to be perpetual, but that they were to be sojourners during that time, and also to meet with affliction.

Sarah judging now that, by the course of nature, her husband's promised issue must not proceed from her own body, resolved at least to be a mother by proxy, according to the custom of that age and country. She accordingly persuaded her husband to take her handmaid *Hagar* to be his *secondary* wife, that if he had a child by her, she might bring it forth upon her knees. *Abraham* acquiesced; and *Hagar* no sooner found herself with child than she became haughty, and treated her mistress with insolence and ill-manners. *Sarah*, impatient to see herself insulted by a slave, complained bitterly against her to *Abraham*, who, willing to make her easy, and withal to discountenance any disrespectful carriage towards her, desired her to do to her servant as she thought proper. After this, *Sarah* expressing her resentment against her with too much severity, *Hagar* stole from her master's house, and made the best of her way to *Egypt*, her own country; but while she was sitting by a fountain in the wilderness, the angel of the Lord met her, and persuaded her to return, and submit herself to her mistress, assuring her that she would soon be delivered of a son, whom she should call *Ishmael*; that his posterity would multiply exceedingly, and that both he and they should be fierce and warlike; that their hand should be against every man, and every man's against them; and that they should dwell in the face of all their brethren. This prediction we find, has been most exactly verified in the several tribes o the *Arabs*, the descendants of *Ishmael*. *Hagar*, upon hearing the comfortable news, returned to *Abraham*'s house, and soon after being delivered of her son, called his name *Ishmael*.

Ishmael born Ber. Chr. 1911.

Abram was now 86 years of age, and not expecting another son, brought this up as the heir of all his substance and of all God's promises. God, however, about thirteen years after, was pleased to renew his covenant with him, and assuring him that he should make him a father of many nations, for that reason changed his name from *Abram* to *Abraham*. And as a token o rather trial of his obedience, he commanded him to circumcise all the males in his family, with a further injunction, that if any male, which for the future should be born in his family, should remain uncircumcised, that soul should be cut off from having any

any share in the promised blessings designed for him and his posterity. Lastly, to complete his happiness, he assured him, that *Sarah* his wife should bear him a son, who should be heir to all these blessings, and therefore that her name should be changed to *Sarah*, which signifies *princess*, from *Sarai*, which was more limited, and signifies only *my princess*. This last seemed a thing so strange, and almost impossible, that *Abraham* again fell upon his face, and began to intercede for the life and preservation of *Ishmael*, as thinking it unreasonable to ask or wish for any thing more. The Almighty, however, soon assured him, that these great blessings were not designed for *Ishmael*, but for a son to be born of the hitherto barren *Sarah*, and therefore to be named *Isaac*, which in *Hebrew* signifies *he* or *she has* or *shall laugh*, in whose seed all the nations of the earth shall be blessed.

Abraham and his family circumcised. Bef. Chr. 1897.

The vision was no sooner ended, than *Abraham* took his son *Ishmael*, and all the males in his family, and circumcised them, as well as himself, without any regard either to his own age, which was almost 100 years, or to the tenderness of his son, who was not above 13. All submitted alike to the operation and to God's command on the same day; and it was not long before his obedience was rewarded with another and more remarkable visit from God.

He entertains three angels,

Abraham continued still to dwell at *Mamre*, and was sitting one day at the door of his tent under a tree, when he espied three persons, whom he took to be travellers, coming towards him. He therefore went out to meet them, and in the most civil and respectful manner invited them to take a small refreshment with him; which they consenting to, he immediately gave orders for an entertainment to be made ready, which being accordingly prepared, he himself waited at the table, under the covert of a shady oak. In this interview, his divine guest confirmed his promise of *Sarah*'s having a son within the year. *Sarah*, who was listening at the tent door, and thought herself past child-bearing, could not refrain from laughing within herself; but when the stranger asked the reason of it, with such a serious air as struck her with terror, she fain would have denied it. He dismissed her with this gentle reproof, that she was highly in the wrong to mistrust what he had said unto her, since nothing was impossible with God. The three heavenly guests, for such they were, rising up to proceed on their journey, *Abraham* very courteously accompanied them some part of the way. One of them, whom the original calls the *Lord*, or *Jehovah*, tarrying behind a little with *Abraham*, began to reveal a most dreadful secret to him, namely, that the iniquity of *Sodom*, and the other neighbouring cities, was come to such a prodigious height, that he was now going down with an intent to destroy them, if upon enquiry he found their abominations equal to the report of them.

and pleads for *Sodom*.

This condescension of God in communicating his design to *Abraham*, encouraged him to make intercession for the wicked inhabitants of those cities; and by his earnest expostulations he obtained a promise from God, that if there were

but

but ten righteous men found in *Sodom*, he would ſpare it for their ſakes. The Lord then departed, and next morning *Abraham* ſaw the thick ſmoke of thoſe unfortunate places aſcending like that of a furnace.

Not long after *Abraham* leaving *Mamre*, went and dwelt in the country of the *Philiſtines* near *Gerar*, where the ſame adventure happened to him which he had met with in *Egypt*. The king of *Gerar* ſuppoſing *Sarah* to be no more than *Abraham*'s ſiſter, for here likewiſe ſhe paſſed under that character, notwithſtanding her advanced age, ſaw charms enough in her to invite her unto his bed: but God appeared to him in a dream, and threatned him with immediate death if he did not return her untouched to her huſband; in conſequence of which, *Abraham* had his wife returned to him with conſiderable preſents.

Iſaac born. Bef. Chr. 1891.

Sarah ſoon after the appointed time brought forth the long expected ſon, and called his name *Iſaac*; and *Abraham* failed not to circumciſe him on the eighth day. They were now in the zenith of their happineſs. *Sarah* ſuckled the child herſelf, and weaning him at the uſual time, which is ſuppoſed to have been about three years, *Abraham*, on that occaſion, made a feaſt to all his houſhold. Soon after *Sarah* perceiving that *Iſhmael* treated her ſon with contempt and deriſion, was ſo enraged againſt him, that ſhe never ceaſed importuning her huſband to turn both mother and ſon out of doors. *Abraham* had the tenderneſs of a father for his child, and was loth to part with *Iſhmael*; but God confirming what *Sarah* had requeſted, and promiſing moreover to make of *Iſhmael*, becauſe he was his ſon, a great nation, he was at laſt prevailed upon to ſend him and his mother away the very next morning. What befel them afterwards, is foreign to our preſent ſubject.

Iſhmael and his mother ſent away.

Abraham, in the mean time, entered into a ſolemn league of friendſhip with *Abimelech* king of *Gerar*. The pleaſantneſs of the place, and the friendſhip of the king, made him propoſe to ſojourn there many years: but God had yet a further trial to make of his faith and obedience, and ſuch a one as would put it to the utmoſt proof. He was pleaſed to require him to offer up, with his own hands, his only ſon *Iſaac* as a burnt ſacrifice on mount *Moriah*, where the temple was afterwards built by *Solomon*. A cruel injunction! but *Abraham*, we find, never ſtayed to expoſtulate about the ſeverity or unlawfulneſs of it, but on the very next morning, without ſaying a word to any of his family, gets all things ready, and leaving it to God to make good his own promiſes, reſolves to obey. He and his ſon *Iſaac* only aſcended the mountain, *Iſaac* carrying the wood for the ſacrifice, being then, as is ſuppoſed by *Joſephus*, 25, or according to others, 30 years of age. *Abraham* had no ſooner bound his ſon upon the wood, and ſtretched out his hand to give the fatal blow, but God was pleaſed to ſtop him, being fully ſatisfied with this laſt trial of his obedience. He renewed all his promiſes and covenants afreſh, and bound them with an oath; and *Abraham* looking about, found a ram caught by the

Abraham commanded to ſacrifice his ſon Iſaac, Bef. Chr. 1871.

but countermanded by an angel.

the horns in a thick bush, and offered it up instead of his son. He then rejoined his servants whom he had left at the bottom of the mountain, and returned home to *Beersheba*. Soon after he heard the joyful news that *Milcah*, his brother *Nahor*'s wife, had born him a numerous issue, which determined him to send thither for a wife for his son *Isaac*. However, before he did that, it happened that *Sarah* died in the city of *Kirjatharba*, or *Hebron*, in the 127th year of her age. *Abraham*, it is said, came thither to mourn for her, and to pay his last devoirs to so dear a wife; from whence some have conjectured, that *Sarah* had parted from *Abraham*, who still kept his old dwelling. But though his removing from *Beersheba* is not particularly taken notice of, yet from the text it would appear that he had come to *Hebron*, the children of *Heth* declaring that he was a mighty prince among them. *Abraham*, after he had sufficiently vented his grief, applied to the children of *Heth* for a burying-place, and refusing to accept of their free offers to use any of their sepulchres he pleased, he bought the field and cave of *Machpelah* from *Ephron* for 400 shekels of silver, which according to the accurate estimation of the learned *Prideaux*, was about 60*l.* sterling; and here he buried *Sarah*, after he had mourned for her according to the custom of the country. *Sarah*'s death. Bef. Ch. 1860.

By this time *Abraham* was well advanced in years, and being desirous to see his son *Isaac* married and settled in the world before he died, he called the steward of his household, and having made him take an oath to get his son a wife out of his own kindred, he gave him all the necessary instructions and authority to conclude the marriage. The steward accordingly loaded ten camels with the richest presents for the damsel's dowry, it being the custom in those days not to receive but to pay a dowry for a wife, and proceeding to *Charan* where *Nahor* dwelt, obtained *Rebecca* the daughter of *Bethuel* the son of *Nahor*, for his young master. Upon his return home, he observed *Isaac* taking a solitary walk in the evening in the fields; upon which *Rebecca* being informed who he was, alighted, and throwing a veil over her face, as the manner of young damsels then was, she waited to receive his first compliments. *Isaac*, after his first addresses, conducted her to the tent which was lately his mother's, and they being soon after married together, he grew so fond of her, that his grief was alleviated for the loss of his mother. *Isaac* marries *Rebecca*.

Abraham, after this happy marriage of his son, still finding himself strong enough to make a new addition to his family, though he was then 141 years old, took another wife, named *Keturah*, by whom he had six sons, whom he afterwards portioned, and sent them to dwell towards the east, that they might not interfere with *Isaac*'s inheritance. They settling in *Arabia* and *Syria*, became in time heads of different nations, whereof we have footsteps both in sacred and profane history. *Abraham* marries *Keturah*. Bef. Ch. 1853.

Concerning *Abraham*, we have nothing more recorded in the sacred writings, except that he lived to the 175th year of his

His death. Bef. Chr. 1827. age, and was gathered to his fathers, being buried by his two ſons, *Iſaac* and *Iſhmael*, in the cave of *Machpelah*, (where above forty years before he had repoſited the remains of his beloved wife *Sarah*) leaving a name famous to all poſterity behind him. Profane authors, indeed, ſay more, if poſſible, in commendation of *Abraham*, than do the ſacred; but there is reaſon enough to believe, that their accounts are loaded with fictions. Some, we have obſerved, affirmed, that he reigned at *Damaſcus*; others, that he dwelt a long time in *Egypt*, and taught the *Egyptians* aſtronomy and arithmetic. Some ſay that he invented letters and the *Hebrew* language; that he was the author of ſeveral works, and among others of a famous book entitled *Jezira*, or the *Creation*: and among the *Perſians* ſo great a man was he accounted, that the magi or worſhipers of fire believe *Zoroaſter* (who was their prophet) to be the ſame with him*.

Rebecca, after her marriage with *Iſaac*, continued barren almoſt twenty years, till God at laſt was pleaſed to hear the earneſt prayers of her huſband, and grant them the long deſired bleſſing. She had not conceived many months, however, when the unnatural ſtruggling of the two children (for ſhe had twins) in her womb, gave her ſuch pain and uneaſineſs, that ſhe conſulted God about it, who anſwered, that *two nations were ſtriving in her, and that two ſorts of people ſhould be ſeparated from her bowels, one of which ſhould prove ſtronger than the other, and that the elder ſhould ſerve the younger.* Accordingly, ſoon after ſhe was delivered of two ſons, of whom the firſt was all covered over with red hair, for which reaſon his parents called him *Eſau*, and the other came after him ſo very cloſe, that he took hold of his heel with his hand, and was therefore named *Jacob*, to denote what he afterwards proved, the *ſupplanter* of his brother. *Eſau*, who became a great huntſman, was the darling of his father; but *Jacob* was the favourite of the mother, who knew that he was to inherit the bleſſings, and could not perhaps forbear entruſting him with the ſecret, though ſhe ſeems all along to have concealed it from her huſband. The two brothers were not above twenty years old when *Jacob* gave proof of his being acquainted with it, by making *Eſau*, purſuant to his mother's directions, ſwear away his birthright, as we have elſewhere related.

Eſau and *Jacob* born. Bef. Chr. 1836.

Eſau ſells his birthright.

A famine which happened ſome years after, obliging *Iſaac* to ſeek for another habitation, he reſolved to go into *Egypt*; but God appearing to him, diverted him from that journey, and deſired him to go to *Abimelech* king of *Gerar*, promiſing to be with him and bleſs him, and to perform the oath which he had ſworn to his father *Abraham*. *Iſaac* thought it prudent to make *Rebecca* paſs for his ſiſter; but *Abimelech* diſcovering by ſome familiarities betwixt them that ſhe was his wife, after chiding him

* Vid Calmet's Dict. Juſtin, l xxxvi. Joſeph. Ant. l. i Herbelot Bibl. orient. Trid. Connect. l. iv. p. 1. Suid. in Abraham, &c.

him for his diſſimulation, iſſued out an edict, that none upon pain of death ſhould dare to offer any injury either to *Iſaac* or his wife. God, during his ſtay in *Gerar*, greatly increaſed his ſubſtance, which raiſing the envy of the *Philiſtines*, he was ordered to leave that place. His proſperity, however, ſtill continuing, the king afterwards ſued to him in perſon either to revive the old covenant, or to make a new one; which *Iſaac*, after expoſtulating with him upon the ill uſage he had met with in their land, complied with. The tranquillity which this new alliance procured him, was ſoon after diſturbed by *Eſau*'s marrying two *Canaaniti/h* wives, *Judith* the daughter of *Beeri*, and *Baſhemath* the daughter of *Elon*, both *Hittites*.

A covenant betwixt *Abimelech* and *Iſaac*.

Iſaac, however, who ſtill held him as heir, was ſoon reconciled to him, and finding himſelf grow old and feeble, and his eyes quite dim with age, and apprehending his death to be nearer than it was, reſolved to bleſs him before he died. But by the contrivance of *Rebecca*, *Jacob*, as we have already related in the hiſtory of the *Edomites*, obtained the bleſſing of the firſt born; ſo that *Eſau*, who had been hunting for veniſon, finding upon his return that he had been circumvented in his abſence, was fain to accept of an inferior bleſſing, contained in theſe words, *thy dwelling ſhall be the fatneſs of the earth, and of the dew of Heaven from above. By thy ſword and thy bow ſhalt thou live, and ſhalt ſerve thy brother; and it ſhall come to paſs, that when thou ſhalt have the dominion, thou ſhalt break his yoke from off thy neck.* The bleſſing of *Jacob* was in theſe words, *God give thee of the dew of Heaven, and the fatneſs of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine. Let people ſerve, and nations bow down to thee: be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's ſon bow down to thee. Curſed be every one that curſeth thee, and bleſſed be he that bleſſeth thee*, which bleſſing, it is remarked, was ſuperior to that of *Eſau* in three particulars, 1. It promiſes plenty of corn and wine, of which there is no mention in the other. 2. It contains the words, *God give thee*, which are not in the other. And, 3. The laſt includes a ſpiritual bleſſing, *that they ſhould be bleſſed that bleſſed him*, which is not ſaid to his brother.

Jacob gets the bleſſing of the firſt born.

Jacob was for a while after this tranſaction in danger of his brother's heavieſt indignation, which *Rebecca* dreading, found out a pretence for conveying him out of his reach as far as *Padan-Aram*, or *Meſopotamia*, to viſit her brother *Laban*, where he might marry one of her kindred. In his way thither he was overtaken by night near *Luz*, and forced to lie in the open fields, with only a ſtone for his pillow. He went unattended, probably to conceal his flight from his brother *Eſau*, and before his departure, he received a confirmation of the former bleſſing privately from his father *Iſaac*, who charged him not to marry a wife of the daughters of the land. While he ſlept in the fields near *Luz*, he ſaw in a dream a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, with angels aſcending and deſcending upon it, while God from the top was pleaſed to encourage him, by promiſing that he would bleſs and multiply him beyond meaſure,

Is ſent to *Padan-Aram*.

ſure. *Jacob* awaking in a ſurprize from his dream, cried out, *ſurely God was in this place, and I knew it not.* He therefore erected the ſtone that had ſerved him for a pillow into a pillar, and pouring oil thereon, called the place *Bethel*, or the houſe of God, in memory of the viſion. Here he likewiſe made a vow unto God, that if he would grant him his protection, feed, cloath and bring him back ſafe to his father's houſe, the Lord ſhould be his God, and that he would pay the tythes of all he had to him.

Serves ſeven years for *Rachel*, but marries *Leah*, and then *Rachel*. Bef. Ch. 1752.

Upon his arrival at *Haran*, he was received by his uncle *Laban* in the moſt affectionate manner, and falling in love with his youngeſt daughter *Rachel*, a beautiful virgin, he agreed to ſerve ſeven years for her. However, when the time expired, *Laban*, who was deſirous that he ſhould ſerve ſeven years more, inſtead of giving him *Rachel*, conducted to his bed her eldeſt ſiſter *Leah*, who was hard favoured and blear-eyed. *Jacob* next morning, after complaining of the impoſition that had been put upon him, and accepting of *Laban*'s excuſe, that it was not cuſtomary in their country to marry the younger before the elder, agreed to ſerve other ſeven years for *Rachel*, whom he married as ſoon as he had finiſhed the nuptial week of feaſting with *Leah*.

Jacob behaved very differently towards his two wives. *Rachel* had his heart and affection, while *Leah* was forced to content herſelf with a formal civility. God, however, made quite another difference between them, by making the latter the mother of many children, while her ſiſter continued barren for a long time. *Leah* in a ſhort time had four ſons, *Reuben*, *Simeon*, *Levi*, and *Judah*. This was ſo great a mortification to *Rachel*, who had not yet conceived, that ſhe came one day in a fit of melancholy, and told her huſband, that unleſs he gave her children alſo, ſhe ſhould die of grief. This ſpeech ſeeming to lay the blame of her ſterility upon him, he ſharply rebuked her, which made her bethink herſelf of the uſual way at that time, for women in her caſe to give their maids to their huſbands; ſhe therefore perſuaded him to take her maid *Bilhah* as a concubine, by whom he had two ſons, *Dan* and *Naphtali*. *Leah* thinking ſhe had left off child-bearing, alſo gave her maid *Zilpah* to *Jacob*, by whom he had *Gad* and *Aſher*.

Reuben, who was now about ſix years of age, brought home one evening ſome fruits or flowers, which our tranſlation calls *mandrakes*, that he had gathered in the fields in the time of the wheat harveſt. *Rachel* no ſooner ſaw them, but ſhe deſired to have ſome part of them. Receiving, however, a harſh denial from *Leah*, and being deſirous of having ſome of the fruit, to compromiſe the matter ſhe agreed, that if *Leah* would part with ſome of the mandrakes, ſhe would reſign her huſband's company that night to her. *Jacob* no ſooner came home that night, but *Leah* informed him, that *Rachel* had reſigned her turn to her; which he conſenting to, the conſequence was, that *Leah* again conceived and bore a fifth ſon, whom ſhe called *Iſſachar*

Iſſachar. She afterwards bore a ſixth ſon, named *Zebulun*, and laſt of all a daughter, whoſe name was *Dinah*, the feminine of *Dan*.

Rachel had hitherto no iſſue of her own body, but now it pleaſed God to remember her, and to bleſs her with a ſon, whom ſhe called *Joſeph*. Not long after his birth, *Jacob* having finiſhed his fourteen years ſervitude, and being deſirous to reviſit his old parents, requeſted his uncle to diſmiſs him and his family. *Laban*, who was ſenſible that he had enjoyed greater proſperity ſince *Jacob* came into his family, could not bear the thoughts of parting, but offered him his own terms on condition he would ſtay with him. They accordingly made a new agreement; but *Laban*'s avarice put him on ſo many ſtratagems to defraud him, as obliged *Jacob* to uſe others in his own defence, which the reader may ſee in the 30th chapter of *Geneſis*.

His great proſperity ſoon made *Laban* and his ſons look upon him with an evil eye, as though he had raiſed an eſtate out of their fortunes; which *Jacob* obſerving, formed a reſolution of retiring into his own country with his family and effects, which deſign he was confirmed by God. He accordingly mounted his wives and children upon camels, and having got all his ſervants and ſubſtance together, began his journey to *Canaan*, while his father-in-law was abſent ſhearing his ſheep, which gave *Rachel* an opportunity of ſtealing her father's teraphim or gods (A).

He ſteals away from

In Bef. Ch. 1739.

Jacob

(A) The *Jewiſh* doctors are generally agreed, that the word *teraphim* is not of the *Hebrew* extraction. The Septuagint tranſlates it ſometimes an *oracle*, and ſometimes *vain idols*; and ſeveral commentators will have it to be a word borrowed from the *Egyptians*, and to import the very ſame with their ſerapis. The *Jews* pretend, that this idol was the head of a firſt-born ſon plucked off from the neck and embalmed, under the tongue of which was faſtened a golden plate, with the name of ſome falſe deity engraved upon it; and it being placed in a niche with lighted candles before it, gave vocal anſwers to ſuch as conſulted it. Others think it was the ſame with what the *Perſians* call *Telſim*, more generally known by the name of *Taliſmans*; that is, images in human form, of different ſizes, and different metals, caſt under certain conſtellations, with magical characters engraven on them. That theſe teraphims were ſtatues or images of a human ſhape, is evident from *Michal*'s putting one of them in *David*'s bed when ſhe favoured his eſcape. Though at their firſt inſtitution their intent was innocent, to be emblems or repreſentations only of ſome renowned anceſtor, in proceſs of time, however, they became objects of religious adoration, and were perverted to all the vile purpoſes of necromancy, as a learned author, who has examined this matter to the full, has proved beyond exception *. *Rachel* by ſome is

* Juriæu hiſtoire des cultes & des dogmes.

Laban overtakes him.

Jacob travelled with great diſpatch, and in ten days had paſſed the river *Euphrates*, and arrived at mount *Gilead*, about 250 miles weſt from *Haran*. He was overtaken, however, by *Laban*, who filled with reſentment, ſet out three days after him with a conſiderable troop; but the evening he came up with him, being warned in a dream by God to do him no injury, he contented himſelf next morning with expoſtulating with him that he had ſtolen away without giving him an opportunity of kiſſing his children and grandchildren, and ſending them away with the uſual ceremonies of muſic and dances. *Jacob*, on the other hand, was not without his complaints. *Laban*'s deceiving him, and making him ſerve ſo long for a woman he did not love, the changing his ſalary ſo many times, and his late ſtrange behaviour towards him and his family; all theſe, and many more, he anſwered him, were but ill requitals for all his diligence and care, and the bleſſings which God had heaped upon him for his ſake. *Laban* having accuſed him with ſtealing his gods, *Jacob*, who was ignorant of *Rachel*'s theft, declared, that the perſon in his company on whom they ſhould be found, ſhould be put to death. *Laban* having accordingly made a ſtrict but fruitleſs ſearch for them, entered *Rachel*'s tent, who had hid them under the camel's furniture, and ſet herſelf down upon them. She excuſed herſelf from riſing, by alledging the condition ſhe was in allowed her ſex to diſpenſe with the uſual ceremonies; and *Laban* not ſuſpecting any fallacy, deſiſted from all farther ſearch. *Laban* then propoſed an alliance with *Jacob*, and to erect a monument as a ſtanding witneſs of it to all ages. Having accordingly reared a pile, and entered into a treaty of mutual friendſhip, they offered a ſacrifice upon the occaſion, and next morning *Laban*, after embracing and bleſſing the whole family, returned home to *Padan-Aram*. *Jacob* had no ſooner parted with his father-in-law, but the remembrance of his brother's antient grudge againſt him began to give him freſh uneaſineſs. However, a viſion of an hoſt of angels, who met him ſoon after, allayed his anxiety for a while; but being ſtill fearful of his brother, he thought it adviſeable, before he advanced any farther, to ſend him a ſubmiſſive meſſage, in order to diſcover at leaſt how he ſtood affected to him. The meſſengers, according to his deſire, having given an account of all his great wealth and ſubſtance, returned with the news that *Eſau* was coming to meet him with 400 of his men. *Jacob* was now under great apprehenſions that *Eſau* was coming with

A covenant betwixt Jacob and Laban.

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thought to have taken them with her, to prevent her father, by enquiring of them, from knowing which way they had fled. Others think ſhe wanted to cure him of his ſuperſtitious worſhip, whilſt others ſuppoſe that both ſhe and her ſiſter ſtill retained a hankering after that ſuperſtition, and for that reaſon ſhe concealed the theft from her huſband, who afterwards making a thorough reformation in his houſe, cauſed them to be taken from her.

a hoſtile

a hoſtile intention; for his ſecurity therefore he divided his company into two bands, in hopes that one at leaſt might eſcape, and humbly addreſſed himſelf to God for his protection. He likewiſe ordered ſeveral droves to be ſent before as preſents to *Eſau*, in hopes by that means of obtaining his favour and good-will. Early next morning, before day-break, having ſent all his family and flocks over the brook *Jabbok*, he himſelf tarried behind at *Mahanaim*, where he wreſtled for ſome time with an angel in the form of a man, who not prevailing againſt him, touched the hollow of his thigh, and put it out of joint, and before he departed bleſſed him, and changed his name from *Jacob* to *Iſrael*, which ſignifies a man that has prevailed with God; adding, that with men he ſhould alſo powerfully prevail*.

Jacob's name changed to *Iſrael.*

Jacob, when he proceeded after his family, found that he halted upon his thigh, upon which account his poſterity never eat of that joint. Some think that his lameneſs was ſoon over, others, that he halted all his life. However, the new aſſurances which the angel gave him, inſpired him with ſuch freſh courage, that he marched on chearfully till he had overtaken his family, and was come in ſight of his brother. How tender and affectionate their meeting was, and how contrary to *Jacob*'s expectation, we have already related. *Jacob*, though kindly invited by his brother to ſettle near him at mount *Seir*, thought fit to turn towards *Succoth*, where he built him an houſe, and afterwards removed to *Salem*, a city belonging to the *Shechemites*, where he bought ſome ground of the children of *Hamor*, and ſettled there, and built an altar to the Lord, which he called *El Elohe Iſrael*, or the mighty God of *Iſrael*. Here *Jacob* might have lived long in peace and tranquillity, had not his two ſons, *Simeon* and *Levi*, treacherouſly and inhumanly maſſacred the *Shechemites*, on which account he was obliged to withdraw from the place nearer to *Mamre*, where his father ſtill lived. The inhabitants of the land were ſtruck with a panick fear by God, ſo that they even let *Jacob* and his ſons depart quietly, and carry off all the plunder they had got from the ſlaughtered *Shechemites*.

He meets his brother *Eſau*,

The patriarch being then ordered by God to go and dwell at *Bethel*, and to build an altar to him there, before he proceeded on his journey, he ordered his family to deliver to him all the idols they had taken from the *Shechemites*, or brought from *Padan Aram*, not indeed to be deſtroyed, as one might have expected, but to be buried in the ground under an oak near to *Shechem*. His commands were forthwith obeyed, and they parted with their very ear-rings, which they uſed to wear as taliſmans or charms againſt ſickneſs and other misfortunes. As ſoon as he arrived at *Bethel*, he built an altar to God, and called the place *El Bethel*, or the God of *Bethel*. Being deſi-

He buries all the idol. that were in his family.

* Patrick's Comment. and Shuckford's Connect.

rous to visit his father, whom, for ought that appears, he had not seen since he went to *Mesopotamia*, he soon afterwards left *Bethel* and proceeded towards *Mamre*. In his way thither, *Rachel* fell in labour near *Ephrath*, and perceiving it would cost her her life, called the child *Benoni*, or the son of my affliction, but *Jacob* afterwards called him *Benjamin*, or the son of my right-hand. The death of *Rachel* was not the only misfortune that *Jacob* met with in this place; for his son *Reuben* having taken a liking to *Bilhah*, his father's concubine, and *Rachel*'s maid, he did not scruple to comply with his wicked inclination, which made so deep an impression on his father's heart, that he grieved at it to his dying day. *Jacob* at length arriving at *Mamre*, continued with his old father *Isaac* the space of 13 years, some say 19, till the good old man departed this life, which he did in a very advanced age, being 180 years old, having been almost blind and decrepit a considerable part of that time. His two sons buried him in the cave of *Machpelah* with *Abraham* and *Sarah*, after which *Esau* returned home, and *Jacob* continued at *Mamre*.

Rachel dies.

Bef. Chr. 1732.

Isaac dies.

Bef. Ch. 1716.

While *Jacob* continued with *Isaac*, he met with a severe affliction. *Joseph* then, about seventeen years of age, was become his darling in regard of the excellencies both of his body and mind. According to our translation, he is said to have loved *Joseph*, *because he was the son of his old age*, but the *Hebrew* ought to be rendered, *because he was the son or disciple of elders*; that is, had the wisdom and prudence of a senator; for *Zebulun* and *Benjamin* were both younger than he. His father's fondness for him raised no small jealousy in his brothers, which he himself helped to turn into an irreconcileable hatred, by innocently telling them some dreams he had that seemed to foreshew that he should one day get the power and authority over them. One of them was, that he saw in a wheat-field his own sheaf standing upright, and theirs falling down before it, and paying homage to it. Another was, that he saw the sun, moon, and eleven stars doing the like obeysance to him. The hatred of his brothers still encreasing, they at length resolved to rid themselves of him by putting him to death; and *Joseph* coming to them soon after with a message from his father, while they were feeding their flocks at *Dothan*, they then consulted to put their bloody design in execution. By the advice of *Reuben*, however, they were prevented from embruing their hands in his blood; they only stripped him of his coat of many colours, and put him down into a pit, and some *Midianitish* merchants passing by soon after for *Egypt*, they drew him up again, and sold him to them for twenty pieces of silver, in the absence of *Reuben*, who intended to have taken him privately out of the pit, and to have sent him back to his father. To conceal their unnatural deed, they dipped *Joseph*'s coat in the blood of a kid, and then sent it to their father, who imagining that his beloved son had been torn in pieces by a wild beast, was so afflicted, that he did not cease mourning for him, till he heard the surprizing

Joseph beloved by his father.

He is sold by his brethren, and carried down to *Egypt*.

Bef. Ch. 1728.

prizing news of his advancement in *Egypt* many years afterwards.

Judah, in the mean time, married a *Canaanitiſh* woman, by whom he had three ſons, *Er*, *Onan*, and *Shelah*. *Er* married *Tamar*; but before he had any children by her, being cut off for his wickedneſs, *Judah* bid his ſecond ſon *Onan* take her, according to the cuſtom of that country, and raiſe a poſterity to his brother. *Onan* ſeemingly obeyed, but not brooking the thoughts that his children ſhould be eſteemed his brother's, took ſuch a wicked and unnatural way to prevent *Tamar*'s having any by him, that God was provoked to puniſh him with death alſo. The third ſon, *Shelah*, not being then of age, *Tamar*, by *Judah*'s deſire, remained for ſome years a widow in her father's houſe; but *Judah* neglecting to ſend for her to marry her to *Shelah* at the appointed time, ſhe dreſſed herſelf in the attire of a harlot, and enticed *Judah* himſelf to lie with her, obtaining likewiſe from him his ſignet, his bracelets, and his ſtaff, as pledges for a kid he promiſed to ſend to her. The kid he immediately ſent, but the pretended harlot had diſappeared, and no tidings could be heard from her. About three months after *Tamar* being reported to be with child, he directly propoſed that ſhe ſhould be burnt; but when ſhe was brought to her trial, ſhe produced the above-mentioned pledges, and declared that the owner of them was the father of the child; upon which *Judah*, in the greateſt confuſion and ſurprize, owned that ſhe was more innocent than he, and that he had wronged her in with-holding *Shelah* from her. He afterwards conducted her home, but never touched her from that time, and a few months after ſhe was delivered of twins. *Judah* marries a *Canaanite*.

During theſe tranſactions, which *Moſes* has joined together in one chapter, and *Joſephus*, as thinking them diſhonourable, has wholly ſuppreſſed, *Joſeph* was ſold in *Egypt* to an officer of the king's guard named *Potiphar*, where he ſhewed ſuch diligence and integrity, and proved ſo ſucceſsful in all he undertook, that his maſter ſoon committed the care of all his affairs wholly into his hands. He had been ten years in *Potiphar*'s houſe, when his miſtreſs, taken with the extraordinary comlineſs of his perſon, after ſeveral other unſucceſsful attempts to make him comply with her wanton deſires, accoſted him one day when the whole family was abroad, caught him by the cloak, and preſſed him ſo earneſtly to lie with her, that he having no other way to eſcape, left his cloak in her hand and fled. Not able to brook this affront, ſhe vowed the ruin of the innocent youth; and accordingly, having brought together with her outcries all that were within hearing, ſhe charged *Joſeph* with her own crime, confirming her accuſation by the garment he had left behind. By the time her huſband came home, ſhe had dreſſed up her ſtory ſo well, that ſhe was eaſily believed. Had *Potiphar* loved *Joſeph* leſs than he did, it is probable he would have ſacrificed him that moment to his reſentment; but he contented *Joſeph* ſold in *Egypt*. He is innocently thruſt in priſon.

contented himself for the present with sending him to the king's prison.

Explains the dreams of two prisoners.

Joseph's virtue and integrity soon recommended him to the keeper of the prison, who put such confidence in him, as to entrust to his care all the prisoners. Two of them, namely, the king's chief butler and baker, being disturbed on account of some dreams which they had, *Joseph* interpreted their dreams, and as he interpreted, accordingly it came to pass; the chief butler was restored to favour, and the chief baker was hanged. The butler very ungratefully forgot *Joseph*, and probably would have never more remembered him, had not *Pharaoh*, two years after, had two perplexing dreams, which all the magicians of *Egypt* could not interpret. On this occasion the butler recommended *Joseph*, who was immediately sent for out of prison, and introduced to *Pharaoh*.

He interprets *Pharaoh*'s dreams. Bef. Ch. 1715.

The king told him, that in a dream he had seen seven fully fat cows feeding on the banks of the *Nile*, which were soon after devoured by seven others lean and ill-favoured; and again, in another dream, he had seen seven full ears of corn devoured by seven blasted ones. *Joseph* answered *Pharaoh*, in a modest manner, that the seven cows and seven ears signified the same thing, and the dream being repeated, was only a sign that the thing was to happen immediately after; that the seven fat cows and seven full ears, signified seven years of exceffive plenty, which would nevertheless be quite forgotten in the seven succeeding years of famine, signified by the seven lean cows and blasted ears. He therefore advised the king to appoint a wise and expert man over his whole kingdom, to build granaries, and send officers into every province, to lay up a fifth part of all the corn of the seven plentiful years.

His advancement and glory.

Pharaoh, and all that heard him, were surprized at the wisdom of *Joseph*, who was then but 30 years old; and the king concluding that he was the fittest person to put his own proposal in execution, made him ruler over all the land of *Egypt*, ordered him to be obeyed in all things next to himself, took his signet off his finger and gave it to him, caused him to be cloathed in fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck. He gave him moreover the name of *Zaphnah-paaneah*, which most interpreters think signifies a revealer of secrets; but according to St. *Jerom* and others, it meant in the *Egyptian* tongue, *the Saviour of the world*. He also bestowed on him in marriage the daughter of *Potipherah*, the priest of *On*, and made him ride in his second chariot, while the men that ran before it cried, *bow the knee*.

Joseph executed the great trust reposed in him with his usual application and integrity; and making a progress through the whole land, laid up immense stores of corn before the seven plentiful years were over; having in that time likewise two sons, *Manasseh* and *Ephraim*, by his *Egyptian* wife. The seven years of famine immediately followed the plentiful years, and the scarcity was not confined to the land of *Egypt*, but was felt all over the land of *Canaan*, and all the neighbouring nations.

In

In the second year of the famine, *Jacob*, who was not exempt from the common calamity, hearing that there was corn to be bought in *Egypt*, sent ten of his sons thither to buy some, who upon their arrival, prostrated themselves before *Joseph*, and begged that they might be supplied with corn. *Joseph* knew them immediately, but being minded to terrify them a little, would not as yet discover himself to them, and therefore chusing to speak by an interpreter, with a severe look asked them whence they came, and upon their answering from the land of *Canaan*, he charged them with being spies. They assured him, in the most submissive manner, that they were all one man's sons, having a younger brother at home with their father, besides another who was now no more. He immediately catched at their words, and put their honesty upon this probation, that they should produce their younger brother, and sent them to prison, making them believe that he would detain them till he was brought. Three days after, however, he sent for them again, and in a milder tone told them, that he would require only one of them to remain a prisoner, and that the rest might go home with provision for the family; adding, that if they returned with their younger brother, they should all be justified. He then commanded *Simeon*, who had been perhaps one of his most zealous enemies, to be bound before their eyes and sent to prison, while he had the pleasure to hear them confess their former inhumanity to him, and to acknowledge, that this misfortune had befallen them as a just punishment for it; *Reuben*, at the same time, justifying himself, by reminding them of the pains he took to dissuade them from the horrid fact.

His brethren come to buy corn. Bef. Ch. 1707.

His rough behaviour to them.

Simeon detained a prisoner.

Joseph at length dismissed them with a quantity of corn, and at the same time, as a fresh matter of surprize, ordered each man's money to be put in the mouth of his sack, which to their no small terror they discovered when they came to bait, and give provender to their beasts. As soon as they were got home, they acquainted their father with all these adventures, who, though he was grieved at the detention of his son *Simeon*, was much more so when he found that *Benjamin* must go down to redeem him. The famine, however, increasing, and the provision being almost spent, *Judah* at length prevailed with him to part with his favourite son for a time, promising to bring him safe back, or else to be answerable for him at the hazard of his life. Before their departure, he charged them to take all proper measures for their safe return, and bid them carry double their money, and make ready such presents as they thought would be acceptable to the proud *Egyptian* lord. The presents, according to our translation, were a little balm, a little honey, spices and myrrh, nuts and almonds: but as the honey, spices and myrrh were no great rarities in *Egypt*, *Bochart* and others have imagined, that what we call honey, ought to have been rendered *dates*, which are called by the same name; that the *Hebrew* word translated spices, doth rather signify

They return a second time to *Egypt*,

ſignify *ſtorax*, and that what we render myrrh, was the *ſtacte* or *laudanum* of the *Chaldee* and *Septuagint*, which was thought to be the gum of the cypreſs tree *.

and dine with *Joſeph*.

Joſeph, upon his ſeeing his younger brother with them, received them the ſecond time very graciouſly, and made them dine with him, and to their great ſurprize ſerved them according to their ſeniority, and ſent a portion to *Benjamin* five times larger than to any of the reſt, which was an unuſual mark of honour to the perſon to whom it was ſent. The *Egyptian* gueſts ſat at a table by themſelves, it being an abomination to the *Egyptians* to eat with the *Hebrews*, which averſion authors are at a loſs to account for; *Joſeph* alſo ſat at a table by himſelf, by reaſon of his dignity. After they had departed a ſecond time, *Joſeph* ſent his ſteward after them, accuſing them of having ſtolen his divining cup, which he had ordered privately to be put into the ſack of *Benjamin*. Conſcious of their innocence, they declared, that whoever of them ſhould have the cup, ſhould ſuffer death, and they alſo would become the lord's bondmen. The cup being found in *Benjamin*'s ſack, they were all confounded, and returning directly to the city, *Judah*, in the humbleſt manner, intreated to remain a ſlave in the place of *Benjamin*, whom alone *Joſeph* had inſiſted upon as his bondſman. The pathetic ſpeech of *Judah* ſo affected *Joſeph*, that he could diſſemble no longer, but deſiring all the byſtanders to leave the room, he diſcovered himſelf to them to their great confuſion. Finding them ſtruck dumb with ſurprize and a conviction of their guilt, to diſpel their apprehenſions he embraced them tenderly, and told them, that their ſelling him into *Egypt* had been directed by an unſeen providence, and that therefore they ought not any more to accuſe themſelves or grieve on that account, as it had been a means of his advancement, and of ſaving the lives of thouſands.

They are a ſecond time alarmed.

He diſcovers himſelf to them.

A rumour, in the mean time, ſpreading through the court that *Joſeph*'s brethren were with him, *Pharaoh* was delighted with the news, and gave them an invitation to ſettle in the beſt part of *Egypt*. He ordered *Joſeph* to ſend conſiderable preſents to his father, and to ſend waggons to *Canaan* to conduct him and all his relations and their ſubſtance down into *Egypt*. *Joſeph* gladly obeyed the king's orders, and beſides the chariots and waggons with proviſions, ſent to his father ten aſſes laden with the choiceſt commodities of the country. Upon their return, they directly acquainted their father that his beloved ſon *Joſeph* was ſtill alive, and governor of *Egypt*. The guſh of joy, occaſioned by this extraordinary and unexpected news, ſo overwhelmed the good old man, that he fainted away in their arms. Reviving afterwards, and hearing a full account of their journey, and obſerving the waggons and preſents come from *Egypt*, his doubts and fears vaniſhed, and in an extaſy of

* Bochart. Le Scene's Eſſay towards a new tranſlation.

joy

joy cried out, *It is enough, Joseph my son is yet alive, I will go and see him before I die.* In his journey to *Egypt*, he stopped at *Beersheba*, one of the southern confines of *Canaan*, where *Abraham* and *Isaac* had lived many years, and there he offered sacrifices unto God, who appearing unto him in a vision, encouraged him to go down into *Egypt*, promising in due time to bring his posterity out of it again to enter into the possession of the promised land.

Encouraged by this divine promise, *Jacob* chearfully pursued his journey into *Egypt*, where when he arrived, he and his family made up in all just the compliment of seventy persons. He was met by his son *Joseph* in the land of *Goshen*, situated betwixt the *Red* sea and the *Nile*, on the borders of *Canaan*; and their first tender greetings being over, *Joseph* advised his father and brothers, when they should be introduced to *Pharaoh*, to declare that they were shepherds by profession, that they might not be intermixed with the *Egyptians*, but settled apart in the land of *Goshen*, shepherds being an abomination to the *Egyptians*. Accordingly *Jacob* and five of his sons being introduced by *Joseph* to *Pharaoh*, the old patriarch blessed the king, and the sons declaring that they were shepherds, obtained leave to settle with their families and flocks in *Goshen*.

Jacob and his family come into *Egypt*. Bef. Chr. 1706.

Whilst *Jacob* and his family were kept in peace and plenty by the provident care of his son, the *Egyptians* felt the dismal effects of the famine, which increased daily upon them, and *Joseph* keeping up his corn at an high rate, they were soon drained of all their money. After this they were all, except the priests, reduced to sell their cattle, houses, land, and at length their very selves for subsistence. All these *Joseph* purchased of the people for the king's use; and to let them see that the purchase was in earnest, he transplanted them from their former places of abode into distant and different parts of the kingdom. *Joseph*'s zeal for the king's interest, it may perhaps be thought, carried him beyond the bounds of common prudence, and that he did not consider that whilst he took such an advantage over a starving people, he raised the king's power to the degree of an absolute tyranny, under which his family or their posterity would one time or other severely groan, which effectually came to pass. *Joseph*, however, so managed, that in the end he gained the commendation of both prince and people; for when the seventh and last year of the famine was come, he encouraged them to expect a crop the following year, and distributed fresh lands, cattle and corn unto them, that they might return to their tillage as before; upon this condition nevertheless, that from thenceforth the fifth of all the product of their lands should go to the king, and the rest be theirs. To these conditions the people willingly consented, as imputing the preservation of their lives entirely to *Joseph*'s care; and from that time it passed into a law, that the fifth part of the product of the whole land of *Egypt* should belong

to

to the crown; which law continued in force for ſeveral centuries after.

Jacob's requeſt to Joſeph.

While *Joſeph* was enjoying the fruits of his conſummate policy, his family at *Goſhen* wonderfully increaſed both in children and wealth. *Jacob* having lived there near 17 years, at length found himſelf drawing towards his end; and therefore ſent for *Joſeph*, and made him ſwear to him not to bury him in *Egypt*, but to carry his body to *Canaan*, and to depoſit it in the cave of *Machpelah* with that of *Abraham* and *Iſaac*, that his poſterity might never be wedded to *Egypt*, but look upon *Canaan* as their promiſed inheritance.

He bleſſes his two ſons,

Not long after, word being brought to *Joſeph* that his father was dying, he took his two ſons *Manaſſeh* and *Ephraim*, and went to preſent them to him to obtain his bleſſing for them before he died. *Jacob* hearing of the arrival of his favourite ſon, found his ſtrength as it were renewed; and ſitting up upon his bed, addreſſed himſelf to him, and began with recapitulating all the glorious promiſes which God had formerly made to him concerning the great multitude of his poſterity, and their inhabiting the land of *Canaan*, and concluded with the death of his dear *Rachel*; "for whoſe ſake (added he) I will now give you "a further proof of my affection. You have two ſons born in "this ſtrange land, who, according to the uſual order of in- "heritance, ſhould have only the portion of grandchildren in "the diviſion of the promiſed land; but I will do more for "them, and they ſhall from this day be called by my name, "be eſteemed my ſons, and, as heads of two diſtinct tribes, "receive a double lot: but if you have any more ſons after "them, they ſhall only be allotted the portion of grandchil- "dren, and their poſterity be included in their brothers tribes." He then deſired his two grandſons, whom at firſt he had not obſerved, to be brought to him. *Joſeph* placed them in a poſition, according to the order of their age, to receive his father's bleſſing; but *Jacob* croſſing his hands, laid his right, which carried with it the preference, upon *Ephraim*, who was the youngeſt, and his left upon *Manaſſeh*, who was the elder of them. *Joſeph* aſcribing the action of his father to a miſtake, was going to rectify it; but *Jacob* told him, that he acted by Divine direction, and he not only preferred *Ephraim* to *Manaſſeh*, but gave him much the larger and nobler bleſſing.

and the twelve patriarchs.

Jacob, by this time, finding himſelf grow faint, and the hour of his departure near approaching, called the reſt of his ſons together, to take his farewel of them and to give them his bleſſing, or rather to foretel what ſhould befal them and their poſterity in future ages. The good old patriarch, after a moſt pathetic preface to draw their deepeſt attention, addreſſed his ſpeech to them ſeverally, and firſt to *Reuben*. He told him, that for the crime of inceſt in polluting his father's bed, he and his

tribe

tribe were degraded from the privileges of his birth-right (A). He told *Simeon* and *Levi*, whom he joined together upon this occasion, that for their impious massacre of *Hamor* and his people, their tribes should for ever be separate and dispersed among the other; which prophecy was exactly verified in due time. Then addressing himself next to *Judah*, he prophesied of him that to his tribe, which should be situated in a very fertile country, the sovereignty should belong; that from his name the whole nation of the *Jews* should derive their appellation, and that the sceptre should not depart from his tribe till *Shiloh* or the *Messiah* should come, and the nations be gathered unto him (B).

(A) The prerogative of the birth right, according to the *Jewish* expositors, consisted chiefly in the honour of the priesthood, in the rule and government of the family, and in a double portion of the inheritance; all which *Reuben* was now deprived of. It appears, by the sequel of the history, that the tribe of *Reuben* continued all along in obscurity, while the priesthood was conferred on *Levi*, the government on *Judah*, and the double portion on *Joseph*, to descend to their tribes. *Howel's Hist. of the Bible. Bereshith Rabbah*, sect. 98.

(B) There is a great disagreement, both among *Jews* and Christians, as to the right interpretation of this prophecy. Almost all Christian commentators are of opinion that it refers to *Christ*, or *the Messiah*, and was fulfilled at his coming. The *Jews*, finding themselves pinched by the prophecy, rather than allow the received interpretations of it, have fallen into various absurd notions, which they defend with great zeal. Thus some interpret the passage, that *the Messiah* is not to come till *Shiloh*, a place so called, be destroyed, or the *Jewish* monarchy be at an end. Others by *Shevet*, which we translate a sceptre, understand a tribe, and interpret it, that *the Messiah* is not to come while the tribe of *Judah* continues, which they think still exists, and retains a kind of sceptre, or royal power, beyond the *Euphrates*: but there is nothing but their bare word for this imaginary kingdom. Both *Jews* and Christians are agreed that the word *Shiloh* means *the Messiah*; but as to the etymology of the word, they differ. Admitting the change of a letter, the most probable is that of the Septuagint, who read it *Shelo*, that is, *he to whom it belongs*. The word *Shevet*, or *sceptre*, is interpreted to mean supreme jurisdiction; and notwithstanding the many disasters that befel the *Jews*, and their captivity at *Babylon*, it appears that they were still governed by their own laws, till after the death of our Saviour. They told Christ, *We are* Abraham's *children, and were never in bondage to any man*; and *Pilate* willing to deliver *Jesus*, says to the *Jews*, *Take ye him, and judge him according to your own law*. A few years after, when *the nations were gathered to Christ*, that is, when the heathens began to embrace Christianity, the *Jewish* city, temple, and government, were utterly ruined by *Titus Vespasian*, and they themselves wholly dispersed, and sold for slaves like beasts in a market. *Patrick's Comment. Poole's Annot.*

Of

Of *Zebulon* he foretold, that his tribe ſhould be planted near the ſea-coaſts; and of *Iſſachar*, that his ſhould prove a puſillanimous people, and be lovers of inglorious eaſe more than of liberty and renown. From *Leah*'s ſons the patriarch paſſes to thoſe of his two concubinary wives; and of *Dan*'s poſterity he foretels, that tho' they were deſcended from a handmaid, yet they ſhould have the ſame privileges with the other tribes, ſhould become a politic people, and greatly verſed in the ſtratagems of war (c). To *Gad* he foretold, that his tribe ſhould be frequently infeſted with robbers, but overcome them at laſt; which was afterwards exactly verified: for their lot happening on the other ſide *Jordan*, they were expoſed to the incurſions of the plundering *Arabs*, whom however they ſometimes caught and plundered in their turn, and at length overcame; taking in one battle 50,000 camels, 250,000 ſheep, and 100,000 men priſoners *. The tribe of *Aſher*, he ſaid, ſhould be ſituated in a fruitful and exuberantly rich ſoil; and that of *Naphtali* ſhould ſpread its branches like an oak, and multiply exceedingly, or, according to our *Engliſh* verſion, *Naphtali*, like a hind newly eſcaped or let looſe, ſhould excel his brethren in ſwiftneſs, and be remarkable for the ſweetneſs of his eloquence. Tho' this laſt reading be moſt generally received, yet the former, which is the expoſition of the learned *Bochart*, is both more agreeable to the original and more anſwerable to the event; ſince no tribe multiplied ſo wonderfully as this of *Naphtali*.

Jacob had reſerved the ſons of his beloved *Rachel* to the laſt; and turning to *Joſeph*, he pours down upon him and his poſterity benedictions of all kinds. "The Lord, even the God of thy "fathers (ſays he) ſhall bleſs thee with the dew of heaven, "and with the fatneſs of the earth, with the fruit of the "womb (that is, with a numerous poſterity) and with the fruit "of the breaſt, and with plenty of all ſorts of cattle. May "all the bleſſings promiſed to me and my forefathers be doubled "upon *Joſeph*'s head, even upon his crowned head. May they "out-top and out-ſtretch the everlaſting mountains, and prove "to him more fruitful and laſting than they." What our tranſlation here renders *ſeparate* from his brethren, we think is more properly tranſlated *crowned*, it being the cuſtom for the chief ſuperintendants of the eaſtern princes to wear ſome kind of diadem about their heads. Whether it were that *Jacob* foreſaw no merit or happineſs extraordinary in the tribe of *Benjamin*, or its being afterwards blended with the tribe of *Judah* might make it partake of the ſame bleſſing, he contented himſelf with deſcribing him by his fierce and warlike diſpoſition,

* 1 Chron. v. 19.—21. Deut. xxxiii. 22.

(c) The *Jews* think that this prophecy was more particularly fulfilled when *Samſon*, who was of this tribe, pulled down the temple, which cruſhed himſelf and the *Philiſtines* to death.

who,

who, *like a ravenous wolf, ſhould ſhed the blood of his enemies, and in the evening divide their ſpoil.* Thus the good old patriarch having given his prophetical bleſſing to his children, reminded them all, eſpecially *Joſeph*, to bury him among his anceſtors in the cave of *Machpelah*; and ſo laying himſelf down in his bed again, in a ſhort time expired, after he had lived 147 years in all, and 17 of theſe in *Egypt*. Beſides theſe prophecies of *Jacob*, which have been ſufficiently verified by their events, the *Jews* aſcribe ſome other works to him, namely, a treatiſe intitled, *The ladder to Heaven*, and another called, *Jacob's Teſtament*, together with ſome forms of prayer, which the *Jews* pretend were compoſed by him, and uſe every night. He dies. Bef. Ch. 1689.

He had no ſooner expired, than *Joſeph* fell upon his face and wept, and expreſſed all the filial ſorrow that ſuch a loſs could inſpire. At length remembering his dying charge, he ordered his phyſicians, according to the cuſtom of the country, to embalm his father's body, and all preparations for his funeral to be made. The *Egyptians* on their part mourned for him as long as the days of his embalming laſted, namely, 70 days; the ceremony of which we have formerly deſcribed among the cuſtoms of *Egypt*. During the mourning, it being improper for *Joſeph* to appear at court, he deſired ſome of the officers about the king to acquaint him with his father's laſt commands regarding his burial. The king readily conſented to the requeſt of his favourite, and ordered moreover the chief officers of his houſehold and the principal nobility of the kingdom to attend the funeral, who, being joined with the family of *Joſeph* and thoſe of all his brethren, ſome in chariots and ſome on horſeback, made a very large and pompous proceſſion. Having entered the land of *Canaan*, they made a halt at the threſhing-floor of *Atad*, and there, for ſeven days, performed a funeral ceremony, which made the *Canaanites* call the place *Abel-mizraim*, or the mourning of the *Egyptians*. Having afterwards continued their march, and depoſited the corps in the cave of *Machpelah*, the whole company returned to *Egypt*. His grand funeral.

Joſeph's brethren being then apprehenſive of his reſentment for their former cruel treatment of him, ſent an humble meſſage to him to acquaint him, that it was their father's earneſt requeſt that he would forget all paſt injuries, and continue them under his protection as formerly. Such was *Joſeph*'s compaſſionate and forgiving temper, that, upon hearing this meſſage, he could not refrain from weeping. To remove their fears, he ſent immediately for them, and receiving them with the ſame kind affection as when their father was alive, excuſed and comforted them, and gave them ſuch freſh aſſurances of his future love and protection, that they went joyfully home to their families, not a little amazed, perhaps, at the greatneſs of his ſoul, a virtue to which they ſeem to have been utter ſtrangers. *Joſeph*'s brethren are apprehenſive of his reſentment.

Joſeph ourlived his father about 54 years; and when he found his death approaching, ſent for his brethren, and told them that God would, according to his promiſe, bring their poſterity out of *Joſeph* dies. Bef. Ch. 1635.

of *Egypt* into the land of *Canaan*: he charged them, therefore, not to bury him there; but to lay his body in a coffin, to depoſit it in ſome ſecure place, and to carry it with them to *Canaan*. He ſoon after died, and his brethren took care to fulfil his laſt requeſt, having firſt cauſed his body to be embalmed after the manner of the *Egyptians*. He was 110 years old when he died; an age that came very ſhort of that of his anceſtors, which might probably be owing to his being forced to a different way of living from theirs, having continued 80 years in that pinacle of grandeur to which *Pharaoh*, or rather his great wiſdom and merit, had raiſed him. He had the pleaſure to ſee of his offspring to the third generation, namely, *Shuttelah* and *Tachar*, the ſons of *Ephraim*, and *Hadan* the ſon of *Shuttelah*, and alſo *Machir* the ſon of *Manaſſeh*, and *Gilead Machir*'s ſon.

The ſimplicity of life of the old patriarchs.

Before we give an account of the reverſe of fortune which the *Iſraelites* experienced in *Egypt*, we ſhall take a ſhort retroſpective view of their anceſtors, and add ſome few obſervations on the ſimplicity of their religion and manner of living. If we examine them impartially, and compare them with the firſt founders of the moſt polite and celebrated nations of antiquity, making a candid allowance for the diſtance of time, place, and other obvious circumſtances, they will appear to be the moſt natural and perfect pattern of civil ſociety, and of an happy life. It muſt be owned, however, that unleſs we can diveſt ourſelves of that partial fondneſs which we have for the cuſtoms of our own times and country, we ſhall be apt to condemn not only thoſe of the ancient patriarchs, and of the many nations who have followed them, but likewiſe all thoſe who have thought them worthy of commendations.

Abraham doubtleſs converſed with ſome of the antediluvian patriarchs, and was well acquainted with their way of living, or rather had been educated in it, and was ſo great an admirer of it, that he preferred it to that of thoſe nations he lived amongſt, and brought up his children in the ſame way. It is plain from the hiſtory of *Abraham*, that notwithſtanding his ſimple manner of life, he was not looked upon as inferior to any of the cotemporary princes, tho' he deſpiſed thoſe pompous titles, and other marks of royal grandeur which they ſo much affected.

His riches, and thoſe of his ſons, conſiſting chiefly in a prodigious quantity of cattle, ſuch as ſheep, oxen, camels, and aſſes (horſes we read not of) they were obliged to have a proportionable number of ſervants to look after them. Accordingly we find *Abraham* was able to arm upwards of 300 of his menſervants to *Lot*'s reſcue, beſides thoſe he left behind to guard his ſubſtance, and his old men, women, and children. As for gold, ſilver, jewels, and ſuch like valuable things, we do not find he was poſſeſſed of any till after his return from *Egypt*, where *Pharaoh* had heaped many rich preſents upon him. He might alſo, perhaps, barter ſome of the wool of his flocks for bullion, which was already current in thoſe days. But neither did this

this, or his other kinds of riches, exempt him or his immediate descendants from a laborious life, which was rendered unavoidable by their living in tents for the benefit of shifting their habitations, to find convenient pasturage for their numerous herds.

To this pastoral life they likewise joined agriculture, as often as the fruitfulness of the country, the time of their sojourning in it, and other concurring circumstances permitted. The former, however, was their more general employment; and how laborious that was in those hot countries, where water was scarce and it rained seldom, may be gathered from *Jacob*'s complaint to *Laban*. We find also that neither their birth, youth, nor beauty, exempted the fair sex from sharing in the labour, and going to the well with their pitchers, and watering their flocks at proper seasons. Such appears to have been the employment of *Rebecca*, *Rachel*, and other fair damsels of that country, and of *Jethro*'s daughters, some hundred years after them.

How distasteful soever this primitive simplicity may appear to our present age, yet *Homer* will tell us how much and how long it was imitated by the *Greeks*. The chief employment, according to that poet, of the seven sons of *Ætion* king of the *Sicilians* was the keeping of their father's flocks: and we find that kind of life extolled not only in *Sicily* and *Greece*, but likewise in *Syria* and other countries, above 1500 years after *Abraham*, in some of the most beautiful pastorals of antiquity.

This laborious life seldom failed to keep both men and women in a good state of health; and as they never wanted a good appetite nor a good digestion, so they were the more simple in their way of living. The milk of their kine, the fruits of the earth, were their common diet; a kid, a fatted calf, or a dish of venison, were reckoned a rich feast. One would think that *Homer* had drawn the picture of his heroes in his *Odysseis* after that of the patriarchs, so far was he from thinking such a life unworthy of the greatest men.

This active life was likewise an effectual means to lengthen their days, and to make their deaths sweet and easy. If we except *Isaac*, who is described rather as a contemplative than a laborious man, and began to fail in his strength much sooner than the rest, we read of none of them having any diseases. All those whose age is set down by *Moses* lived to above 140 years, except *Joseph*, whose courtly way of living may probably have shortned his days.

Their conjugal temperance was no-ways inferior to their other virtues. *Abraham* lived in a country where polygamy was allowed, and a numerous offspring esteemed one of the greatest earthly blessings. He saw himself unfortunately yoked to a barren woman, and master of vast possessions, yet chose to make his servant his heir rather than to marry another. Neither did he take *Hagar* to his bed till he was promised an heir that should come out of his loins, and was persuaded to it by his wife. The children he had by *Keturah*, after *Sarah*'s death, shew

ſhew that his continence was far from being the effect of age and impotency. Tho' *Rebecca*, the wife of *Iſaac*, proved barren for a conſiderable time, and had but two ſons at laſt, yet we do not find that ever he expreſſed a deſire of taking another wife. *Jacob* indeed was unwarily drawn in to marry two ſiſters, and afterwards to take their maids to be concubines; and yet if we conſider the great affection he had for *Rachel*, we may reaſonably conclude that if he had married her firſt, he would have been contented with her alone.

Without expatiating upon their extraordinary hoſpitality to ſtrangers, their faithfulneſs to their allies, and many other virtues they were conſpicuous for, we ſhall content ourſelves with adding a few words concerning their religion, which was not only the freeſt from idolatry and ſuperſtition, but the ſimpleſt and pureſt in the world, or at leaſt that the world was then capable of. It conſiſted chiefly in a ready obedience to God's commands, under whoſe immediate guidance they continually were, in a firm reliance on his promiſes under all dangers and difficulties, and in a thankful remembrance and acknowlegement for all his bleſſings; which laſt part very probably was the firſt introduction of the religious cuſtom of tythes.

Their ſacrifices had indeed ſomething ſhocking and unnatural; and when we conſider how ſoon they began, and how univerſal the practice of ſacrificing became, reaſon will be at a loſs how to account for their introduction and progreſs, any other way than by ſuppoſing them to be of God's own inſtituting, as types of the grand ſacrifice which Chriſt was to offer up for the ſins of the world. In every other reſpect their religion was pure, ſimple, and uniform; but the degeneracy and ſtubbornneſs of their deſcendants, obliged the divine lawgiver to clog it afterwards with a numerous train of rites and ceremonies, as a wall of partition betwixt them and their idolatrous neighbours. We ſhall only add, that as other nations ſeem to have received from the patriarchs the ceremony of ſacrificing beaſts to their gods, without being acquainted with their typical deſign, ſo it is very probable that *Abraham*'s intended ſacrifice of *Iſaac* may have given birth to the bloody cuſtom of ſacrificing children, which became afterwards ſo univerſal, not only among all other nations, but even among the *Iſraelites* themſelves.

The great increaſe of the *Iſraelites* gives jealouſy to the *Egyptians*.

We return now to the *Iſraelites* in *Egypt*, where they multiplied ſo faſt, that their numbers and power ſoon gave great jealouſy to the *Egyptians*. As they continued in *Goſhen* apart by themſelves, and did not intermix with the other inhabitants, one of the *Egyptian* kings began to be apprehenſive leſt upon any war they ſhould join his enemies, and fight againſt the *Egyptians*. He therefore reſolved to cruſh them as much as poſſible, if not totally to deſtroy them; and by the advice of his council impoſed upon them heavy taxes, and ordered them to be employed as ſlaves, in bearing burdens, digging clay, making bricks, and building ſtrong cities.

At what time this terrible oppreſſion began cannot be exactly determined. The text tells us only, that it happened after the death of *Joſeph*'s brethren, and all that generation, in the reign of a new king that knew not *Joſeph*. Who this new king was is not eaſily agreed. *Cajetan* thinks him to have been an *Aſſyrian* born, from the words of the prophet, *My people went down into* Egypt, *and an* Aſſyrian *oppreſſed them*. Archbiſhop *Uſher*, after *Mercator*, thinks it was *Rameſes Miamun*, the eighth king after *Joſeph*'s death, in the ſpace of 60 years, who, reigning 62 years, was alarmed at the increaſe and proſperity of the *Iſraelites*; and that one of the cities they built was called after his name, and the other probably after the queen. *Rameſes*, however, according to *Pliny*, reigned in the time of the *Trojan* war, that is, about 300 years after the death of *Moſes*. According to the learned *Shuckford*, it was the firſt of the ſhepherd-kings who began to oppreſs the *Iſraelites*, they being about that time expelled from mount *Seir* by the grandchildren of *Eſau*, ſettled in *Egypt*, conſequently were intirely ignorant of *Joſeph*. This opinion is alſo liable to conſiderable objections; and indeed all that can be advanced on this ſubject can be no more than conjecture, as it is impoſſible to adjuſt the *Egyptian* chronology about this period. Who determined.

The *Iſraelites*, notwithſtanding their bitter and grievous bondage, multiplied the faſter the more they were afflicted; which the king perceiving, ſent for the two chief *Hebrew* midwives, *Shiphrah* and *Puah*, and ſtrictly charged them that when they performed their office to the *Hebrew* women, they ſhould deſtroy all the male infants, and let the female take their chance. Theſe women, however, who feared God, and abhorred ſuch a cruel office, neglected the king's commands, and ſaved all the children that were born, males as well as females. *Pharaoh* ſending for them, and reprimanding them for their diſobedience, they readily told him, that the *Hebrew* women being of a much ſtronger conſtitution than the *Egyptian*, were generally delivered before they came. *Moſes* tells us their piety and mercy did not go unrewarded, and that God bleſſed them with a numerous poſterity. *Pharaoh* finding his underhand ſtratagems unſucceſsful, reſolved upon a more effectual method to extirpate the *Hebrews*, and publiſhed an edict, commanding all their male children to be thrown into the *Nile*. Such a bloody command could not but cauſe the greateſt conſternation in the afflicted *Iſraelites*; but the Divine Providence, whoſe deſigns could not be fruſtrated, either by the private artifices or open violence of the king of *Egypt*, made him the inſtrument of bringing up that very child whom he deſigned to be the deliverer of his people. They are commanded to drown all their male-children.

Amram, the ſon of *Kohath* and grandſon of *Levi*, had married *Jochebed* the daughter of *Levi*, his own aunt *, and before

* Numb. xxvi. 59. Exod. vi. 20.

the king's edict had two children by her, namely, *Miriam* and *Aaron*. In the time of this cruel perſecution his wife was again delivered of a lovely and beautiful boy, and having an abhorrence of obeying the edict, they kept the child privately during the ſpace of three months, till at laſt, fearing the extreme danger of a diſcovery, which would have proved fatal both to the child and themſelves, they were forced, tho' with the utmoſt regret, to expoſe him like the reſt, and put him into a ſmall ark of bulruſhes, or rather of the flags of the plant of which the *Egyptians* made their paper, which they beſmeared with pitch and tar, to hold out the water. This they placed among the flags, and committing their ſon to the care of Providence, left his ſiſter *Miriam*, who was then about nine or ten years of age, at a proper diſtance to obſerve the event. *Pharaoh*'s daughter, in a ſhort time after, coming down to the river to bathe herſelf, and ſpying the cradle among the flags, ordered one of her retinue to go and fetch it out. When ſhe had uncovered it, the ſurprizing beauty of the weeping babe ſo moved her heart with compaſſion, that ſhe immediately declared her intention to have it brought up, altho' ſhe perceived he was one of thoſe children whom her father in his edict had ordered to be drowned. *Miriam* by this time having approached the princeſs, offered herſelf to go fetch a *Hebrew* nurſe to ſuckle the child; and her ſervice being accepted, ſhe haſtened to her mother, who came with all ſpeed, and received the infant from the hands of the princeſs, and a promiſe of an ample reward for her care of him.

Moſes is born. Bef. Ch. 1571.

Expoſed in the river.

But ſaved by *Pharaoh*'s daughter.

When the child was of an age fit to be weaned, which was generally about three or four years of age, his mother carried him to court to ſhew him to the princeſs, who ſoon grew ſo fond of him that ſhe adopted him for her own, and, in remembrance of his being taken out of the water, gave him the *Egyptian* name of *Moſes*. Some indeed allege that his name is of *Hebrew* derivation, from the verb *Maſſah*, which ſignifies to draw out; but it is natural to think that the princeſs gave the child a name from her own language, and the *Hebrew* verb might probably be alſo uſed in her tongue, and have the ſame ſignification. His parents, from his remarkable preſervation, doubtleſs looked upon him as deſigned by Providence for ſome glorious purpoſe; and whilſt he ſtaid with them gave him an education ſuitable to the idea they had conceived of him. They inſtructed him in their religion, and took care to let him know both what relation they bore to him, and what hopes they had conceived of his being deſigned by Heaven to be the deliverer of his nation.

After he left them and reſided at court, they no doubt had leave, from time to time, to viſit him, and would be aſſiduous to keep alive in his memory the firſt inſtructions they had given him, that he might not be tempted by the glare of a court and ambitious proſpects to abjure the name of *Hebrew*, and look upon himſelf as an *Egyptian*. Accordingly we find, that tho'

tho' he was inſtructed in all the learning of the *Egyptians*, that is, according to *Clemens Alexandrinus*, was taught arithmetic, geometry, phyſic, muſic, and hieroglyphics, otherwiſe called enigmatical philoſophy; to which *Philo* adds aſtronomy, which he learned of the *Chaldeans*, and the *Aſſyrian* characters from the *Aſſyrians*; yet when he came to the age of maturity, he left the court, and went to live among his brethren, preferring, with great magnanimity, the reproachful and deſpiſed name of *Iſraelite* to all the pomp and glory of *Pharaoh*'s houſe. He not only viſited his people, and commiſerated their ſufferings, but riſked his life to relieve them from their intolerable oppreſſion: for having one day obſerved an *Egyptian* uſing an *Hebrew* with ſome uncommon barbarity, he ſtept in to the aſſiſtance of his brother, and perceiving no body near, ſlew the *Egyptian*, and buried his body in the ſand. We may probably ſuppoſe that the injury done to the *Hebrew* was of ſuch a nature that it either deſerved death, or could not be prevented but by killing the *Egyptian*; and *Moſes* doubtleſs was ſtirred up to this deed by ſome divine impulſe, as being the perſon choſen by Heaven to be the deliverer of *Iſrael*; which St. *Stephen*, in his relation of the tranſaction, ſeems to hint at. *Moſes* next day endeavouring to compoſe a difference between two *Hebrews*, he who was the aggreſſor rejected his arbitration with contempt, and upbraiding him with the murder, aſked him, whether he intended to kill him as he had killed the *Egyptian*? Finding, therefore, that the fact was known, and that it would not be long before it reached *Pharaoh*'s ear, and endanger his life, he thought it ſafeſt to leave *Egypt*, and to ſecure himſelf, by flying into the country of *Midian* on the eaſt ſide of the *Red Sea*. Whether his adoptive mother was ſtill alive, is uncertain; but it is ſuppoſed, that long before this time he had made uſe of her intereſt to get the bloody edict againſt the *Hebrew* male children recalled. *Pharaoh* hearing of the murder of the *Egyptian*, ſought earneſtly to lay hands on *Moſes*; but he having eſcaped to *Midian*, was hoſpitably received, as we have mentioned in the hiſtory of the *Midianites*, by *Jethro*, a prieſt of that nation, with whom he lived 40 years; and marrying *Zipporah*, one of his daughters, had by her two ſons.

His education.

He kills an *Egyptian*.

He is forced to fly to *Midian*. Bef. Ch. 1541.

How he ſpent his time in thoſe 40 years retirement, ſave that he kept *Jethro*'s flocks, is what he has not thought fit to acquaint us with. Thoſe who ſuppoſe that he wrote the book of *Job* during this interval, have certainly ſeveral ſtrong arguments on their ſide. That *Job* lived early in the world, is in ſome meaſure evident from his mentioning with abhorrence the moſt ancient kind of idolatry, without ſpecifying any of the future groſſer corruptions. That he lived in the days of the patriarchs is probable, from the long duration of his life, which could hardly be leſs than 200 years. That he lived before the law, may be concluded, from his making not ſo much as one alluſion to it, nor the leaſt mention of the miraculous deliverance of the *Iſraelites*; and he is directed by God to make ſuch ſacri-

Some account of *Job*.

fices in his own country as were not allowable after the promulgation of the law to be offered but in *that place which the Lord had chose in one of the tribes of* Israel.

At the end of the *Greek*, the *Arabic*, and the Vulgate versions of *Job*, we have this account of his genealogy, which is said to have been taken from the antient *Syriac*. *Job* dwelt in *Ausitis* upon the confines of *Idumæa* and *Arabia*. His name at first was *Jobab*. He married an *Arabian* woman, by whom he had a son named *Ennon*. He himself was the son of *Zerah*, and the fifth in descent from *Abraham* by *Esau*, and reigned in *Idumæa*, after *Balak* the son of *Beor*, who resided in the city of *Dinublebah*. His friends who came to visit him were, *Eliphaz*, of *Esau*'s posterity, king of *Teman*, *Bildad* king of the *Shuhites*, and *Zophar* king of the *Naamethites*. If this genealogy be admitted, he must be cotemporary with *Moses*; but the learned *Spanheim*, who has examined this matter to the bottom, finds reason to think that *Job* was not the same person with *Jobab*, but was sprung from *Abraham* by his wife *Keturah*, and lived several years before the time of *Moses*. He is said to have been *the greatest of all the men of the east*, where *Keturah*'s sons are said to have settled; and his noble sentiments of creation and providence, of the nature of angels, of the fall of man, of the punishment for sins, and justification by grace, of a redemption, resurrection, and final judgment, speak him to be descended from the father of the faithful, who, according to the testimony of God, *commanded his children, and his household after him, that they should keep the way of the Lord.* One of *Abraham*'s sons by his wife *Keturah* was named *Shuah*; *Bildad* the *Shuite*, therefore, may well be supposed a descendant from that family, who, living in *Job*'s neighbourhood, might visit him in his affliction. His habitation is supposed to have been in *Arabia Deserta*, south from *Mesopotamia* and the *Euphrates*. His distemper is supposed to have been a leprosy of a very malignant kind; and some commentators imagine his calamities were not above a month's continuance, tho' others suppose he was afflicted a year, and some seven years. Some think that the history we have of his patience and sufferings was wrote by *Job* himself, or by one of his friends, in *Syriac* or *Arabic*. Others suppose that the story was first a plain narrative written in the *Arabian* tongue; but that *Solomon*, or some other poetical genius like him, gave it a dramatic cast, and, in order to make the subject more moving, introduced a set of persons speaking alternately and always in character. Yet if it had been then composed, it is not probable that so many *Arabic* and *Syriac* expressions would have been used when the *Hebrew* tongue was at its perfection. Some conjecture it was wrote to comfort the *Jews* in the *Babylonish* captivity; and the learned *Warburton* imputes it to *Ezra* the ready scribe in the law of *Moses*: but what we can only depend upon is, that the writer of the book was a *Jew*, and assisted therein by the spirit of God; that it has always been esteemed of canonical authority, is fraught with excellent instructions, and above all, is singularly

ſingularly adapted to adminiſter comfort in the day of adverſity. It is juſtly ſuppoſed to be written in verſe from the loftineſs of the ſtyle, the ſublimity of the thoughts, and livelineſs and energy of expreſſion, the grandeur of its imagery, and variety of characters, tho' the metre and cadence of it be altogether looſe and unconfined. Whoever the author of it was, thoſe who have been moſt converſant in it will readily allow that antiquity cannot produce a more lofty and magnificent, a more florid, eloquent, pathetic, and learned performance *.

We return now to our *Jewiſh* lawgiver in the land of *Midian*, whom we may reaſonably ſuppoſe to have had ſuch convincing reaſons to look upon himſelf as the deliverer of that afflicted people, that he could not but have many anxious thoughts about them during that interval, and think the time long till he ſaw that glorious promiſed deliverance happily fulfilled. The long delay, however, ſeems at length to have made him conceive quite other notions, as if God had either made choice of ſome other inſtrument to work out their deliverance, or had been provoked by their ſins to ſuſpend it for ſome time longer. After he had been 40 years in the wilderneſs, and was now in the 80th year of his age, God was pleaſed to appear to him in a burning buſh upon *Horeb*. As the buſh was all over in a bright flame, and not a leaf of it conſumed, he was prompted by his curioſity to go and view it a little nearer; but as he was approaching, he heard a voice out of the buſh calling unto him, and ordering him to pull off his ſhoes, becauſe the ground whereon he ſtood was holy. He obeyed, and drew nearer; and was then aſſured by God out of the flame, that he was the God of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, and had now, with compaſſion, ſeen the affliction of their poſterity, and was come down to deliver them from their oppreſſors; and that he had made choice of him for that purpoſe, to go into *Egypt* to execute his deſigns there. *Moſes*, unable to ſuſtain the refulgency of the Divine preſence, fell down upon the ground, and covered his face with his garment. Deſpairing of ſucceeding in ſo difficult an undertaking, he left no plea untried to be excuſed from the taſk. He began to excuſe himſelf, by urging his meanneſs and inſufficiency to take upon him the character of a Divine ambaſſador; which difficulty God was pleaſed to remove, by aſſuring him, that he would be with him, and aſſiſt him in every ſtep he ſhould take.

God appears to *Moſes* in a burning buſh; and commands him to go to *Egypt*, to bring his brethren out of bondage.

Moſes ſtill unwilling to undertake the taſk, deſired to know what he ſhould ſay to the people, and by what name he was to call the perſon who ſent him upon this commiſſion. Here God was pleaſed to anſwer a queſtion which he had formerly refuſed to *Jacob*; but in ſuch terms as might eaſily make him ſenſible of the irregularity and unreaſonableneſs of his demand: for as

* Spanheim in vit. Job, c. 4. Calmet. Differt. in Job. Shuckf. Connect. l. ix, &c.

Juſtin Martyr rightly obſerves, names are given only to ſhew the difference of things; whereas God being one, and there being no other but he, there needs no name to diſtinguiſh him. God, therefore, ſaid to him, I AM THAT I AM, or rather, I AM BECAUSE I AM, ſignifying that he was *an eternal, independant, ſelf-exiſting being*; and bid him tell his brethren, that I AM THAT I AM had ſent him to them; that he was the God of their fathers, of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*; and that he would be remembered and acknowleged by that name throughout all generations, as their great redeemer and deliverer. He therefore required him firſt to aſſemble the elders of *Iſrael* together, and acquaint them with his deſign; and then to go directly to the king, and demand of him a diſmiſſion of the *Iſraelites*, at leaſt for three days journey into the wilderneſs, in order to ſacrifice to their God. He aſſured him, that *Pharaoh* would not let them go at the firſt or ſecond aſking, nor indeed at all, till he ſhould ſee the Divine power and juſtice exerted, by the terrible puniſhments inflicted upon him and his land, for his oppreſſion of the *Iſraelites*, who in the end ſhould not come away empty or altogether unrewarded for their long and cruel ſervitude, but ſhould find ſuch favour in the ſight of the *Egyptians*, that they ſhould part with their ſumptuous raiments and choiceſt jewels to them, to make them amends for their paſt labours and hardſhips.

Such ſolemn aſſurances from the mouth of God himſelf, was enough, one would think, to have gained a ready compliance; *Moſes*, nevertheleſs, ſtill heſitated, and objected, that the people, when he came to them, might poſſibly call his miſſion in queſtion. To obviate this difficulty, God promiſed to enable him to work miracles for their conviction; and as a ſpecimen, he ordered him to throw his rod upon the ground. It inſtantly became a frightful ſerpent; but when he laid hold of it to take it up, it became a rod again. He alſo deſired him to put his hand into his boſom, and to pull it out again. It was then all over leprous; but upon putting it in and pulling it out a ſecond time, it became clean as before. He added, moreover, that if the working of theſe two miracles before the *Iſraelites* did not give a ſufficient ſanction to his meſſage, he ſhould then have liberty to try the ſucceſs of a third, by taking ſome water out of the *Nile*, which, upon its being ſpilt upon the ground, would immediately turn into blood.

Moſes begs to be excuſed.

Moſes, notwithſtanding the promiſe of all this miraculous power, ſtill declined accepting of the office; and alleged in excuſe his want of eloquence, and the natural impediment he had in his ſpeech. God, however, promiſed to ſupply this defect in an extraordinary manner. *Moſes*, nevertheleſs, earneſtly begged that he might not be employed; but that God would make choice of ſome other perſon to execute his command. God at length rebuked him for his diffidence; but told him, that his brother *Aaron*, who was now, by his appointment, to meet him, ſhould be his interpreter, both to *Pharaoh* and the *Iſraelites*.

Had

Had *Moſes* been leſs ſincere, he would hardly have recorded this extreme weakneſs of his, ſo little to his credit, and which his free and ingenuous confeſſion of can only excuſe or extenuate. Being now afraid leſt he ſhould incur the Divine diſpleaſure by a further refuſal, he went to his father-in-law, and without acquainting him with his commiſſion, requeſted leave to go and viſit his brethren in *Egypt*. His father-in-law readily conſenting to his journey, he took his wife *Zipporah* and his two ſons with him; the leaſt of which being too young to walk, he ſet upon an aſs: and with this mean equipage, and the miraculous rod in his hand, he ſet out for *Egypt*.

Obeys at laſt, and leaves *Midian*.

During the retreat of *Moſes* in *Midian*, *Aaron* his brother had married *Elizabeth*, the ſiſter of *Naaſon*, and daughter of *Aminadab*, the ſon of *Ezron*, of the tribe of *Judah*. By her he had already had four ſons, namely, *Nadab*, *Abihu*, *Eleazar*, and *Ithamar*; the firſt of whom had likewiſe a ſon, named *Phineas*. This was the ſtate of *Aaron*'s family when God commanded him to go and meet his brother. Before he could reach *Horeb* (afterwards called the mount of God) a dreadful accident had like to have happened to his brother *Moſes*, the particular occaſion and circumſtances of which we are left to gueſs at, he not having thought fit to commit them to writing. *Moſes*, at the end of his firſt day's journey, was but juſt arrived at the inn, when the Lord met him, and ſought to kill him; which words are thought by ſome to import no more, according to the idiom of the *Hebrew* language, than that God ſmote him with ſome grievous diſeaſe; tho' ſome ancient interpreters have indeed believed that the angel appeared with a drawn ſword ready to kill him. *Moſes* doth not tell us whether the Divine anger was occaſioned by his incumbering himſelf with a wife and two children, when he was ſent upon ſo glorious and important a meſſage, or becauſe he had deferred to circumciſe his youngeſt ſon, either out of regard to his tender age, or in complaiſance to his wife, who might fear leaſt ſuch an operation might make him unfit to travel for a while. *Zipporah*, however, taking it in the latter ſenſe, made what haſte ſhe could to get a ſharp flint, with which ſhe cut off the child's prepuce, and laid it at his feet, and (not as our tranſlation intimates, caſt it at the feet of her huſband) and pronounced over him the uſual form of the admiſſion into the alliance betwixt God and *Abraham*, *Thou art now become a joyful bridegroom to me, by the blood of the circumciſion*; that is, I do pronounce thee circumciſed. The ceremony was no ſooner over, but *Moſes* was reſtored again, and able to purſue his journey, whilſt his wife took the two children back to her father *Jethro*, reſolving to wait there till a more favourable opportunity offered to rejoin her huſband.

Aaron goes to meet him.

Moſes ſmitten by the angel in the inn.

Moſes parting with his wife, and proceeding on his journey, was met on mount *Horeb* by his brother *Aaron*; and after mutual embraces and endearments, he acquainted him with the commiſſion he had received from God. Upon their arrival in *Goſhen*, their firſt care was to aſſemble the elders of the *Iſraelites*,

He joins his brother at mount *Horeb*.

ites, and to impart to them the joyful news of their ſpeedy deliverance, *Moſes*, to confirm the truth of his divine miſſion, performed before their eyes the ſeveral miracles which God had appointed him. The whole aſſembly declared, that by the miracles, they were convinced he was a true prophet come from the God of their fathers, every one bowing themſelves in token of gratitude and adoration to the divine goodneſs, which had at length taken pity on their miſerable ſlavery.

Opens his commiſſion to the king of *Egypt*. Bef. Ch. 1491.

Moſes and *Aaron*, not many days after, opened their commiſſion before the *Egyptian* king; but the preamble, *thus ſaith the Lord God of Iſrael*, ſounded ſo ſtrangely in his ears, unuſed to ſuch an expreſſion, that he could not forbear wondering at their boldneſs, telling them, that he knew no ſuch God, and that he would not let *Iſrael* go. They replied, that their God, whom he refuſed to acknowlege, had enjoined them to go three days journey into the deſert to celebrate a feſtival to him, and that if they ſhould omit complying with his command, he would ſoon puniſh their diſobedience either by peſtilence or by the ſword. This further explication of their requeſt irritated the haughty monarch, who probably ſuſpecting that they had a deſign of revolting from his ſervice, and had been laying ſchemes to get out of his dominions, diſmiſſed *Moſes* and *Aaron* with a ſevere reprimand for putting ſuch idle notions into their peoples heads, and debauching them from their work, bidding them at the ſame time to return to their own taſks. As an effectual way to check their indulging themſelves in ſuch ſchemes, he ordered greater taſks and more work to be laid on them, and gave their taſkmaſters charge not to allow them any more ſtraw, and yet to exact the ſame tale of bricks from them without abatement. Inſtead of being furniſhed with ſtraw, the *Iſraelites*, being now forced to wander through the land in ſearch of ſtubble, were not able to accompliſh their daily taſks as heretofore; on which account their overſeers, who were of their own nation, were beaten by their rigorous taſkmaſters. Theſe therefore came in a body to lay their grievances, in the moſt humble manner, before the king; but he inſtead of minding their piteous complaints, accuſed them of being grown idle and wanton for want of work, and declared that they ſhould be compelled to deliver the full number of bricks, though no ſtraw ſhould be allowed them. As they returned from the king, meeting *Moſes* and *Aaron*, they diſcharged their grief and anger, tho' very unjuſtly, upon them, and accuſed them of being the authors of this new addition of miſery, which could terminate in nothing but death and deſpair. Theſe bitter expreſſions greatly afflicting *Moſes*, he applied himſelf to God, and in the humbleſt manner expoſtulated with him for the ill ſucceſs of this firſt meſſage.

The *Iſraelites* burdens encreaſed.

Moſes had no ſooner made an end of his complaint, but God gave him freſh aſſurances of his love and compaſſion for his groaning people, and declared, that now the time was come wherein he would manifeſt his almighty power, and exert the

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full force of the name he had taken on himſelf in the deliverance of his people from their bondage, and the performance of his promiſes made to their forefathers, by giving them the rich and plentiful land of *Canaan* in poſſeſſion. All theſe divine promiſes, however, when repeated to the deſponding *Iſraelites*, were not in the leaſt regarded by them, by reaſon of their anguiſh of mind upon the increaſe of their ſervitude. Their backwardneſs ſo diſheartened *Moſes*, that when God commanded him to go again unto *Pharaoh* and demand the releaſe of his people, he endeavoured to decline the office, by again alledging the impediment of his ſpeech, which was one great reaſon, he thought, why his words had no great influence with his countrymen, and of courſe would have much leſs with *Pharaoh*. God, to remove this objection, was pleaſed to reply, that he had given him a miraculous power over *Pharaoh*, and that he need not addreſs him himſelf, but employ his brother *Aaron* as his interpreter or prophet: and though he ſuffered his heart to continue hardened till he had afflicted him with ſeveral judgments, yet at length he would bring *Iſrael* out of their bondage like a triumphant army, that the *Egyptians* ſhould know that he was the Lord (A). Therefore when he went next into *Pharaoh*'s preſence, he ordered him to direct *Aaron* to caſt his rod upon the ground, and it ſhould immediately become a ſerpent.

Moſes and *Aaron* forthwith obeyed, and performed the miracle before *Pharaoh*, who, not being greatly affected by it, immediately ſent for his magicians, and ordered them to try if they could, by their magical arts, cauſe the like tranſmutation. They attempted, and ſucceeded, and changed their rods into ſerpents; but this remarkable difference enſued, that *Aaron*'s rod ſwallowed up all the rods of the magicians; which circumſtance, however, made not any due impreſſion upon the mind of the proud monarch. Theſe *Egyptian* magicians are ſuppoſed to have been *Jannes* and *Jambres*, who, St. *Paul* tells us, withſtood *Moſes*; and by *Pliny* they are called *Jannes* and *Jotapha*, and by him are joined with *Moſes* as the heads of the ſect of

Moſes again appears before *Pharaoh*. His rod turned into a ſerpent.

(A) We have here not followed our tranſlat on and many others, which make God the chief hardner of *Pharaoh*'s heart. The verbs here uſed, according to the conjugation in the original, ſignify a bare permiſſion, of which many inſtances have been given by many eminent authors; and in ſcripture ſeveral things are ſaid to be done by God, which are only permitted by him to come to paſs in their ordinary courſe and procedure. That *Moſes*, to whom God uſed theſe expreſſions concerning *Pharaoh*, underſtood them in this ſenſe, is evident from many parts of his behaviour to him, and eſpecially from his earneſtly entreating him to be perſuaded, and to let the people go *.

* Shuckford's Connect. vol. ii. Le Clerc's Comment. Eſſay for a new tranſlat. Grotius, Dr. Clark, &c.

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the magicians. They are celebrated in the Talmud under the names of *Jochani* and *Mamri*, and the targum of *Jonathan* affirms them to have been *Balaam*'s ſons. Some *Jewiſh* authors pretend, that they were drowned in the *Red* ſea with the *Egyptians*, though others think that they were ſlain in *Midian* with their father. Many chriſtian writers have ſuppoſed that the miracles of the magicians were only mere deceptions; yet the opinion of St. *Auſtin* that they were really effected, and that by the power of the devil, has been more univerſally received, to give the greater authority to thoſe performed by *Moſes*, which they could not imitate. The ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament ſeem to attribute ſome ſuch power to evil ſpirits; and according to the natural ſenſe of the expreſſions of *Moſes*, the miracles they wrought were a real imitation of his.

The waters turned into blood.

Moſes and *Aaron*, ſome time after, put themſelves in the way of *Pharaoh* as he was walking out to the river *Nile*, and urging again the demand they had made for the departure of their brethren, as a farther ſign that God had really ſent them, they turned all the running and ſtanding waters of *Egypt* into blood, ſo that the fiſh died, and the inhabitants were obliged to dig round about the river for freſh water to drink. But *Pharaoh* finding that his magicians did turn water into blood likewiſe, and ſuppoſing the thing on both ſides to be equally performed by magical ſkill, was not convinced by the miracle, and ſo would not conſent to let the *Iſraelites* depart.

The miracle of frogs.

Seven days after *Moſes* and *Aaron* came again to him, and threatned him, that if he did not let *Iſrael* go, they would bring a plague of frogs upon all the land; and when the king paid no regard to their threatning, *Aaron* ſtretched his rod again over the waters, and immediately there came up abundance of frogs ſo as to cover their whole land, and to ſwarm in their houſes, their chambers, and their beds, and the very places where their victuals were dreſſed. The magicians likewiſe performing the ſame, *Pharaoh* was not much influenced by this miracle. His magicians, however, not having power enough to remove the frogs, he was forced to have recourſe to *Moſes* for relief, promiſing that he would let *Iſrael* go, if his country were delivered from that odious vermin. *Moſes* agreed to his propoſal, and next day, according to his deſire, deſtroyed all the frogs upon the land; but ſo great was their number, that when they were gathered into heaps, before they could well be diſpoſed of, they infected the air, and made the whole land ſtink.

Fourth miracle of lice.

Pharaoh now refuſing to fulfil his promiſe, *Moſes*, by God's command, ordered *Aaron* to ſmite the duſt with his rod, and the duſt immediately became lice throughout all the land. Some think the duſt was turned into gnats, which ſmall inſect, they ſay, is more common, and its ſting more tormenting, in *Egypt* than any where elſe: but our verſion ſeems more agreeable to the original, and to the generality of the antient and modern tranſlations and expoſitions. The magicians, by *Pharaoh's*

raoh's order, attempted to imitate this miracle; but their power being now reſtrained by a ſuperior hand, they were not able to accompliſh it, and acknowleged that the finger of God was evident in this miracle.

Pharaoh nevertheleſs ſtill continuing obſtinate, *Moſes* next Fifth mibrought immenſe ſwarms of flies upon the *Egyptians*, none of racle of which, however, were found in the land of *Goſhen*. The bite flies. of thoſe inſects, which, according to the Septuagint were the dog-fly, was ſo venemous and painful, that the miſchief which they did to the *Egyptians* was intolerable, and forced the king to ſend for *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and to tell them, that he would give them leave to ſacrifice to their God within his own dominions. This permiſſion, they anſwered, they could not accept of, without imminent danger of their lives, ſeeing they ſhould be obliged to ſacrifice ſuch creatures as the *Egyptians* worſhiped, who would therefore be ready to ſtone them, as guilty of the moſt horrid and abominable ſacrilege. The king, earneſt to be rid of the plague, made a further conceſſion, and even gave them leave to go a little way into the wilderneſs; but no ſooner were the flies removed, than he refuſed to fulfil his promiſe.

The next judgment fell, according to the word of *Moſes*, on The murall the cattle of the *Egyptians*, the greateſt part of which died rain of the next day, while thoſe of the *Iſraelites* remained unhurt. beaſts. This, however, not greatly affecting the king, the following plague was more perſonal, being a loathſome and painful boyl Boyls upwhich broke out upon man and beaſt. *Pharaoh*, according to on men cuſtom, had recourſe to his magicians; but they themſelves and beaſts. being ſmitten with boils, could not ſtand before *Moſes*, who perceiving the king ſtill inflexible, threatned him with a ſtill more dreadful judgment. Some of the *Egyptians*, not ſo perverſe as their monarch, gave credit to the words of *Moſes*; and as he had foretold a dreadful ſtorm of thunder and hail, they Hail brought all their cattle under ſhelter, by which means they ſtorms and ſaved them. *Pharaoh* having deſpiſed this warning, the ſtorm thunders. next day began with ſuch fury, that the whole land was almoſt deſtroyed by it. The lightning ran along the ground, and the rain and hail was ſo impetuous, that all that was in the open fields was deſtroyed; men and beaſts were killed, the trees were broke down, and the barley and flax, then almoſt ripe, were totally deſtroyed. The land of *Goſhen*, however, was wholly exempt from this dreadful judgment. In *Egypt* it was ſo terrible and extraordinary, that *Pharaoh*, in a moſt penitent manner, acknowledged that he had ſinned, and declared that he would detain the *Iſraelites* no longer, if *Moſes* would cauſe the thunders to ceaſe.

His repentance, however, was not ſincere; for the ſtorm was no ſooner ceaſed, than he returned to his old way; on which account *Moſes* threatned him with a plague of locuſts, which ſhould eat up what the hail had left undeſtroyed. The king paying little regard to this threatning, ſome about him took

took the liberty to repreſent to him, that it was full time to diſmiſs the *Hebrews*, as the plagues that had already happened had almoſt totally ruined the nation. On this remonſtrance *Pharaoh* at length conſented to let them depart; but upon enquiring of *Moſes* and *Aaron* who of them were to go and who to ſtay, he was ſo highly provoked at their inſiſting upon taking with them their wives, children, cattle, and all that they had, that he could not forbear upbraiding them with their ill intentions; and having threatned them ſeverely, cauſed them to be thruſt from his preſence. *Moſes*, upon leaving the king, ſtretched out his rod over all the land of *Egypt*, and next day numerous ſwarms of locuſts came with an eaſt wind, and covering the whole land, did, in a little time, eat up every blade of graſs, and every thing that had eſcaped the ſtorm of hail. *Pharaoh* now made haſte to ſend for *Moſes*, owned his fault, and begged for one reprieve more; but having obtained it, by means of a weſt wind which blew all the locuſts into the *Red* ſea, he continued as inflexible as ever. *Egypt* was preſently after ſmitten with ſuch horrid darkneſs, that *Moſes* chooſes to expreſs it by a darkneſs that may be felt. During the three days it laſted, the *Egyptians* did neither ſee one another, nor dare to ſtir out of their place, whilſt the land of *Goſhen* enjoyed its uſual day-light. The horror of this obſcurity, which could not be removed by the common methods then uſed to ſupply the abſence of the ſun, and was heightened by the diſmal outcries of men, women, and children, cauſed ſuch apprehenſions in the king and his ſubjects, that their conſternation may be much eaſier imagined than expreſſed. As ſoon, therefore, as light was reſtored to them, the king ſent for *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and told them, he was willing to grant their requeſt, and that they might go with their wives and children, but required that their flocks ſhould be left behind. *Moſes*, however, peremptorily inſiſting that they ſhould not leave a hoof behind them, *Pharaoh*, in great indignation, cauſed him to be thruſt from his preſence, threatning him, that if he dared to come before him any more, it ſhould certainly coſt him his life. Such impotent threatnings had nothing in them that could frighten a man like *Moſes*.

Ninth miracle of locuſts.

Great darkneſs during three days.

At this laſt interview, it is ſuppoſed, he ſignified to the king, that at midnight God would ſtrike dead the firſt born of men and cattle throughout *Egypt*, which ſhould cauſe ſuch a dread and terror among all the *Egyptians*, that they ſhould come with bended knees to him, and beg of him, in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms, to lead the *Iſraelites* out of their country, while God would ſhew ſuch regard to the latter, that they ſhould enjoy their uſual calmneſs and tranquillity, not a dog daring to open his mouth againſt any one of them.

The paſſover inſtituted.

Moſes, upon concluding this laſt prediction, retired to his people in the land of *Goſhen*, to direct them to prepare the paſſover, which was to be a feaſt in commemoration of their deliverance from *Egypt*, when the deſtroying angel ſhould paſs over their

their houſes without doing them any harm, and ſhould ſlay the firſt born of the *Egyptians*. He alſo, at the ſame time, deſired them to borrow what jewels, fine raiment, and other precious things, they could from their *Egyptian* neighbours, aſſuring them from God, that they ſhould find them very ready to accommodate them with the beſt things they had.

As to the inſtitution of the paſſover, the account which *Moſes* has given us of it, is prefaced with a command from God, that that month, which was then the ſixth in the year, according to the common or civil computation, ſhould from thenceforth be the firſt month in the year of the ſacred calendar; and that all the other feaſts of the year which were to be afterwards inſtituted, ſhould be regulated by that of the paſſover, the ceremonies and rites attending the celebration of which we have already related. The lamb or kid was to be a male, not above a year old, without any manner of blemiſh; and when it was killed, they were to catch its blood in a baſon, and ſprinkle the lintel and ſide-poſts of the outer door with it, that the deſtroying angel might leave their houſes untouched when he paſſed by to deſtroy the firſt born of *Egypt*, and to execute the divine vengeance on their gods, whether meaning their princes, who in the language of ſcripture are often called gods, or thoſe animals which that ſuperſtitious nation worſhiped. The *Iſraelites* were ſtrictly to remember this glorious night, and to inſtruct their children in the meaning of this inſtitution, that they might perpetuate the memory of it to future ages.

The people, whom ſo many dire judgments on the *Egyptians* had rendered more tractable, received the orders of *Moſes* with the utmoſt reſpect, and immediately prepared to execute them. The night which was to prove ſo joyful to them, and ſo fatal to their enemies, being come, and God's commands being punctually obeyed, at midnight God, by his deſtroying angel, ſlew the firſt born of every houſe in *Egypt*, from the firſt born of the prince who ſat on the throne, to the firſt born of the impriſoned captive, and even to that of the meaneſt animal in the land. This ſlaughter immediately occaſioned a ſudden outcry and confuſion among the *Egyptians*, and *Pharaoh*, in great terror, ſent directly for *Moſes* and *Aaron*, without waiting till morning, and deſired him to get the people together with their flocks and herds, and all that belonged to them, and be gone. The *Egyptians* alſo were greatly terrified, and having given them freely their moſt valuable effects, were ſo urgent to have them gone, that they would not let them ſtay ſo much as to bake their bread, but obliged them to take the dough, raw as it was, along with them, and bake it as well as they could upon the road.

The *Iſraelites*, therefore, leaving the *Egyptians* to mourn for and bury their dead, and laden with their ſpoils, began their march from *Rameſes* on the 15th day of the firſt month, under the conduct of Providence and of *Moſes*, and having travelled about ten or twelve miles, ſtopped at *Succoth* and reviewed their company,

The *Iſraelites* kill the paſſover according to the direction of *Moſes*.

The firſt born of the *Egyptians* ſlain.

The *Iſraelites* are urged to depart.

company, which conſiſted of 600,000 perſons, beſides women and children, and an innumerable multitude of ſtrangers who joined themſelves with them, and followed them in their march with a purpoſe to accompany their fortunes. As ſoon as they were arrived at *Succoth*, *Moſes* made them encamp according to their tribes and families, which was likewiſe the order in which they had been directed to march; and while the ſenſe of their deliverance and God's judgments were freſh in their minds, he was commanded to let them know, that when they came to be ſettled in the land of *Canaan*, the firſt born, both of man and beaſt, ſhould be ſet apart and dedicated to him, in remembrance of God's having ſpared their firſt born when he deſtroyed the *Egyptians*. He did not neglect now to carry with him the bones of *Joſeph*, purſuant to the oath which that patriarch had exacted of their forefathers. The *Jews* tell us, the coffin was placed in a ſumptuous cart, and guarded by the tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh*. They affirm alſo, that every tribe brought the bones of the heads of their family with them; which tradition, though not mentioned by *Joſephus*, yet ſeems alluded to by St. *Stephen* in his laſt diſcourſe to the *Jews* *.

Their firſt born conſecrated.

From *Succoth*, the neareſt way to *Canaan* was certainly thro' the country of the *Philiſtines*; yet leſt the *Iſraelites*, who were unaccuſtomed to war, ſhould repent of their deliverance, in caſe of any oppoſition, and return into *Egypt*, God ordered them to march to the coaſt of the *Red* ſea, towards *Arabia Petræa*. For their greater encouragement and ſecurity, he himſelf condeſcended to conduct them, both in their marches and encampments, by the wonderful appearance of a cloud, which ſhaded them from the heat of the ſun by day, and in the night-time became a pillar of fire, or a bright cloud, to ſupply the ſun's abſence, and illuminate their camp. This miraculous and amazing cloud became their conſtant attendant during their forty years wandering in the wilderneſs. Under this auſpicious guide, proceeding from *Succoth*, they came to *Etham* ſituated on the borders of the wilderneſs of that name, where they encamped.

They march to the *Red* ſea.

Mean while the king of *Egypt* being informed that the *Iſraelites* were deſigning entirely to leave *Egypt*, and were attempting their eſcape into the deſarts of *Arabia* by the cape of the *Red* ſea, immediately aſſembled a powerful army together, with 600 of the choiceſt chariots, beſides all the chariots of war that could be found in *Egypt*, and purſued after them. God, however, inſtead of ſuffering the *Iſraelites* to march round the point of the *Red* ſea, as they probably intended, ordered them to advance along the coaſts of it until they came to *Pihahiroth*, which lies between *Migdol* and the ſea, over-againſt *Baal Zephron*, and to encamp before it. Here being quickly overtaken by *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptian* army, and perceiving

They are purſued by the *Egyptians*.

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* Acts vii

them-

themſelves hemmed in on every ſide, with the ſea in their front, huge mountains on their flank, and the *Egyptian* army in the rear, they began to deſpair of any means of eſcape; and inſtead of having recourſe to that mighty arm that had ſo viſibly ſtretched itſelf out in their favour, they clamoured againſt *Moſes* for having induced them to leave *Egypt*, and for bringing them into the wilderneſs to be maſſacred. *Moſes*, however, being apprized of God's deſign, inſtead of reſenting their reproaches, comforted them with the aſſurance that God himſelf would certainly fight for them, and that this would be the laſt time of their ſeeing the *Egyptians*. He then ordered them to decamp and advance towards the ſea ſide, the miraculous cloud at the ſame time removing from the front to the rear of the army, ſtood with its dark ſide towards the *Egyptians*, and with its bright or fiery ſide towards the *Iſraelites*, keeping the two camps from joining that night, and preventing the former from perceiving the march of the *Iſraelites*. *Moſes*, in the mean time, having by God's command ſtretched out his rod over the ſea, a ſtrong eaſt wind aroſe, which blowing all night, divided the waters and made a paſſage for the *Iſraelites*, the waves riſing in heaps, and ſtanding as a wall on each ſide of them. The *Iſraelites* advanced into the paſſage, and the cloud at the ſame time removing from betwixt the two camps, the *Egyptians*, who perceived them withdrawing, purſued them without any heſitation, probably not ſenſible that they were entering into the channel of the ſea, unleſs we will ſuppoſe with *Joſephus*, that becauſe they ſaw the *Iſraelites* march ſafely through the ſea, they vainly hoped they might do ſo too. About break of day they began to diſcover their error, their whole army being then in the utmoſt confuſion, God, it is ſaid, troubling their hoſt, according to *Joſephus*, by fierce winds and tempeſts, ſtorms of hail and rain, and terrible thunderings and lightnings, which the Pſalmiſt ſeems alſo to allude to *. The *Egyptians* beginning to find their chariots to go more and more heavily, and having ſo many indications of God's fighting againſt them, were turning about and attempting to eſcape; but all in vain; for the *Iſraelites* being now landed, *Moſes* again ſtretched his rod over the ſea, when immediately the roaring waves came ruſhing upon the *Egyptians*, and overwhelmed them all. The *Iſraelites* beholding with joy and aſtoniſhment the carcaſes and rich ſpoils of their enemies thrown upon the ſea ſhore, began to fear the Lord, and believe his ſervant *Moſes*.

The *Red* ſea is divided.

The *Iſraelites* paſs over,

and the *Egyptians* are drowned.

Some authors greatly leſſen this wonderful deliverance of the *Iſraelites*, and allege, that *Moſes*, from his long acquaintance with the ebbings and flowings of the *Red* ſea, took the opportunity of a remarkable neap tide, and at low ebb led the *Iſraelites* along the ſhore, and that the *Egyptians*, by being too late, were drowned by the returning tide. But this opinion

* Pſalm lxxviii.

is manifeſtly contradictory to the expreſs words of *Moſes*, and to ſeveral other places of holy writ. It deviates alſo from reaſon and experience, founded on the knowledge we have of the ebbing and flowing of the *Red* ſea, from the known character of *Moſes* as a conſiſtent hiſtorian, and from ſome teſtimonies of antiquity verifying his account. Thoſe who have accurately examined the tides of the *Red* ſea, aſſure us, that the water falls at the northern extremity only 308 yards; ſo that a ſingle traveller, by taking the ſhorteſt courſe by the edge of the water, ſaves only about half a mile; which road, however, it is plain, would be impracticable for a multitude conſiſting of upwards of two millions of people. If there had been no miraculous diviſion of the waters, *Moſes* would not probably have riſked his reputation in aſſerting a fact which all the *Iſraelites* were capable of contradicting. The *Heliopolitans* in *Egypt* acknowleged the miraculouſneſs of the tranſaction; and *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, that the *Ichthyophagi*, who inhabited along the coaſt of the *Red* ſea, had a conſtant tradition that the ſea had formerly been divided by a ſtrong wind, and that the waves being parted into two heaps, the bottom, which was left naked, had appeared full of verdure*; which tradition, doubtleſs, refers to this miracle.

Moſes's ſong for this deliverance.

Moſes perceiving the *Iſraelites* affected with their miraculous deliverance, compoſed a triumphant hymn, in which he extols the greatneſs of God's power, and his amazing mercy towards his people diſplayed on this occaſion; and having divided the *Iſraelites* into two great choirs, he placed himſelf and his brother *Aaron* at the head of the men, and his ſiſter *Miriam*, with a timbrel in her hand, at the head of the women; they ſung and played alternately, and in the height of their joy intermixed dances.

The *Iſraelites* murmur for want of water,

The *Iſraelites*, notwithſtanding theſe ſolemn acknowledgements of their gratitude to their almighty deliverer, had ſcarce travelled three days from the *Red* ſea into the wilderneſs of *Shur*, before their exceſſive thirſt and want of water filled them with diſcontent and ſedition. Finding water at *Marah*, which they could not drink on account of its bitterneſs, they impatiently murmured againſt *Moſes*, who addreſſing himſelf to God in the humbleſt manner, was directed by him to a tree, the wood of which, whether by any intrinſic virtue, or by a new miracle, ſweetened the waters as ſoon as he had caſt it in. In memory of the bitter waters, the place was called *Marah*; from whence they went and encamped at *Elim*, where they found twelve fountains of water, and ſeventy palm trees.

Three weeks after they marched from *Elim* towards the wilderneſs of *Sin*, by which route they removed ſtill farther from the frontiers of the promiſed land; but as they were directed by the miraculous pillar, they were forced to follow whither-

* Diod. l. iii.

foeve

soever that went. Here the provisions becoming exceeding scarce, they began to murmur more violently than ever, repenting from their hearts that they had suffered themselves to be decoyed from the plenty they had enjoyed in the land of *Egypt*, into a wild barren waste, where they could expect nothing but to die with hunger. This tumultuous behaviour, which seemed levelled at God himself, met, however, with no other reproof than a gracious promise to supply them with food from Heaven. This accordingly quickly came to pass; for that very evening he caused quails to fall among them in such great quantities, as quite covered their camp. These quails are supposed to have come from *Egypt*, as at this day those birds annually fly out of *Egypt* across the *Red* sea in vast quantities about the middle of *April*; but their falling round the tents of the *Israelites*, must still be looked upon as a miraculous supply.

and for want of provisions.

They are miraculously supplied with quails,

Early next morning also, as soon as the dew was gone, a little white round thing, resembling a small hoary frost, covered the face of the earth, which when the people saw, they were struck with admiration, and said one to another, *Manhua*, which signifies *what is this*, and not as our translation renders it, *it is manna*. The word *man*, in their language, also signifies meat ready prepared; and not knowing what name to give it, they ever after called it *man*, and not *manna*, according to our translation *. For a memorial of this miraculous bread, *Moses* was ordered to preserve an homer full, or about three pints and an half of our measure, in a vessel to be afterwards deposited in the ark of the covenant, and to be preserved as a witness to future ages; which was accordingly done by his brother *Aaron*. As this was the bread they were to eat for the space of forty years, God was therefore pleased to give their special directions concerning it. It was to be gathered fresh every morning, by measure an homer for every head, according to the number of each family, and all consumed the same day; but on the sixth day was to be provided a double quantity, because none would fall on the seventh day, which was afterwards to be kept holy. The taste of the cakes that were made of it resembled that of wafers made with honey, or with fresh oil. Some of the people, from what motive is uncertain, venturing to keep a part of it, found it next morning stinking and crawling with worms: but that which was gathered for the seventh day, never corrupted.

and with manna.

From the desart of *Sin*, the *Israelites* had not advanced many days journey towards *Horeb*, till coming to *Rephidim*, and finding no water there, their distrust of God's providence was renewed, and in an outrageous manner they murmured against *Moses*, and even seemed inclined to stone him. Having in vain en-

* Essay for a new translation, and Shuckford's Connect. vol. iii. p. 10. &c.

deavoured to appeaſe them, and fearing they would aſſault him, he had recourſe to God, who was ſoon pleaſed to diſſipate his fears, by promiſing to ſignalize that place by a miraculous ſupply of water, as he had done another by a miraculous ſupply of food. *Moſes*, therefore, taking the elders of the people along with him to mount *Horeb*, in their preſence ſmote a certain rock, diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by the divine appearance reſting upon it; and no ſooner had he ſmitten it with his rod, but water guſhed out at ſeveral places, and joining in one common ſtream, ran down to the camp at *Rephidim*. This water is ſuppoſed by ſome to have ſupplied the *Iſraelites* not only in their encampment at *Rephidim*, but even in their other encampments as far as *Kadeſh-barnea*, where we find the people again murmured for want of water. St. *Paul* applying this miraculous rock to Chriſt, ſays, that it followed them; from thence ſome have imagined, that either the waters which guſhed out of it formed themſelves into a kind of river which followed them through all their encampments, or that they carried the rock in a cart. But had any of theſe been the caſe, there would have been no need of ſmiting that rock in another place, as *Moſes* afterwards did for the ſame purpoſe, nor of digging wells for water ſoon after this laſt miracle. What we learn of certainty from modern travellers is, that at the foot of mount *Horeb* is ſtill to be ſeen a brook of water; but as for the rock itſelf, there is no water that now runs from it, though there are at preſent to be ſeen twelve holes or mouths from whence the water formerly flowed *.

Water brought from a rock in *Horeb* by a miracle.

While the *Iſraelites* continued in this ſtation, they were ſuddenly aſſaulted by the *Amalekites*. *Moſes*, to guard againſt a ſecond aſſault, ordered *Joſhua*, a valiant young man who was always about him, to draw out a party of the choiceſt men in the camp, and next morning to give the *Amalekites* battle, whilſt himſelf ſhould go to an eminence to entreat God for his ſucceſs. Next day, during the battle, God was pleaſed to have a ſingular regard to his interceſſion; for whilſt he held his hands up, *Joſhua* prevailed, and when he, through wearineſs, let them down, *Amalek* got the advantage. At length they grew ſo heavy, that *Aaron* and *Hur* were forced to ſtay them up on each ſide until the going down of the ſun, in which time the *Amalekites* were quite routed and put to the ſword. This action was ſo very remarkable, that to tranſmit it to poſterity, *Moſes* was ordered to record it in a book, and to vow a laſting war againſt the *Amalekites*, till their very remembrance was quite blotted out. Having alſo, upon the ſpot, raiſed an altar to God, he called it *Jehovah Niſſi*, (the Lord is my banner) to intimate, that God, who had made them denounce this war againſt *Amalek*, would not fail to crown it with ſucceſs.

The Amalekites routed.

* Calmet's Dict. Moriſan's Voy. l. i. c. 1.

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The defeat of *Amalek* opened a way for the *Iſraelites* to mount *Sinai*, where God had at firſt appeared to *Moſes*, not far from the habitation of his father *Jethro*. This hoſpitable old man hearing of all that God had done for the *Iſraelites*, took his daughter *Zipporah*, and her two ſons *Gerſhom* and *Eliezer*, and came with them to the camp to *Moſes*. After their mutual embraces, and ſacrifices offered to the God of *Iſrael*, *Jethro* obſerving with what patience his ſon-in-law ſtood to hear the peoples complaints from morning to night, and fearing leſt he ſhould in time ſink under it, gave him that excellent advice of chooſing a competent number of elders, who would help him to bear ſuch a part of the burden as would otherwiſe have proved too much for him, which we have already related in the hiſtory of *Midian*. *Moſes* having thus eaſed himſelf of a great load of care by nominating inferior judges, proceeded to the wilderneſs of *Sinai*, and encamped at the bottom of the mountain, which happened in the beginning of the third month after their departure out of *Egypt*.

Jethro comes to *Moſes*.

The *Iſraelites* encamp near *Sinai*

They had not been long in this ſtation, before God called *Moſes* to come up to him on the mount, and there charged him to remind the *Iſraelites* of the many wonders he had wrought in their favour, and to aſſure them, that if they would become obedient to his laws, he would ſtill look upon them as his peculiar people, a favourite nation, and a royal prieſthood. *Moſes* having reported this gracious meſſage to the elders and the people, they promiſed in return all poſſible obedience to the divine command. With this anſwer *Moſes* again aſcended the mountain, and received a command from God, that all the people ſhould purify themſelves and be in readineſs againſt the third day, for that within three days he would come down upon the mountain, and make a covenant with them. In the mean time he gave him ſtrict charge to ſet boundaries about the foot of the mountain, which none might adventure to paſs under the ſevereſt penalties. The ſignal for the people to approach the mountain, was upon the firſt ſounding of the miraculous trumpet. Accordingly, on the third day, the people having prepared themſelves according to the divine injunction, and being in the utmoſt expectation of this wonderful ſight, they ſaw, by break of day, the mountain ſurrounded with the thickeſt cloud, out of which proceeded ſuch dreadful thunders and lightnings, as filled them with amazement and terror. The ſound of the trumpet being heard, *Moſes* brought the people out of the camp as near to the mountain as the barrier would permit, and there they obſerved the whole top of *Sinai* covered with fire and ſmoke, while the foundations of it ſeemed to tremble and ſhake under them. In the midſt of this dreadful ſcene the trumpet was heard to ſound louder and louder, and ſoon after the thunders and trumpets ceaſed; and then God was heard from the midſt of the fire and ſmoke, which continued all the while, to pronounce the ten principal commands or laws which were to be the foundation of all the reſt, and of which we have already

The decalogue delivered.

ready given an account. The people, in the mean time, aſtoniſhed at what they ſaw and heard, removed farther off, and as ſoon as the divine voice had ceaſed ſpeaking, they came to *Moſes*, and in the height of their fear and ſurprize, beſought him that he would for the future ſpeak to them in God's ſtead, leſt if they ſhould hear his dreadful voice again, they ſhould die with horror and amazement. *Moſes* highly commending the awe and regard which they expreſſed, went up again to the mountain, where for that time God was pleaſed to deliver ſeveral other laws, both ceremonial and political, which we have given an account of in the beginning of the hiſtory of this people, and which plainly appear to have been calculated with a wiſe deſign of preſerving the people in their obedience to God, to prevent their intermixture with other nations, and to advance the welfare of the commonwealth by ſecuring to all the members of it a quiet enjoyment of their lives and properties. As we have already given an account of their inſtitutions, to prevent repetitions we ſhall avoid following the divine hiſtorian too cloſe in all the intercourſes which he had with God, in which the obſervance of the ſame laws is inculcated over and over. The reader will find ſufficient occaſion for the ſo frequent repetition of them at their firſt delivery, ſince it will appear by the ſequel, that neither that nor the frequent puniſhments that befel them, proved ſufficient to bend their ſtubborn necks, or to cure them of their intractable diſpoſition. Tho' the main part of the laws was given to *Moſes* in the mount, yet they were not all delivered there; for after the ſetting up of the tabernacle, God was pleaſed to appear, and to deliver his oracles to him from thence; and they were by him committed to writing in the ſame order in which he received them.

Other laws given.

The covenant between God and the people ratified.

Immediately after this firſt ſolemn promulgation of the law, *Moſes* returning from the mount, erected an altar to God, and offered burnt ſacrifices and peace offerings upon it; and having cauſed the contents of the new covenant to be read to all the people, and exacted a ſolemn promiſe from them that they would keep it faithfully, he ratified it by ſprinkling the altar, the book, and the people, with the blood of the victims, and then ordered twelve pillars to be raiſed, one for each tribe, as a laſting monument of this alliance between God and them. As ſoon as *Moſes* had made an end of this ceremony, he took *Nadab* and *Abihu*, and ſeventy of the elders of *Iſrael*, ſome part of the way towards the mountain, where they were vouchſafed a proſpect of the divine preſence. *Moſes* having then committed the care of the people to them, took *Joſhua* up into the mountain with him, where he continued for the ſpace of forty days. Here it was that God gave him the two tables of ſtone, whereon were written the ten commandments by the finger, that is, as the generality of expoſitors underſtand it, and indeed the original doth properly imply, by the immediate

Moſes goes up into the mount.

immediate command and direction of God himself(A), together with the whole plan of the *Jewish* religion, of the tabernacle and all the utenſils belonging to it, and ſeveral other laws concerning the prieſts, levites, and laity. The two chief builders of the tabernacle, namely, *Bezaleel* of the tribe of *Judah*, and *Aholiab* of the tribe of *Dan*, were now alſo named.

While *Moſes* was converſing with God in the mount, the people in the camp, by reaſon of his long abſence, began now to give him over for loſt; and aſſembling themſelves in a riotous manner about *Aaron*'s tent, demanded of him to make them ſome gods to go before them. The demand was aſtoniſhing; but ſuch was his weakneſs and want of courage, that inſtead of expoſtulating the matter with them, he ſeems tamely to have ſubmitted to their requeſt without heſitation. They having, according to his directions, brought him a ſufficient quantity of their golden ornaments, he tied them up in a bag, (for ſo ought the words, 'he faſhioned it with a graving tool', to be rendered *) and got them caſt into a molten calf, which the *Jews*, in excuſe for *Aaron*, ſay, was made by ſome *Egyptians* who had followed them from *Egypt*, and firſt prompted the people to aſk for ſuch gods. His conduct, however, is plainly inexcuſable; for we find him even continuing to promote their idolatry. He ſet up the idol upon a pedeſtal in full ſight of the camp, built an altar before it, and appointed the next day for a ſolemn feſtival, which was begun with offering ſacrifices to the idol, and concluded with feaſting and dancing, and all kinds of noiſy mirth, as was uſual with the *Egyptians* upon finding their god *Apis*. The people in his abſence commit idolatry.

In the mean time God, who ſaw the abominable defection of the *Iſraelites*, informed *Moſes* of it, and threatned utterly to deſtroy them, and to make of him a great nation. *Moſes*, however, was ſo far from ſeeking his own intereſt in their deſtruction, that he interceded for their pardon in a moſt pathetic manner; and having obtained a kind of promiſe of it, he took the tables, and his ſervant *Joſhua* with him, and ſo haſtened down from the mount. As ſoon as he drew near the camp, and ſaw the cauſe of their ſhouting, which he had heard at a conſiderable diſtance, his concern was ſo great, that he threw Obſerving their defection, he breaks the two tables.

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* Eſſay for a new tranſlation.

(A) Some commentators have indeed ſuppoſed, that God himſelf, or an angel, wrote the precepts of the decalogue on the firſt tables; yet we think it is more probable they were written by *Moſes* under the immediate direction of God. *Moſes* ſays, that God commanded him to write the words of the covenant upon the ſecond tables as they had been written in the firſt; yet in *Deuteronomy* he ſays, God wrote on the ſecond tables according to the writings of the firſt, the ten commandments; which two texts, we think, may ſerve as a commentary to the firſt expreſſion.

the two tables from him and brake them. He then pulled down the idol, reduced it to powder, and mixing the powder in water, made all the people drink of it. Next he upbraided, in the ſtrongeſt terms, his puſillanimous brother, whoſe only excuſe was the mutinous and impetuous diſpoſition of the people, who compelled him to aſſent to their propoſal. Reſolving, however, to take vengeance on the idolaters, he called aloud, Who is on the Lord's ſide? and finding that the ſons of *Levi* immediately joined him, he commanded them to gird on their ſwords, and to go and ſlay all indifferently whom they found ſtill at that idolatrous feaſt, without regard to age, quality, kindred, friendſhip or acquaintance. Theſe went forth from the preſence of *Moſes*, and ſlew about 3000 delinquents, whom they found ſtill ſtraggling about in the midſt of their mirth.

He goes up again into the mount.

In the mean time the people who were witneſſes of this dreadful example on the delinquents, were not in a little fear and conſternation. *Moſes*, however, contenting himſelf with reproving them for their ingratitude and extreme folly, went up again to the mount, and interceded ſo powerfully for them, that he at length obtained not only their pardon, but a renewal of God's former promiſe of bringing them into the land of *Canaan* under the conduct of his angel. *Moſes*, nevertheleſs, to ſhew how far they had offended God by their apoſtacy, ordered a ſolemn faſt to be kept throughout the whole camp, which is even obſerved by the *Jews* to this day; and he cauſed a tent to be pitched at a conſiderable diſtance from the camp, whither the cloudy pillar (to let them ſee that God would no longer dwell among them) immediately repaired. *Moſes*, when he wanted to conſult the divine oracle, likewiſe reſorted thither.

Not long after, God, to comfort and encourage him under all the fatigues that he endured with an obſtinate people, was pleaſed, at his requeſt, to grant him a ſight of his glory; that is, as the context explains it, a ſight of that angel, or rather divine conductor, under whoſe direction and care they were to go and conquer the holy land. From ſome expreſſions that *Moſes* uſes in his relation of this event, he has been accuſed of entertaining very groſs ideas of the divine nature; but this we think will appear to be a groundleſs accuſation, to thoſe who call to mind the glorious deſcriptions he gives almoſt every where, eſpecially in *Deuteronomy*, of the Godhead, and what arguments he uſes to deter the *Jews* from making any repreſentation of it under any form whatever.

Soon after, *Moſes*, by God's command, went up again into the mount, with other two tables like thoſe which he had broken, and received ſome further inſtructions from God. After continuing forty days and forty nights, he came down again to the people, who were greatly amazed to obſerve his face ſhine with ſuch a glorious luſtre, that they could not ſtedfaſtly behold it, which obliged him to cover it with a veil

whenever

whenever he ſpoke with them. Having brought down with him the ten commandments written on the two tables, he called the people together, and communicated to them the inſtructions he had received concerning the building of the tabernacle, exhorting them at the ſame time to bring in their ſeveral offerings to that purpoſe. This they did in ſuch abundance, that he thought it convenient, by a public proclamation, to reſtrain their farther liberality. By the ardor of the people, and the diligence of *Bezaleel* and *Aholiab*, the two chief artiſts, the tabernacle, and all its rich furniture, were finiſhed in leſs than ſix months after; and when it was ſet up, the pillar of the cloud covered and quite filled it. *Aaron* and his ſons, ſoon after ſolemnly conſecrated prieſts, began to offer up all kinds of ſacrifices upon the new altar according to the law of *Moſes*, God, as a token of his acceptance, ſending down fire from heaven, which conſumed the burnt offerings. *Aaron* conſecrated high prieſt.

The fire thus miraculouſly kindled, as we before obſerved, was to be kept perpetually burning, and no other was to be uſed in all the oblations made to God. *Nadab* and *Abihu*, however, two ſons of *Aaron*, unmindful of this command, took common fire in their cenſers, and entering the tabernacle, began to offer incenſe; but their raſhneſs and preſumption ſo offended God, that he immediately ſtruck them dead with lightning. They were immediately carried out of the camp, and buried without any mourning or funeral pomp.

Not long after the pillar of the cloud gave the ſignal to decamp from mount *Sinai*, and the *Iſraelites* accordingly marched into the wilderneſs; but they had not marched three days before they began to complain of the wearineſs of their journey, and to murmur againſt God; which provoked him to ſend and deſtroy the loiterers, and ſuch as were found in the extreme parts of the camp *. Though upon the interceſſion of *Moſes* the fire ceaſed, the place nevertheleſs obtained the name of *Taberah*, which ſignifies burning. The rebellion at *Taberah*.

This freſh inſtance of the people's ſtubbornneſs, made *Moſes* apprehenſive, that the burden of government would ſtill prove too heavy for him; and therefore applying himſelf to God, by his immediate direction he made choice of ſeventy of the chief of the elders of the people, to whom he imparted a portion of his ſpirit, and erected them into a ſupreme court, that they might bear their ſhare of the burden with him. In the mean while, a mixed multitude of the dregs of *Egypt*, and other nations who had followed the *Iſraelites* hitherto, began to murmur at the manna they had ſo long eat, and to regret the fleſh-pots of *Egypt* they had parted with, and ſoon infected the whole camp with a longing after ſome better food. Their unreaſonable murmuring greatly diſpleaſed God, who nevertheleſs promiſed to ſend them fleſh ſufficient to ſerve them thirty A new murmur for want of fleſh.

* Le Clerc's Commentary.

days,

days, till it ſhould become as loathſome to them as the manna was. He accordingly cauſed a ſtrong ſouth wind to ariſe, which brought from the *Red* ſea ſuch infinite flocks of quails within a mile of the camp, as covered all the ground round it for ſeveral miles. But while they were regaling themſelves with theſe dainties, the anger of the Lord fell upon them, and ſmote a great number of them with a ſore diſeaſe, which carried them off with the meat, as it were, in their mouths. In memory of this ſevere puniſhment for their unreaſonable luſt, the place was called *Kibroth-Hataavah*, or the ſepulchres of concupiſcence.

Twelve ſpies ſent to view the land.

From this place the people took their journey to *Hazeroth*, and after ſeveral encampments came at length to *Kadeſh-barna* on the frontiers of *Canaan*. Here *Moſes* was commanded to to chuſe twelve fit men, one out of each tribe, among whom were *Joſhua* and *Caleb*, and to ſend them to take a view of the country, to examine the ſtrength of its cities and inhabitants, the nature and fertility of its ſoil, and the like. Theſe ſpies finiſhed their progreſs in forty days, and in their return, paſſing through the valley of *Eſhcol*, or of *Grapes*, they cut down a branch of a vine with but one cluſter upon it, which they hung upon a pole, and carried between two mens ſhoulders. They alſo brought with them ſpecimens of the other fruits of the land, which they extolled for its richneſs and fertility; but

Ten of them bring an ill report, and cauſe an inſurrection.

ten of them repreſented it as a thing impoſſible to make a conqueſt of the country, on account of the ſtrength of its fortified towns, and the valour and gigantic ſtature of the inhabitants. *Joſhua* and *Caleb*, on the other hand, zealouſly endeavoured to inſpire the people with confidence; but all in vain; for the daſtardly account of the other ten had ſo taken poſſeſſion of them, and infatuated them, that the whole camp was filled with murmuring and ſedition; and they appointed themſelves a captain to lead them back into *Egypt*, never reflecting that in all probability this enterprize was more impracticable than the other *. Their madneſs, however, was in ſome meaſure quelled by the ſudden appearance of the glory of God in the cloud which covered the tabernacle, from whence God was heard to ſpeak to *Moſes* in ſuch threatning terms, as gave them cauſe to dread ſome terrible judgment as the reward of their rebellion and ingratitude. *Moſes*, as at other times, again interceded for them with great earneſtneſs, and did in ſome meaſure avert the divine vengeance; but as their ingratitude and infidelity were become inſufferable, notwithſtanding all God's miraculous deliverances, he ſolemnly declared, that none of that generation above twenty years of age, except *Joſhua* and *Caleb*, ſhould enter into the promiſed land, but ſhould wander from place to place in the wilderneſs for the

All above twenty years of age doomed to die in the wilderneſs.

* Numb. xiv. Nchem. xi. 17.

ſpace

space of 40 years. As for the falſe ſpies, they were immediately after all cut off by a ſudden death.

The people, alarmed and ſhamed by the dreadful ſentence of excluſion from the promiſed land, next morning preſented themſelves before *Moſes* ready armed, and offered to go upon the conqueſt. He endeavoured to diſſuade them from ſo raſh an enterprize, by telling them it was contrary to God's command, and therefore could not proſper. All his admonitions, however, had no weight with them; and notwithſtanding *Moſes* continued in the camp, and the ark of the covenant went not with them, they marched out to the top of the mountains, where they were ſurprized and defeated with great ſlaughter by the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites*, who purſued them as far as *Hormah*.

The people, now ſenſible that God was not with them in their warlike expeditions, laid aſide the thoughts of attempting the conqueſt of the land; and accordingly followed the directing cloud back into the wilderneſs, where they continued moving from place to place during 39 years *. Their encampments from this time, we may obſerve, were much longer than formerly, as this removal from *Kadeſh-barneah* was the 15th from their coming out of *Egypt*, and we read but of 17 more till their entering into *Canaan*; during all which time, ſuch was the paternal care of God, that their raiment, particularly their ſhoes, continued whole, and their feet unhurt. If at any time the people relapſed into their uſual murmurs and rebellions, their puniſhment followed ſo cloſe, ſo ſeverely, and ſo univerſally, that they were quickly made ſenſible of the error of their diſobedience. We find them very zealous in the caſe of the ſabbath-breaker, who being confined by *Moſes*'s order, was ſentenced to be ſtoned to death, by *a poſt-facti law*. God's wonderful care of them.

Soon after the people had retreated back into the wilderneſs, a dangerous conſpiracy was hatched againſt *Moſes* by one of the chiefs of the tribe of *Levi*, and countenanced by ſome of the moſt conſiderable men in the whole camp. *Korah*, the great-grandſon of *Levi* by his father *Jahar*, and conſequently one of the heads of that tribe, impatient to behold *Aaron* and his family raiſed to the high prieſthood, was always caballing againſt him, until he had drawn a conſiderable number of eminent perſons into his intereſt. That he might ſerve his own purpoſes, he likewiſe propoſed to ſtrip *Moſes* of the ſupreme authority; and obſerving the ſame factious ſpirit in others, he found means to draw *Dathan*, *Abiram*, and *Hon*, heads of the tribe of *Reuben*, and 250 princes of the aſſembly, into his party. Their numbers at length giving them confidence, they publicly reproached *Moſes* and *Aaron* with an unjuſt ambition in uſurping upon the liberties of the people, in engroſſing all power into their own hands, and making needleſs diſtinctions of holy grand rebellion.

* Annal. Uſher. ſub an. mund. 2513.

and

and unholy, ſeeing the Lord was among all the congregation, and every one of them was holy. *Moſes* finding them obſtinately fixed in their ſedition, after declaring his own upright intentions, deſired that the deciſion of the matters in diſpute might be left to God. Accordingly, next morning *Korah* and his company, to the number of 250, appeared at the tabernacle with cenſers to offer incenſe; and being confident of the victory, perſuaded a great number of the congregation to come and be ſpectators of the conteſt. The event, however, proved very fatal to them, and glorious for *Moſes* and *Aaron*; for the 250, who had impiouſly preſumed to offer incenſe, were inſtantly ſtruck dead by fire from God, and the earth clave aſunder, and ſwallowed up *Dathan* and *Abiram*, and all that appertained unto them, all their families, and all their ſubſtance, *Moſes* having previouſly warned thoſe who were not concerned in the rebellion to ſeparate themſelves from them.

The dreadful puniſhment of the rebels.

So terrible a puniſhment, one would think, might have been ſufficient, for ſome time at leaſt, to have kept the *Iſraelites* within the bounds of their obedience; but next morning, being recovered from their fright, they began to murmur afreſh, and to accuſe *Moſes* and *Aaron* of having murdered the people of the Lord, as they called that ſeditious crew, and aſſembled againſt them in a ſeditious manner. The glory of the Lord ſuddenly appearing at the tabernacle, ſtayed their fury. God at the ſame time threatning to deſtroy the congregation in a moment, and inſtantly ſending a plague among them, *Moſes* deſired his brother *Aaron* in all haſte to take incenſe in his cenſer, and make atonement for the people. But before *Aaron* could get between the dead and the living, the plague had raged ſo violently, that no leſs than 14,700 perſons, beſides thoſe who periſhed in the ſedition of *Korah*, were carried off by it.

A new inſurrection againſt *Moſes*.

This was enough, in all reaſon, to have eſtabliſhed the civil and eccleſiaſtic authority in the hands of *Moſes* and *Aaron*. God, however, was pleaſed to confirm the claim of *Aaron* by another miracle. *Aaron*, and the heads of all the tribes, were ordered to bring almond rods, with their names written upon them; and theſe being depoſited, according to command, in the tabernacle till next morning, *Aaron*'s rod alone was then found not only to have budded but bloſſomed, and likewiſe to have brought forth ripe almonds. In memory of this remarkable deciſion, *Moſes* was ordered to lay it up in the ark, as a ſtanding monument of their rebellion; and all but the ſons of *Aaron* were expreſly prohibited from preſuming to come into the tabernacle under pain of death.

After this ſolemn eſtabliſhment of the high-prieſt's office in *Aaron* and his family, the *Iſraelites* moved about, for 38 years from place to place in the deſerts of *Arabia*, until God, by ſhortening the period of human life, had taken away all the rebellious generation. During the remainder of their peregrination from the laſt-mentioned rebellion, they were guilty of many more murmurings and idolatries than *Moſes* has thought

Several idolatries not men-

proper

proper to record, which are nevertheleſs mentioned, with no ſmall ſeverity, by other inſpired writers *. tioned by *Moſes.*

As the time, however, for their entrance into the *Holy Land* now drew near, they advanced towards *Kadeſh* in the wilderneſs of *Sin*, and made an attempt to enter *Canaan*; but were repulſed, with conſiderable loſs, by *Arad*, a *Canaaniſh* king. Having then vowed all the cities of *Arad* to deſtruction, they ſoon after made a ſecond puſh, in which they defeated the king's army, and ſacked ſome of his towns (A). Upon their arrival at *Kadeſh*, *Miriam* the ſiſter of *Moſes* dying in the 133d year of her age, was buried with great pomp, and lamented by the *Iſraelites* for the ſpace of a whole month. In this encampment the people again impatiently murmuring for want of water, God ordered *Moſes* to ſupply them, by ſpeaking to a certain rock; but he, thro' impatience or diffidence, deviating ſome way or other from his inſtructions, ſo offended God, that both he and his brother, who doubtleſs ſhared in the offence, were excluded from entering into the promiſed land.

From *Kadeſh-barnea* the *Iſraelites* proceeded to mount *Hor*, the *Edomites* having refuſed to allow them a paſſage thro' their territories by the ſouth end of the *Dead Sea*. Here *Moſes*, by God's command, took *Aaron* and his ſon *Eleazar* to the top of the mountain, and ſtripping the father of his prieſtly robes, put them upon his ſon; which was no ſooner done, than *Aaron* died on the top of the mount: and his death being publiſhed in the camp, the *Iſraelites* mourned for him 30 days. *Aaron's* death.

Soon after the days of mourning were over, they went and encamped at *Zalmonah*, where the *Iſraelites*, tired with the length of their journey and the barrenneſs of the country, again began to murmur againſt *Moſes*; which provoked God to ſend large ſwarms of fiery flying ſerpents among them. However, after the death of ſeveral of the rebellious people, and upon the humiliation of the reſt, *Moſes* was commanded to caſt a brazen ſerpent of the ſame ſize and figure with thoſe that infeſted them, and to fix it on a pole upon ſome eminent ground, that as many as were bitten by the ſerpents might look up to the brazen one, and be healed.

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* See Amos v. 26. Ezek. & Pſalm. paſſim. Acts vii. 43.

(A) The *Jews* have a tradition, founded on an expreſs text in *Deuteronomy* (chap. xx. 10.) that the *Iſraelites* were obliged to ſend an herald to offer a peace in their name to every city and people before they attempted to conquer them by the ſword; and that in caſe they accepted it, they only became tributaries to them; but if they refuſed their offer, they were then to be vowed to deſtruction. The *Gibeonites*, they ſay, in common with the other *Canaanites*, had rejected the firſt offer of peace, which obliged them to ſue for it afterwards in a craſty manner *.

* Maimon. ap. Cocceium & Baſnage.

The

The *Iſraelites* made ſeveral other encampments between the countries of *Edom*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, and encamped near ſeveral of their towns, without committing any hoſtilities againſt them, as they were prohibited by God to diſturb them in their poſſeſſions. Arriving at the land of the *Amorites*, *Moſes* ſent ambaſſadors to *Sihon* their king, demanding a peaceable paſ-

Sihon and *Og* conquered and ſlain.

ſage thro' his territories. That prince, however, refuſing to let them paſs upon any terms, and venturing to oppoſe them in the field, was totally overthrown by them, and his ſubjects, men, women, and children, all put to the ſword by the conquerors, who took poſſeſſion of the country. Soon after, in the ſame year, *Og* king of *Baſhan*, attempting in like manner to obſtruct their paſſage, underwent the ſame fate, as we have already related in the hiſtory of the *Canaanites*.

Balak ſends for *Balaam*.

Encouraged by theſe ſucceſſes, the *Iſraelites* advanced towards *Jordan*, and encamped in the plains of *Moab*. While they lay encamped in that place, *Balak* king of *Moab*, as we have formerly related, hired *Balaam* to curſe them; but that device not ſucceeding, he afterwards, in conjunction with the *Midian-*

The people ſeduced by the *Midianites* into idolatry.

ites, enticed them to commit whoredom with the *Moabitiſh* and *Midianitiſh* women, and to worſhip their idol *Baal Peor*, which provoked God to ſend a plague among them, which carried off about 23,000 of the offenders. This ſevere puniſhment not having put an effectual ſtop to their folly and diſobedience, God commanded *Moſes* to erect a court of judicature, conſiſting of the heads of all the families, and to try and hang all that had been guilty of this whoredom and idolatry, without reſpect to friendſhip or kindred. According to our tranſlation, indeed, *Moſes* was ordered to take all the heads of the people, and to hang *them* up before the Lord againſt the ſun: but the *Samaritan* copy, the *Jeruſalem* targum, moſt of the ancient tranſlations, and ſeveral later commentators of great note, have made the word *them* in our tranſlation refer to the idolaters, whom, in the following verſe, the judges of *Iſrael*, that is, the heads of the families above-mentioned, are ordered to try and condemn. In this manner about 1000 more were put to death *.

The people, now ſenſible of their fault, were bewailing their folly at the door of the tabernacle, when one of the chiefs of the tribe of *Simeon*, named *Zimri*, boldly brought a young *Midianitiſh* princeſs into the camp, and in ſight of the whole congregation was leading her into his tent. *Phineas*, the ſon of the high-prieſt, fired with an holy zeal, followed them with a javelin in his hand into the very tent, where, in the very act of whoredom, he thruſt them both thro' the body; for which noble deed, the *Aaronical* prieſthood was confirmed to him and his ſeed; tho', from the words of the *Pſalmiſt*, he averted the Divine vengeance more by his prayers to God than by the puniſh-

* Numb xxv. 1 Cor. x. 8.

ment of the two offenders. As ſoon as this diſorder was quieted, *Moſes*, to wipe off the indignity from the *Iſraelites*, ſent out 12,000 men againſt the *Midianites*, who ſlew the prophet *Balaam*, with five of their kings, and put all their ſubjects to the ſword, except the women and children, with whom and an immenſe number of cattle, beſides other booty, they returned to the camp, not having loſt one man in the expedition. *Balaam*, with five kings of *Midian*, ſlain.

Moſes, ſoon after the defection above-mentioned, by God's command, having numbered the people, there were found, from 20 years old and upward, 601,730, beſides the *Levites*, of which number-ed. tribe the males, from a month old and upwards, amounted to 23,000. After the numbering, *Moſes* received orders to direct the diviſion of the promiſed land among the tribes to be made by lot, in proportion to the number of men in each tribe. The tribe of *Levi*, however, was to be provided for in another manner, and not to have any inheritance by lot. The tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*, and the half-tribe of *Manaſſeh*, at this time petitioning *Moſes* to be ſettled on the eaſt ſide of the *Jordan*, in the countries lately conquered from the king of the *Amorites* and *Og* king of *Baſhan*, he conſented to their requeſt, on condition that they would accompany the other tribes, till they had made a conqueſt of the whole land. *Moſes* being now ſenſible that the time of his death was drawing near, encouraged the people to put their truſt in God, and not be afraid of the *Canaanites*; and declared that *Joſhua* was appointed by God to ſucceed him in his commiſſion. To prevent any conteſt after his death about the ſupreme command, he firſt laid his own hands upon him, and then preſented him to the high-prieſt, who, in a ſolemn form of admiſſion, and in the preſence of all the people, inveſted him with the office of being the *leader* and general of all *Iſrael*; *Moſes* at the ſame time giving him ſeveral directions relating to his office, and one more eſpecially concerning the conſulting of God, by the *Urim* and *Thummim*, upon every great emergency. The *Iſraelites* number-ed. *Moſes* declares *Joſhua* his ſucceſſor.

The nearer that *Moſes* approached his death, the more he expreſſed his concern for the welfare of the people; and therefore, on the 1ſt day of the 11th month, which anſwers to the end of our *January*, in the 40th year from their departure out of *Egypt*, the *Iſraelites* being ſtill encamped in the plain of *Moab*, he aſſembled them about him, and, at different times, made two very tender and pathetic ſpeeches to them. In theſe he briefly related all that had befallen their fathers ſince the time they left *Egypt*, the gracious dealings of God, their continual murmurings and rebellions againſt him, and the many ſevere judgments that had followed thereupon, even to his own excluſion from the promiſed land. He gave them a ſummary of all the laws which the Divine goodneſs had calculated for their happineſs, and cloſed the whole with a moſt pathetic exhortation to obedience, and a ſubmiſſive reliance on that amazing goodneſs that had ſo graciouſly choſen them before any other nation of the world, not for any merit of theirs, but that he might diſ- His laſt inſtructions to the people.

play

play his almighty power in their favour, in order to be glorified by them and other nations, as well for the great mercies he had shewed to them, as for the heavy punishments he had inflicted upon the neighbouring nations for their wickedness and idolatry. He likewise caused the whole nation to renew the covenant which their fathers had made with God in *Horeb*; and inforcing the observance of it by the most engaging motives, he at the same time endeavoured to deter them from the breach of it, by such threatnings as proved prophetical of those miserable slaveries they afterwards underwent for their disobedience, not only during the time of the judges, and the *Babylonish* captivity, but much more since their rejection of the Messiah. When they should have taken possession of the land, he commanded them to proclaim on the mountains of *Gerizim* and *Ebal* blessings to those that observed, and curses to those that broke this covenant, and to erect an altar there, whereon they were to write, in a legible character, the terms and conditions of it. A copy of the law was also written by *Moses*, and delivered to the *Levites*, who were ordered to deposit it in the ark, and to read it over every seventh year to the people. Moreover, in order to fix the important truths he had delivered more strongly in their minds, he composed a song or poem, in which they are expressed in the most animating language; and having caused it to be read before all the people, he delivered it to *Joshua*, to be afterwards learnt by heart by them and their posterity.

His blessing to the tribes.

And now his task being at an end, and God having commanded him to go up to mount *Nebo*, and to resign his soul there; after having from thence taken a view of the holy land, he had nothing left to do but to gather the tribes about him, and to pronounce his prophetic blessing upon them. The text tells us he was 120 years old, and that neither his sight nor his natural strength were in the least impaired; and we may add, that if we may judge of the strength of his mind by the stile of this his last speech, and by the beauty and energy of the expressions, it seems to have received an additional vigour at the sight of his departure, and of his people's approaching happiness. Having concluded his prophetic and elegant speech, he went up, in the sight of all *Israel*, to mount *Nebo*, from the summit of which he beheld all the land which God had promised to *Abraham*'s posterity. *Josephus* adds, that he was accompanied by *Joshua*, *Eleazar*, and the seventy, to the mount; and that while the two last were taking their sorrowful farewel of him, a cloud conveyed him away into a certain valley: but the text seems rather to intimate that he went up alone. Be this as it will, the author of the last chapter, whoever he was, assures us, that he died immediately after, and that the Lord conveyed him into a valley in the land of *Moab*, over-against *Bethpeor*, and there buried him in so private a place, that his sepulchre was not known at the time of his writing; and we may add, it never was discovered since.

He goes up to mount *Nebo*, and dies there. Bef. Ch. 1451.

Several

Several inſpired penmen and apocryphal writers have given us the character of this truly great lawgiver, beſides *Joſephus* above-mentioned; but none has expreſſed it in fewer and ſtronger terms than the author of the laſt chapter of *Deuteronomy*, in the three concluding verſes. When the people came to underſtand that he was dead, they mourned for him, with great ſolemnity, for 30 days. As to his writings, beſides the *Pentateuch*, or the firſt five books of the Old Teſtament, ſome other works have been attributed to him, tho' without any certainty, ſuch as the book of *Job*, eleven Pſalms, beginning with the 90th and ending with the 100th: a few fragments of other books are likewiſe quoted by ſome of the ancients as written by him, ſuch as *his leſſer Geneſis*, *the Revelation of Moſes*, *the Aſcenſion of Moſes*, *the Aſſumption of Moſes*, *the Teſtament and myſterious books of Moſes*. Tho' all theſe have long ſince loſt their authority, and been exploded as ſpurious, yet they are ſtill an argument of the greatneſs of his name, when ſo many authors, in hopes of recommending their performances, were ſo ambitious to aſſume it *.

The manner of the *Iſraelites* encampments, &c. in the wilderneſs.

As *Joſhua*, the ſucceſſor of *Moſes*, probably made no alteration in the military diſcipline eſtabliſhed by him, before we proceed to relate his exploits againſt the *Canaanites*, we ſhall give ſome account of the order and manner of encamping and marching uſed by the *Iſraelites* in the wilderneſs; becauſe it is not only curious but uſeful, in order to underſtand ſeveral places of holy writ that allude to it, both in the Old and New Teſtament, eſpecially in the prophetical books. It is plain, from the ſhort account which *Moſes* has left us of it, that it was preſcribed to him by God himſelf †. The text tells us that they were to pitch their tents every man by his own camp, tribe, and ſtandard, throughout the whole hoſt: that the tribe of *Levi* was to encamp round the tabernacle, and have the charge and cuſtody of it; and that the reſt of the tribes ſhould pitch their ſtandards, with the enſigns of their father's houſe, round about it, at an equal and convenient diſtance from it. This diſtance, let it have been what it would, compoſed not a perfect ſquare, becauſe the tabernacle and its court were oblong, much leſs a circle, as ſome have fancied it, from the words *round about*, taken too literally, but an oblong ſquare, in the center of which was the tabernacle and its court, in length 100, and in breadth 50 cubits. Parallel to each of the four ſides of it, and at a proper diſtance between it and the other tribes, was that of *Levi*; along the eaſt end, and on one ſide, was *Aaron*, with the reſt of his family, at the head of the four claſſes of *Levites*. As for the pavilion of *Moſes*, all that he has told us of it is, that it ſtood on the ſame ſide with thoſe of

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* Abbadie verit. de la religion Chretienne. p. 1. Joſeph. l. iv. c. 8. Calmet Dict. word Moſes.

† Numb. i. 51, &c.

Aaron's children. But we may reaſonably ſuppoſe that it ſtood in the moſt honourable place of the whole camp, as he was their chief lawgiver; and neareſt the tabernacle, to which he was obliged to repair upon all emergencies. On the weſt ſide, oppoſite to that of *Moſes* and *Aaron*, were the *Gerſhonites*, in number 7,500, under *Eliazaph*. On the ſouth and north ſides were the *Kohathites*, in number 8,700, and the *Merarites*, in number 6,200; and theſe being united, made 22,300 men, the number of the whole tribe of *Levi*; and each of them had their particular functions and charges allotted to them, both as to the worſhip of God, and the cuſtody of the tabernacle with all its furniture, as may be ſeen by the text.

As the tribe of *Levi* made four ſmall bodies on each ſide of the tabernacle, ſo did the other twelve make four large camps parallel to them. That of *Judah*, whether becauſe it was the moſt conſiderable (it muſtering 74,600 men) or in conſideration of the Meſſiah being promiſed to it, had the poſt of honour, and encamped on the eaſt ſide, without the prieſts, at the head of two other tribes, namely, that of *Iſſachar*, conſiſting of 54,400, and that of *Zebulon*, conſiſting of 57,400 men; ſo that this body amounted to 186,400 fighting men. Whether, however, the tribe of *Judah* and the heads of the other three bodies encamped on the right hand or in the center of their reſpective aſſociated tribes, is neither certain nor material.

Reuben was at the head of the next body, and encamped on the ſouth ſide. His tribe conſiſted of 46,500 men; and *Simeon*, with 59,300, and *Gad*, with 45,650, marched under his banner.

On the weſt ſide was *Ephraim*, at the head of 40,500 of his own tribe; under whom *Manaſſeh* led 32,200, and *Benjamin* 35,400.

The laſt was the tribe of *Dan*, with 62,700, with that of *Aſher*, conſiſting of 41,500, and *Naphtali* 53,400, encamped on the north ſide of the tabernacle. Thus the *Iſraelitiſh* hoſt amounted to 603,550 fighting men, excluſive of the *Levites*. To this number if we add the old men above 60 and the young men under 20, their wives, daughters, ſervants, ſlaves, and ſtrangers, their number in the whole will be little leſs than three millions; and conſidering the vaſt number of their cattle, waggons, and other lumber, the leaſt ſpace that can be allowed for ſuch a prodigious camp muſt be above 20 miles ſquare. Theſe four large bodies had each their general ſtandard; under theſe were the 12 others, one to every tribe; and under theſe again were thoſe of all the heads of families, amounting to 57, according to *Moſes*' own account.

We are not informed by any inſpired writer what the colours, emblems, and devices of thoſe enſigns were: the *Rabbies*, however, have been very particular about them. *Judah*, they ſay, had the emblem of a lion, with this device, *Let God ariſe, and let his enemies be ſcattered*; which words, however, would rather ſeem to be appropriated to the *Levites*, as they were uſed by them when

when the ark was removing. The lion indeed is the emblem by which *Jacob* repreſented the tribe of *Judah* in his laſt will. *Reuben*'s enſign had the figure of a man, to which ſome add that of a mandrake. That of *Ephraim* was an ox or calf, and ſeems to be taken from the words of *Moſes*' bleſſing to that tribe, *His glory is like the firſtling of his bullock.* To the tribe of *Dan* they gave an eagle; but to make it agree with *Jacob's* bleſſing; which compares him to a ſerpent in the way, they pretend that the eagle was painted holding a ſerpent in his talons. Theſe emblems, however, ſeem confirmed by better authorities. The viſion of *Ezekiel* (chap. i. 10.) is univerſally allowed to allude to them; and St. *John* in the *Revelation* repreſents the faithful by the four beaſts about the throne of God crying night and day, *Holy, holy*, and ſo on; from which it is moſt likely the four Evangeliſts came afterwards to have the ſame emblems more particularly appropriated to them. Beſides theſe four general ſtandards, every tribe is alſo ſuppoſed to have had its particular enſign, with a diſtinct emblem and motto, which might probably be taken from thoſe alluſions which *Jacob* or *Moſes* made uſe of in their laſt bleſſing. Thus, for inſtance, *Naphtali* might have a large tree or hind in his enſign; *Iſſachar* an aſs couching under his burden; *Benjamin* a wolf, *&c.* Beſides the grand camp already deſcribed, they had likewiſe a ſeparate camp for lepers, for thoſe who had ruining ſores, or any infirmities of that nature, or had defiled themſelves by touching a dead body, and the like. *Moſes* has been ſomewhat more particular in deſcribing the order of their decamping and marching, of their engaging in battle, and ſuch like; referring, therefore, our readers to the text itſelf, and to *Baſnage* and *Calmet*, who have treated of theſe things at large, we ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning only the principal heads relating to each of them. In their decamping, whilſt in the wilderneſs, the firſt thing they were to obſerve was the ſignal from the miraculous pillar, which *Moſes* took care to have communicated throughout the camp, by two ſilver trumpets: As theſe were alſo uſed for other ſignals, they were differently blown, according to the ſignal they were to give; to which the apoſtle ſeems to allude, when he ſays, *If the trumpet gives an uncertain ſound, who will prepare to battle?* As ſoon as the firſt ſignal was given for marching, every tribe ſet about making ready for it, and this took up ſome conſiderable time; eſpecially with reſpect to the prieſts and *Levites*, who had the tabernacle, with all its utenſils, to take down, cover, and pack up, and ſet apart upon waggons for that purpoſe, and part to be carried on mens ſhoulders. When the ſecond ſignal was given, all that bore arms repaired to their ſtandards, whilſt the invalids, women, children, and carriages, went towards the rear. Upon the next ſignal, the tribe of *Judah*, at the head of the other two that belonged to his camp, began to march, being followed, according to the moſt general opinion, by the *Gerſhonites* and *Merarites*, who guarded the waggons loaded with the boards, pillars, *&c.* belonging to the tabernacle. Upon the next ſignal,

Reuben and his two aſſociated tribes began to move; after whom came the *Kohathites*, bearing the ark, altar, table, and other utenſils, upon their ſhoulders; ſo that by the time theſe were at their journey's end, the *Gerſhonites* and *Merarites* had ſet up the tabernacle, and got all things ready for their reception. As ſoon as the third ſignal was given, the ark and its bearers were guarded by the tribes of *Ephraim*, *Benjamin*, and *Manaſſeh*; and laſt of all came the tribes of *Dan*, *Aſher*, and *Naphtali*, eſcorting the invalids, that none might be left behind; for which reaſon this body is called the rearward, or, as our margins more literally expreſs it, *the gathering hoſt*. This order, however, it is plain was not always obſerved; for, with reſpect to the ark, there are ſome places where it is ſaid to have gone before them *. Concerning their method of engaging with their enemies, all that we know for certain is, that they had one prieſt anointed, to be conſulted by *Urim* inſtead of the high-prieſt, who never went to the wars; and another called the *Amercol*, or the exhorting prieſt, the ſubſtance of whoſe ſpeech has been preſerved to us by the ancient *Jews*. Some authors, indeed, have thought that this prieſt was the ſame with the former. With relation to their manner of beſieging towns, we are intirely in the dark; but in their pitched battles, as ſoon as the trumpets had given the ſignal for engagement, the combatants gave a great ſhout, and fell immediately upon their enemies.

Joſhua is encouraged in his new office by God. Bef. Ch. 1451.

Upon the death of *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, who had been 40 years trained up under him, and was now 75 years of age, by the command of God, undertook the conduct of the children of *Iſrael*; and as it was a very momentuous charge, he was not a little anxious about the execution of it. He ſaw himſelf indeed at the head of 600,000 fighting men; but then his army was clogged with an innumerable multitude of old men, women, and children, beſides ſervants, cattle, and other incumbrances; and the nations he had to ſubdue were naturally warlike, of a gigantic ſtature and ſtrength, their towns well fortified by nature and art; they had already taken the alarm, had confederated their forces againſt him, and reſolved to make a moſt vigorous defence. God, however, graciouſly aſſuring him, that on condition he obſerved his law, he would not fail to protect and aſſiſt him, in the ſame manner as he had done his predeceſſor *Moſes*, he immediately ordered the people to prepare for paſſing the *Jordan*. In the mean time he ſent two ſpies over the *Jordan*, to take a view of the ſituation and ſtrength of *Jericho*, which was directly oppoſite to the camp of the *Iſraelites*, and the firſt place he intended to attack. The two ſpies having entered *Jericho*, took up their lodgings in a public houſe kept by a widow named *Rahab*; but a rumour of their arrival reaching

He ſends two ſpies to *Jericho*.

* Numb. x. 33. Joſh. iii. 10.

the

the king of *Jericho*, he ordered the ſtricteſt ſearch to be made for them. Their hoſteſs, however, having notice of this order, hid them under ſome hempen ſtocks lying on the roof of her houſe; and when the king's officers came, ſhe told them, that the ſtrangers that ſtopped at her houſe went out of the city again in the evening before the gates were ſhut, and might eaſily be taken, if cloſely purſued. Having thus eluded the king's officers, ſhe went up to the ſpies, and told them, that being firmly perſuaded that their God was the only true God, and that he had given them the land of *Canaan*, ſhe was therefore ready now to ſave them from their imminent danger, on condition they would ſwear to ſave her and her family when they became maſters of the city. An offer ſo generous and unexpected, joined to ſo candid a confeſſion, could not deſerve a leſs reward; therefore they promiſed and ſolemnly ſwore to her, that whenever they became maſters of the city, not only ſhe and her family, but every one elſe that was found in her houſe, ſhould be exempted from the common ruin, on condition that ſhe hung a ſcarlet line out of her window, as a ſignal to them. The gates were ſo cloſely ſhut and guarded, that there was no poſſibility of making their eſcape that way; but *Rahab*'s houſe being upon the city wall, ſhe let them down from one of her windows, deſiring them to hide themſelves in the mountains for three days, till their purſuers were returned from *Jordan*. The ſpies having happily eſcaped, took *Rahab*'s advice, and returning afterwards to the camp, related to *Joſhua* all that happened to them; and told him, that the general conſternation they found the people in, was to them a ſure omen that God Almighty intended to crown their armies with ſucceſs. Early next morning *Joſhua* decamped from *Shittim*, and proceeded to *Jordan*; 40,000 of the tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad* and of the half-tribe of *Manaſſeh* marching along with him, according to their promiſe to *Moſes*, the remaining part of theſe tribes being allowed to remain with their families in their new poſſeſſion. The army continuing two days on the ſide of the river, *Joſhua* communicated to every tribe the order that was to be obſerved in their ſolemn march over into *Canaan*. The prieſts, bearing the ark were to begin the proceſſion, and each tribe, in the order in which they uſed to march, were to follow. When the prieſts were got into the middle of the channel, they were there to ſtand ſtill until the whole multitude was got ſafe to the other ſhore: and that this wonderful paſſage might be more regarded, they were all commanded to ſanctify themſelves, as upon other ſolemn occaſions. With theſe orders and inſtructions, the army ſet forwards. The prieſts with the ark led the van; and as ſoon as their feet touched the river, which at this ſeaſon of the year generally overflowed its banks, the ſtream divided, and opened a paſſage of about 16 or 18 miles in breadth, for the *Iſraelites* to croſs over, the prieſts continuing with the ark in the middle of the channel till they were all got ſafe to the other ſide. *Joſhua* deſigning to perpetuate the memory of this wonderful

They are concealed by *Rahab*.

They ſwear to ſave her and hers.

The *Jordan* divides, and the *Iſraelites* paſs over.

tranſaction,

tranſaction, cauſed twelve men, who had been ſent to him from all the tribes, to take twelve large ſtones and lay them in one heap in the place where the ark ſtood, ſo that they might be ſeen afterwards from each ſhore: and at the ſame time he made them take up twelve other ſtones from the bottom of the river, and to erect a monument with them on the ſhore; which being done, and the ark being brought out of the channel, the river returned to its wonted courſe. Both theſe monuments, if we believe *Euſebius* and others, were ſtill to be ſeen many centuries after. By this miraculous paſſage, *Joſhua* having gained the plains of *Jericho*, he encamped at *Gilgal*, about ſeven or eight miles from *Jordan*, and three or four from *Jericho*; and while the whole country lay under a great terror and conſternation, God commanded the rite of circumciſion, which, for the ſpace of almoſt 40 years, had been neglected, to be renewed, that the people might be qualified to partake of the enſuing paſſover. This was the third time of their celebrating that feſtival. The firſt was at their departure out of *Egypt*; and the ſecond was on the next year, at the ſetting up of the tabernacle; ſince which time, whether for want of corn to make unleavened bread, or for any other reaſon, it had been wholly intermitted till now, when, the text tells us, the *Iſraelites* having provided themſelves with corn both new and old, God ceaſed to ſupply them any longer with manna.

Circumciſion renewed.

God appears to *Joſhua*.

Joſhua about this time leaving the camp, and walking towards *Jericho* alone, probably to reconnoitre the place, all of a ſudden God, or, as ſome will have it, his angel, appeared to him in the ſhape of a warrior, ſtanding at ſome diſtance from him, with a drawn ſword. *Joſhua* aſking him whether he was for or againſt *Iſrael*, he anſwered that he was the captain of the Lord's hoſt; and while *Joſhua* was fallen proſtrate at his feet to worſhip him, he ordered him to looſe his ſandals from off his feet; and then proceeded to inſtruct him in what form he would have the ſiege carried on, that the *Canaanites* might perceive it was ſomewhat more than the arm of fleſh that fought againſt them.

We have given ſome account of this ſiege in the hiſtory of *Canaan*, and ſhall only add, that after the ark had been carried round the city ſix times in ſix days, on the 7th day it was carried round ſeven times, the prieſts ſounding before it with rams horns, and a guard of armed men marching before and after it. The trumpets then ſounding, and the beſiegers giving an univerſal ſhout, the walls of the city fell down, and the *Iſraelites* entered, putting all the men, women, children, and cattle, to the ſword, excepting *Rahab* and her family. Having then ſeized upon all the gold, ſilver, braſs, and other baſer metals, to be repoſited in the treaſury of the houſe of the Lord, they ſet the place on fire, and levelled it with the ground. *Joſhua* added a prophetic curſe on the man that ſhould afterwards attempt to rebuild it, importing that he ſhould lay the foundation in his firſtborn, and ſet up its gates with the loſs of his youngeſt ſon; which we find was literally fulfilled, above 350 years after, in

Jericho taken.

Hiel

Hiel the *Bethelite* *. As for *Rahab* and her family, they had a place assigned them out of the *Israelitish* camp; and she was soon after incorporated into their commonwealth, by embracing the *Jewish* religion, and was married to *Salmon*, head of the tribe of *Judah*. *Rahab* saved, and married to *Salmon*.

Joshua still continuing with his camp at *Gilgal*, soon after detached a body of 3000 men against the small city of *Ai*, about 12 miles distant, where they received an unexpected repulse, with the loss of about thirty-six men, and were pursued back to the camp. This defeat, how small soever, so damped the people's courage, that *Joshua* was forced to have recourse to God, who immediately answered, by *Urim* as is supposed, that a sacrilege had been committed; and ordered him to discover the guilty person by lot, and to punish him with immediate death. The *Israelites* repulsed at *Ai*.

Joshua lost no time; but having cast lots from the tribes to the families, *Achan* the son of *Carmi*, of the tribe of *Judah*, was found to be the guilty person, and he, at the general's request, confessed that he had concealed some of the accursed plunder of *Jericho*. Being thus convicted, he and all his family, his cattle, his tent, and all his moveables, were carried to a neighbouring valley, where he and his family were stoned, and afterwards burnt, with all their effects, a heap of stones being then raised on the place, to perpetuate the memory of the crime, and deter others from the like provocation. The army being thus cleared from guilt, they had much better success, not only in their next expedition against *Ai*, but also against the whole land, the conquest of which they finished, tho' not perfectly, in six years: but as we have given an account of it in the history of *Canaan*, we must refer our readers thither. *Achan*'s crime punished. *Canaan* conquered in six years.

The many miraculous victories obtained by the *Israelites*, struck such a terror into the *Canaanites*, that great numbers of them abandoned their country, and fled, some into *Asia*, others into *Africa*, and, according to *Procopius*, who lived in the reign of *Justinian*, an inscription was found, engraved on some pillars, in the place where *Tangier* now stands, importing that they were set up by the fugitives who fled from the face of the great robber *Joshua* the son of *Nun*.

Joshua, in about six years, having extended his conquests as far as it was convenient at that time, divided the country by lot among the tribes, in the proportion we have shewn in the geography of *Palestine*. After the division of the country, he had the small territory of *Timnath Serah* in the mountains of *Ephraim* allotted for his inheritance by the whole people; and there he built the city of that name, and made it his chief residence during the remainder of his life. Having about the same time appointed the cities of refuge, and those likewise which were to be allotted to the priests and *Levites*, of which we have already The land divided. Bef. Ch. 1445.

* 1 Kings xvi. v. ult.

ſpoken, and having alſo, ſome years before, repeated the bleſſings and curſes on the mounts *Ebal* and *Gerizim*, and ſet up an altar on the former, he called together the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and the half-tribe of *Manaſſeh*, to *Shiloh*, where the tabernacle was ſet up, and gave them an honourable diſmiſſion.

The *Reubenites* and *Gadites* on their return home rear an altar near *Jordan*.

A deputation ſent to them by *Joſhua*.

Theſe tribes, however, upon paſſing the *Jordan*, erected an altar of a prodigious ſize upon the borders of that river, in order to perpetuate the memory of the relation they bore to the other tribes, and of the wonders which God had wrought in their favour. This laudable action being miſapprehended both by *Joſhua* and the reſt of the people, they, in the warmth of their reſentment, aſſembled at *Shiloh*, and reſolved to enter into a bloody war againſt the ſuppoſed apoſtate brethren. However, before they proceeded to extremities, they ſent a deputation of ten of the chiefs of the families, with *Phineas* the high-prieſt's ſon at their head, over into the land of *Gilead*, to enquire at their brethren why the altar was erected. *Phineas* failed not to deliver his meſſage in the ſtrongeſt terms, and told them that the tribes in *Canaan* ſuſpected that by building that altar they intended to ſet up an idolatrous worſhip, which would expoſe the whole nation to the wrath of God; therefore they muſt clear themſelves from that ſuſpicion, or expect to be attacked by their brethren. The *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and *Manaſſites*, concerned to hear the ill opinion their brethren had conceived of them, took God to witneſs that they had not built that ſumptuous altar with a view of offering any ſacrifices upon it, but on the contrary to perpetuate their title to the ſervice of the tabernacle, and to prevent their lateſt poſterity from being excluded from it. *Phineas* and the reſt of the deputies, upon hearing this anſwer, expreſſed no ſmall ſatisfaction; and upon their relating the account of the whole matter after their return, the people were infinitely pleaſed with the reſult of the embaſſy.

Joſhua's laſt exhortation to the tribes.

Joſhua after this governed the *Iſraelitiſh* commonwealth peaceably, during the ſpace of 21 years; when finding himſelf drawing to his end, he cauſed all the heads of the tribes to aſſemble at *Shechem*, or, according to ſome manuſcripts, at *Shiloh*, where the ark was, both equally near to his own habitation; and having reminded them, in a very pathetic ſpeech, of all the wonders which God had wrought in their favour, and how much it was their intereſt as well as duty to continue ſtedfaſt in their obedience to him, he exhorted them to renew their covenant; which they readily did, and confirmed it with an oath. Having recorded the whole tranſaction in the book of the law, he cauſed a great ſtone to be ſet up under a remarkable oak at *Shechem*, as a teſtimony againſt them, in caſe they ſhould forſake the ſervice of the true God, and fall into idolatry. Soon after, he expired in the 110th year of his age, and was buried in the border of his inheritance in *Timnath Serah*, in the tribe of *Ephraim*, on the north ſide of the hill of *Gaaſh*. As he is ſaid to have enjoyed many years of great leiſure after the diviſion of the land, it is generally ſuppoſed he employed

His death. Bef. Ch. 1426.

employed them in compoſing the laſt chapter of *Deuteronomy*, and writing the book called by his name; the latter parts of which, however, it is apparent was added by another hand, moſt probably by *Samuel* (A). The death of *Joſhua* was ſoon followed by that of *Eleazer* the high-prieſt, who was ſucceeded by his ſon *Phineas*; and the funerals of theſe two great men made the *Ephraimites* and *Manaſſites* call to mind the bones of their great progenitor *Joſeph*, which they buried at *Shechem* in a field, formerly bought from the *Canaanites* by *Jacob*, and given by him to his beloved ſon.

Uncertain whether he had any ſucceſſor.

After the death of *Joſhua*, no particular perſon that we know of ſucceeded him in the government; and therefore, according to the moſt probable opinion, every tribe is ſuppoſed to have been governed by its reſpective heads or elders, who alſo commanded the troops in their following wars with the *Canaanites*. Not many years after *Joſhua*'s death, the ſucceſſors of that generation whom he had conducted into *Canaan* ſunk into the moſt ſhameful degree of irreligion and depravity. Inſtead of adhering to the covenant ſo ſolemnly ratified by their anceſtors, they ſeem to have thrown off all fear of God and regard to his laws, and to have run headlong into the moſt horrid apoſtacies and idolatries, notwithſtanding the moſt ſevere puniſhments inflicted upon them by God, and the many inſtances of his gracious interpoſition in their behalf.

The ſad depravity of the following generation.

To account in ſome meaſure for this anarchy and confuſion, the ſacred hiſtorian tells us, *In thoſe days there was no king in Iſrael, but every man did what was good in his own eyes.* The heads of the tribes probably refuſed at firſt to ſubmit to any chief; which office they thought, perhaps, was not neceſſary, as every tribe almoſt was engaged in diſtinct expeditions, in driving the heathen inhabitants out of their lot. The war, indeed, by the Divine command, was begun by the tribe of *Judah*, under the conduct of *Caleb* the head of the tribe, who being aſſiſted by the tribe of *Simeon*, firſt attacked the cruel king of *Bezek*, afterwards reduced *Jeruſalem*, and marching ſouthward, took *Hebron* and *Debir*, or *Kirjath Sepher*, then inhabited by the gigantic ſons of *Anak*. This laſt place he reſolved to take by ſtorm; and accordingly made proclamation in the camp, that whoever ſhould attack and carry the place, ſhould have his daughter *Achſah* as a reward of his valour. His gallant nephew *Othniel*, ſon to his younger brother *Kenaz*, quickly made himſelf maſter of the place; for which exploit he not

The *Iſraelites* renew the war againſt the *Canaanites*.

(A) The *Samaritans* attribute another book to *Joſhua*, conſiſting of 47 chapters. This, tho' containing many jejune and fabulous ſtories, they preſerve with much reſpect, and make great uſe of it in ſupport of their pretenſions againſt the *Jews*. The book has never appeared in print: only one manuſcript of it was preſented to the library of *Leyden* by *Joſeph Scaliger*, which is written in the *Arabic* tongue, but in *Samaritan* characters. *Fabric. Apoc. V. T.*

only

only obtained *Achſah* for his wife, but with her a large eſtate likewiſe in a well-watered country, which, at her requeſt, her father very generouſly beſtowed on him.

The other tribes at the ſame time were employed in enlarging their ſeveral inheritances, in which ſome of them were very ſucceſsful. They, however, neglected to make a right uſe of their victories, and inſtead of deſtroying the *Canaanites* as they were commanded, either thro' a miſplaced lenity or covetouſneſs, ſuffered them to live promiſcuouſly among them, and contented themſelves with making them tributary. This ſo far incenſed God, that he ſent an angel from *Gilgal* to remind them of the favours he had vouchſafed them, in delivering them out of *Egypt*, and bringing them into that happy land; of his punctual performance of all the promiſes he had made them; of their vile ingratitude, in rejecting his precepts: for which perverſeneſs, he had very juſtly withdrawn his protection from them.

With whom they conſent to make treaties: for which they are reproved by God.

This reproof made the people, for the preſent, a little ſenſible of their tranſgreſſion, ſo that they fell into a general lamentation; but no ſooner was their fit of humiliation over, but continuing ſtill their correſpondence with the *Canaanites*, indulging themſelves in their looſe converſation, and making intermarriages with them, they fell into idolatry, and worſhiped *Baal* and *Aſhtaroth*; which provoked God to leave them to themſelves: ſo that inſtead of being able to act any longer offenſively, they were inſlaved and oppreſſed by their enemies.

They are enſlaved by the *Meſopotamians*, as a puniſhment for their idolatry.

The firſt ſlavery which their defection brought upon them, was under *Cuſhan-riſhithaim* king of *Meſopotamia*, who held them in ſubjection about eight years. At the end of that time, however, God raiſed up *Othniel*, *Caleb*'s ſon-in-law (who was the firſt of thoſe whom the Scripture calls judges) and under his conduct the *Meſopotamians* being defeated, the *Iſraelites* recovered their liberty, and enjoyed tranquillity for 40 years, that is, till the death of their judge and deliverer *.

Bef. Ch. 1413.

Before this deliverance, however, that is, when there was no king or ruler in *Iſrael*, the people ſeem to have ſunk into a general apoſtacy and corruption of manners, as will appear from the two following tranſactions, which, tho' related in the end of *Judges*, are yet ſuppoſed by the moſt learned commentators to have happened before *Othniel* was declared judge †.

The ſtory of *Micah*.

Micah, a wealthy man of the tribe of *Ephraim*, having wronged a covetous and ſuperſtitious mother of 1,100 pieces of ſilver, for which ſhe had beſtowed ſome ſevere curſes upon him, afterwards reſtored the money to her; which gave her ſo great joy, that ſhe reſolved to conſecrate the greateſt part of it to what ſhe called a religious uſe. Accordingly thinking it too much trouble to go and worſhip at the tabernacle, ſhe and her ſon,

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* Judges iii. 9. 10, 11. Munſt. Calmet, &c.

† Corn. a lapid. Grot. Uſher.

with

with part of that silver, purchased two idols, one molten and the other carved, and with the rest built a chapel to set them up in, together with some teraphim, which they had in all likelihood already in the house. To this an ephod, or priestly garment, was added, and *Micah* installed his son to the priestly office of his new gods; but soon after a young indigent *Levite* wandering that way, was hired by him as more proper for that office than his own son, he rejoicing not a little on this occasion, and fondly believing he had secured the favour of God by having a *Levite* for his priest.

Soon after, five spies from the tribe of *Dan*, which wanted to enlarge its inheritance, coming that way, some of them were acquainted with the *Levite*, and understanding in what capacity he served *Micah*, they desired him to ask counsel of God about the success of the enterprize they were going upon; and having received a favourable answer, they proceeded to *Laish*. Finding the inhabitants of that place living in a careless security, they returned, and persuaded their tribe to send 600 men against it. In their way thither, this party called at *Micah*'s house; but instead of reproving him for his apostacy, entered by main force, took away the idols, teraphim, and ephod, and forced the young priest to go along with them to *Laish*, which they took and destroyed, with its inhabitants; and having built a new city, called it *Dan*, after the name of their progenitor. Here setting up the images which they had stolen from *Micah*, they made the *Levite*, whose name was *Jonathan*, and his sons their priests: and in this state of idolatrous worship they are said to have continued for 300 years, even unto the time that the ark of God was taken captive by the *Philistines* in the days of *Eli* *.

A bloody war against *Benjamin*.

Not long after, a war broke out between the *Benjamites* and the other tribes, which is another proof of the sad depravity of the people. A *Levite* of mount *Ephraim* returning homewards with a concubine that had eloped from him, about sun-set arrived at *Gibeah* in the tribe of *Benjamin*, where they continued for some time in the street, no body inviting them into a house. At length an old man, who was only a sojourner, returning from his work, took them home with him, and entertained them in the best manner he could. But while they were refreshing themselves, a band of profligate young fellows surrounded the house, and in a riotous manner demanded the stranger to be sacrificed to their brutish lust, which they made no difficulty to express in the plainest terms; from which it may be concluded that the sin of uncleanness was too common among them. The *Levite*, as the only means of saving himself, delivered up his concubine to them, and on the next morning found her dead at the threshold of the door. Seeing it in vain to complain of this barbarity in such an abandoned place, he took therefore the dead body with him, and brought it to his own house, where

* Psalm lxxviii. 60, 61. Patrick's and Le Clerc's Commentaries.

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he divided it into twelve pieces, and ſent one of them to each tribe, with an account of the inhoſpitable treatment he met with at *Gibeah*. The people expreſſed the utmoſt deteſtation of the action, and aſſembling directly at *Mizpeh* to the number of 400,000 fighting men, after hearing the *Levite*'s account of the ſtory, they unanimouſly reſolved not to return to their reſpective homes till they had puniſhed the authors of that inhuman action with the utmoſt ſeverity, and forthwith ſent deputies to the heads of the tribe of *Benjamin*, demanding the men that had committed the outrage. This haughty tribe, however, inſtead of delivering the criminals, muſtered all their forces in order to protect them. The other tribes, provoked at this avowed revolt of the *Benjamites*, immediately conſulted the Lord which of the tribes ſhould go againſt them; and were anſwered by the mouth of *Phineas* the then high prieſt, that *Judah* ſhould go firſt. They accordingly inveſted the city of *Gibeah*, but were unexpectedly repulſed by the *Benjamites*, with the loſs of 22,000 men. In a ſecond engagement the *Benjamites* were again victorious, and ſlew of their enemy 18,000 men. The miſconduct of the *Iſraelites* upon this occaſion was, that being too confident of the goodneſs of their cauſe, and the ſuperiority of their numbers, they only enquired of God which of the tribes ſhould lead the van, without depending upon him in confidence of his aſſiſtance. Their repeated defeats making them ſenſible that they had acted amiſs, they therefore humbled themſelves in a proper manner before God, and obtained at length a promiſe of victory. Dividing their army into two bodies, they made a ſham attack with one of them, and by that means drawing the *Benjamites* from a city, the other body entered it and ſet it on fire. The *Benjamites* being then put into confuſion, were ſoon after totally routed, and almoſt wholly cut off, to the number of 25,000 men, 600 only eſcaping, and fortifying themſelves in the tops of the rocks of *Rimmon*.

The fury of the other tribes was only whetted by this victory; nor did they relent till they had burned down all the cities and villages of the *Benjamites*, and killed all the inhabitants without diſtinction, and made, as they thought, an utter end of that tribe. Reflecting afterwards coolly on what they had done, they then made great lamentation for the loſs of one of their tribes, which they had imprudently cut off, and were immediately reconciled to the 600 men who had fled to *Rimmon*. There was ſtill, however, a great difficulty to the recruiting of the tribe, as they had all made a raſh oath at *Mizpeh* not to give any of their daughters to the *Benjamites*. They had likewiſe made another oath to ſhew no mercy to thoſe who neglected to appear at the general rendezvous. Finding now that the inhabitants of *Jabeſh Gilead* beyond *Jordan*, had not ſent any men to the army, they diſpatched a body of 12,000 men thither, who put all the inhabitants of the place to death, except the virgins, amounting to the number of 400, which

were

were given to as many of the men of *Benjamin*. As the *Israelites* were freeholders by a military tenure, the men of *Jabesh Gilead*, by not appearing at the general rendezvous, were looked upon by the reſt as deſerters, and treated as ſuch without mercy; but if ſanguinary counſels had not prevailed, it might have been expected that they would have only demanded the virgins from the inhabitants of that place, or even looked upon their firſt raſh oath as not obligatory. Two hundred *Benjamites*, however, ſtill remaining unprovided for, they now bethought themſelves of a way of evading their oath, by allowing them to ſeize ſome young damſels, when they came out to dance at a ſolemn feſtival at *Shiloh*. The remaining *Benjamites* by this means furniſhed themſelves with wives, and being all now allowed to ſettle in their own country, began by degrees to recruit their tribe.

This moſt ruinous war had probably ſo weakened the *Israelites*, that they muſt have become an eaſy conqueſt to the *Meſopotamians*; and the victory obtained under *Othniel*, would teach them the advantage of uniting under one chief. The tranquillity he eſtabliſhed upon freeing the *Iſraelites* from the yoke of *Cuſhan*, continued forty years, probably during his whole life. *Othniel* the firſt judge expells the *Meſopotamians*.

Soon after his death, however, the *Iſraelites* again revolted from the ſervice of God, who to chaſtiſe them for the neglect of his covenant, ſuffered the *Moabites* to oppreſs them eighteen years. At the end of that time *Ehud*, who was of the tribe of *Benjamin*, going with the yearly tribute to *Eglon* king of *Moab*, took an opportunity to ſtab him mortally, and eſcaping undiſcovered, immediately raiſed an army and expelled the *Moabites*, and procured his people another forty years peace. Bef. Chr. 1405. *Ehud* ſecond judge. Bef. Ch. 1325.

Shamgar, their third judge, delivered them from ſome ſmall oppreſſion which they ſuffered from the *Philiſtines*. The text gives us no farther particulars about him, than that he ſlew 600 of them with an ox goad, or as the *Latin* and *Greek* verſions render it, with a plough-ſhare. How long he judged *Iſrael*, is not to be determined. *Shamgar* third judge.

The defection and idolatry of the *Iſraelites* in the northern parts, provoked God, after the death of *Ehud*, to deliver them into the hands of *Jabin* king of *Canaan*, a powerful prince, who held them in ſubjection twenty years. He reſided at *Hazor*, a city formerly deſtroyed by *Joſhua*, and beſides a moſt numerous army, had no leſs than 900 armed chariots; however, when the *Iſraelites* began to be ſenſible of their ſins and ingratitude, and to humble themſelves before God, he was pleaſed to deliver them from their oppreſſors. *Deborah*, a propheteſs, a woman of great eminence, and who for ſome time had adminiſtered juſtice to the neighbouring tribes, by the direction of God ordered *Barak* to aſſemble 10,000 men, and to attack the numerous army of the *Canaanites* under *Siſera*. The *Iſraelites*, though greatly inferior in number, gained a moſt compleat victory; and their enemies being almoſt all cut off, they enjoyed their liberty for forty years after. This victory *Deborah* fourth judge. Bef. Chr. 1285.

and

and deliverance gave occaſion to that moſt beautiful ſong of *Deborah*, which, in an animated manner, repreſents the ſad diſtreſs of the *Iſraelites* while under the oppreſſion of the *Canaanites*.

During the forty years peace that followed this ſignal deliverance, the *Iſraelites* again rebelled againſt God, who, as a puniſhment of their diſobedience, allowed the *Midianites* to oppreſs them for ſeven years.

Their former bondage was light in compariſon of this affliction. *Deborah*, we find, under the laſt oppreſſion, was allowed to judge *Iſrael* in the face of the ſun; but now they are not only without judge, but even without habitation, except what they are forced to ſeek for among the clefts and caverns of the rocks. In the ſpring, when their enemies were abſent, they ſtole out of their lurking places, and ſowed their land; but all to no purpoſe; for in the harveſt, immenſe numbers of their enemies poured in upon them, and after reaping the fruit of their labours, and pillaging the country, they returned home till the following ſeaſon, and reduced by this means the poor inhabitants to the utmoſt miſery.

Gideon delivers the *Iſraelites* from the *Midianites*. Bef. Chr. 1245.

The people at length humbling themſelves under the afflicting hand of God, he ſent a prophet to remind them of their ingratitude, and at the ſame time made choice of a proper perſon to undertake their deliverance; namely, *Gideon* the ſon of *Joaſh*, who dwelt at *Ophrah*. This warrior made great difficulty at firſt of accepting of the office of general; but the angel who was ſent to him by God aſſuring him of his divine miſſion by working a miracle, he at length ſubmitted. That evening, by God's command, he deſtroyed the altar and grove of *Baal*, which was in the neighbourhood of *Ophrah*, and building an altar to God, ſacrificed a bullock of ſeven years old, as an expiation of the former idolatry. The whole city next morning came to the houſe of *Joaſh*, and demanded that he ſhould deliver up his ſon to be put to death for his ſacrilege againſt *Baal*; but the grave old man anſwered, that if *Baal* was a god, it was his buſineſs, and not theirs, to avenge his own quarrel; with which anſwer he appeaſed the tumult.

The *Midianites* about this time, according to their annual cuſtom, paſſing over the *Jordan*, and encamping in the valley of *Jezreel*, *Gideon*, who from the late tranſaction had got the name of *Jerubbaal*, or *the oppoſer of Baal*, aſſembled a numerous army and marched againſt the enemy. God however, to ſhew the *Jews* that their deliverance was not owing to an arm of fleſh, ordered *Gideon* to attack the enemy only with 300 men; and though their army conſiſted of no leſs than 138,000 men, God miraculouſly interpoſing, *Gideon* obtained an eaſy and compleat victory, and an immenſe quantity of the richeſt ſpoils, as we have before related. *Gideon* having broken and routed the enemy, immediately ſent for the reſt of his army to purſue them, and ordered the *Iſraelites* next to the *Jordan* to ſecure the paſſes of that river. Many of the enemy, never-

nevertheleſs, eſcaping over the *Jordan*, he himſelf purſued them with his 300 men, and when he came to *Succoth* and *Penuel*, he deſired ſome refreſhment for his faint and weary troops: but the inhabitants of both places, inſtead of giving him any proviſions, ridiculed the ſmallneſs of his army; for which inſolence he vowed to be revenged of them upon his return. Continuing his purſuit therefore, with his ſmall fatigued party, he came up with the enemy at *Korcor*, whom he ſurprized and defeated, and taking the two princes *Zeba* and *Zalmunna* priſoners, returned directly towards *Succoth*, where he executed the vengeance he had threatned, by publickly puniſhing 77 of their chief magiſtrates and elders, at the ſame time commanding thoſe of *Penuel* to be all put to the ſword, and their tower to be demoliſhed to the ground. He then, with his own hands, ſlew *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*, becauſe they had ſlain his brethren at *Tabor*.

The *Iſraelites*, in the height of their gratitude for ſuch ſignal ſervices, offered to ſettle the ſupreme authority upon *Gideon* and his poſterity; but he, fully convinced by God's late dealings with them that their greateſt ſecurity chiefly depended upon their obedience to their divine protector, adviſed them to place all their confidence in God, and to make ſure of his protection by a ſtrict obedience to his laws. He only deſired, as an acknowledgement of his ſervices, the pendants and ear-rings taken in the plunder of the *Midianites*. His requeſt they moſt readily conſented to; and over and above theſe, threw in the coſtly ornaments, the robes of the kings, and the golden chains which were about the camels necks. The weight of the ear-rings alone was 850 ounces; therefore we may juſtly conclude the whole plunder was of prodigious value. Of theſe rich materials *Gideon* cauſed an ephod, or as moſt interpreters think, an idol, or rather a trophy, to be made, which he ſet up in his own city *Ophrah*; and the text adds, it proved a ſnare both to him and to his houſe, becauſe it became the occaſion of a new kind of idolatry to the *Iſraelites*. *Gideon*, after this victory over the *Midianites*, returned to his own inheritance, and judged *Iſrael* forty years, none of their enemies in the mean time daring to moleſt them. He died in a good old age, and was buried with his anceſtors, the *Iſraelites* quickly after forgetting both God and him, and adopting *Baalim* and other new gods. His death. Bef. Chr. 1236.

Gideon having had ſeveral wives, left by them 70 ſons, beſides one by a concubine, whom ſhe named *Abimelech*, which ſignifies, *my father a king*. This *Abimelech*, who was a bold aſpiring youth, of a baſe genius and cruel diſpoſition, as ſoon as his father was dead, tampered with the people of *Shechem*, the place of his nativity, and where his mother's family had no ſmall intereſt, to make him their king. The *Shechemites*, by his inſinuations and the intrigues of his relations, were ſoon inclined to gratify his ambition, and that he might not want money to carry on his deſigns, gave him 70 ſhekels of gold out *Abimelech* his natural ſon murders his brethren,

of the treasury of their god *Baal-Berith*, who is supposed to have been the god that presided over covenants and contracts, the most barbarous nations, as well as the most civilized, having always looked upon God as the witness and also as the vindicator of oaths and covenants *. *Abimelech*, with this money, having hired a number of profligate fellows, capable of the most wicked enterprize, led them directly to *Ophrah*, where having surprised his brethren, he murdered them all upon one stone, excepting *Jotham* the youngest, who made his escape. This unnatural parricide, which ought to have made him abhorred by all who had the least grateful remembrance of *Gideon*, made the *Shechemites* openly declare for him, and in a formal manner proclaim him king in the plain of *Shechem*.

and is declared king by the *Shechemites*,

When young *Jotham* heard of this, he went upon mount *Gerixim*, which overlooked *Shechem*, and by the following fable, which is the first we find upon record, represented to the *Shechemites* the impropriety of their conduct. *The trees once upon a time assembling to make choice of a king, offered the royal dignity to the olive tree: but the olive tree answered, should I leave my fatness, wherewith by me they honour God and man, and go to be promoted over the trees. They next requested the fig-tree to be their chief; but the fig-tree, in like manner replied, should I forsake my sweetness and my good fruit, and go to be promoted over the trees. They then made an offer of the supreme authority to the vine; but he also declared that he did not think it worth his acceptance. At length they all addressed themselves to the bramble, which without hesitation accepted of the offered dignity, and never reflecting on his own insufficiency and lowness, ostentatiously desired them to come and take shelter under his shadow; and at the same time impotently threatned to wreck his vengeance on the cedars of Lebanon, and the noblest of them all, if they scrupled to acknowledge his authority.* He then expostulated with them upon the injury done his family, and upbraiding them with their ingratitude, appealed to their consciences whether they had acted right or not. Though his fable was so apposite that it needed no explication, yet he concluded his discourse with comparing *Abimelech* to the bramble, and wishing that he and his followers might prove mutual curses to each other, he immediately ran off and fled to *Beer*, a city of the tribe of *Judah*, to avoid the rage and cruelty of his brother.

The reign of *Abimelech*, according to the imprecation of *Jotham*, proved both thorny and of short continuance; for, besides his mortification in not being acknowleged by any of the tribes, the text says, that God caused a spirit of jealousy to be sown between the *Shechemites* and him, so that he was soon obliged to leave the place and escape for his life. One *Gaal* hearing of this rupture, came and offered his service to the

who soon after expel him.

* Boch. Can. l. ii. Pool's Annot. Calmet's Dict. Jurieu Hist. des Dogmes & Cultes, pr. iv.

Shechemites

Shechemites, who immediately declared him their chief againſt their late king. *Abimelech*, however, having ſtill ſome fortreſs in the city commanded by one *Zebul*, had intelligence of all their proceedings, and was adviſed by him to approach to the city and ſurprize the people when they went out to the vineyards. This counſel he accordingly followed; and having routed *Gaal* and his followers, he next day took the city by ſtorm, and burnt about 1000 of the inhabitants who had taken ſanctuary in the temple of *Baal-berith*. Having ſlain all the inhabitants of *Shechem*, and razed the city, he next marched againſt *Thebez*, a city of *Judah*, which had taken up arms againſt him, and quickly making himſelf maſter of the place, he inveſted the citadel. He reſolved to force his way into the tower by burning the gate; but while he was encouraging his men, a woman threw down a piece of a milſtone upon him, which fractured his ſkull, ſo that finding himſelf mortally wounded, he called to his armour-bearer to put an end to his life, that it might not be ſaid he died by the hand of a woman. Thus God, in his abundant righteouſneſs, puniſhed both *Abimelech* and the men of *Shechem* according to their deſerts, and within the ſpace of three years after their crimes were committed, made them the inſtruments of each others deſtruction. He is killed at *Thebez*. Bef. Chr. 1233.

After the death of *Abimelech*, *Tolah* the ſon of *Puah*, an eminent man of the tribe of *Iſſachar* who dweit at *Shumir* on mount *Ephraim*, undertook the government, and died after he had judged *Iſrael* 23 years. He was ſucceeded by *Jair*, a wealthy man of the tribe of *Manaſſeh* beyond *Jordan*, where he poſſeſſed 30 cities, which he gave to his 30 ſons. He judged *Iſrael* 22 years, and was buried in the city of *Camon* in the ſame land. *Tolah* ſixth judge. *Jair* ſeventh judge.

During his adminiſtration, however, the people not only returned, as formerly, to the worſhip of *Baal* and *Aſhtaroth*, but adopted alſo the gods of every neighbouring nation of the *Syrians*, the *Zidonians*, the *Ammonites*, the *Moabites*, and the *Philiſtines*, which brought a fifth ſevere thraldom upon them for 18 years under the *Philiſtines* and *Ammonites*. Their hard oppreſſion at length made them cry unto God for relief; but they were bid to go and aſk deliverance of thoſe deities they had adopted. This anſwer made them ſenſible of their folly; they therefore immediately renounced all their idols, and betook themſelves in good earneſt to the ſervice of God, whoſe mercy returning with their repentance, he ſoon found out means to effect their deliverance. In confidence of God's aſſiſtance, they aſſembled at *Mizpeh* to oppoſe the *Ammonites*; but God not having nominated any judge or general, they offered the chief command to one *Jephthah*, a man of great courage and bravery. *Jephthah* was the ſon of *Gilead* by a concubine, and therefore having no right of inheritance, he went to *Tob*, in the moſt northern part of the lot of *Manaſſeh* beyond *Jordan*, where he became chief of a band of fugitives and idle perſons, *Jephthah* eighth judge. Bef. Chr. 1188.

and ſignalized himſelf more by his valour than his honeſty. *Jephthah*, upon receiving the meſſage of the *Gileadites*, remonſtrated a little upon their former unkindneſs to him, then agreed to accept of the command, on condition that if he happened to be ſucceſsful in the war, they ſhould eſtabliſh him their governor for life; which they readily conſented to, and ſolemnly ratified. As ſoon as he had put himſelf at their head, he ſent an expoſtulatory meſſage to the *Ammonites*; but finding them more bent upon conqueſt than a treaty, he prepared to attack them without delay; but before he took the field, either his fear or ſuperſtition put a ſtrange expedient into his head to make a vow, that if God would but bleſs him with an entire victory, he would offer up as a burnt ſacrifice to him the firſt living creature that came out of his houſe to meet him at his return. Having totally routed the *Ammonites*, and deſtroyed many of their cities, he returned home with joy and triumph, his army being laden with the ſpoils of their enemies. His rejoicing, however, was ſoon turned into bitterneſs; for as he was approaching his own houſe, the firſt perſon who met him was his daughter, a virgin, and his only child, and if we may believe the *Jews*, a perſon of exquiſite beauty and virtue, who at the head of a company of maidens came out to congratulate him with timbrels and dances. As ſoon as he ſaw her he rent his cloaths, and with the moſt lively expreſſions of grief, diſcloſed the ſecret to her, which ſhe heard with a conſtancy that could hardly have been expected in a perſon of her tender years. She only begged for a reſpite of two months, during which ſhe would retire with ſome of her companions into the mountains to bewail her virginity. Her requeſt being granted, ſhe abſented herſelf during that ſhort ſpace, and at the end of it returned to her father, who did to her according to his vow; that is, according to the generality of *Jewiſh* and Chriſtian interpreters, he offered her up a burnt offering; or according to others, he conſecrated her to God, and condemned her to perpetual virginity; from whence the text mentions, it became cuſtomary for the daughters of *Iſrael* to go yearly to lament (according to the firſt ſenſe) or (according to the latter) to condole with *Jephthah*'s daughter four days in a year (A).

His raſh vow.

This

(A) A great controverſy there is among commentators, whether this daughter of *Jephthah* was really ſacrificed or not. As the ſubject cannot be copiouſly treated of here, we ſhall only give the heads of the arguments on both ſides, and refer our readers to the authors who have examined the matter at large *. Thoſe who maintain the harſher ſide of the queſtion allege, that the times wherein *Jephthah* lived were ſo ſadly addicted to idolatry, that to

* Pagnin. Montan. Munſt. Vatabl. Drus. Grot. Cleric. De Lyr. Marian. Capel. Marſham Canon Egypt. Saubert de Sacrif. Selden. Jenkins reaſonabl. &c.

burn

This dear-bought victory was like to have proved fatal to him from another quarter. He was ſcarce returned to his own houſe when the turbulent *Ephraimites* ſurrounded it, and in a tumultuous manner threatned to ſet it on fire, and to burn him and all he had, for having dared to engage the *Ammonites* without ſummoning them to arms. *Jephthah*, inſtead of ſoothing them as *Gideon* on a like occaſion had formerly done, upbraided them with their baſeneſs in not anſwering his ſummons, or beſtiring themſelves in the leaſt againſt the common enemy; which reproach ſo ſtung them, that they ſcrupled not, in the height of their reſentment, to call the *Gileadites* a pack of ſpurious fugitives and mongrels between *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh*. A bloody battle enſued, in which thoſe of *Ephraim* were routed with great loſs, and fled directly towards *Jordan*; but the *Gileadites* ſeizing the fords of that river, ſuffered none to eſcape; for if they feigned themſelves not *Ephraimites*, they were deſired to ſay *Shibboleth*, which by their dialect they pronounced *Sibboleth*; and this diſcovering their country, they

He chaſtiſes the inſolence of the *Ephraimites*.

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burn their ſons and daughters in the fire to their gods, was a common practice among the *Iſraelites* as well as other nations. Vows of perpetual virginity, they ſay, are inſtitutions of a modern date; and when the circumſtance is inſerted, *that ſhe knew no man*, it is not to ſignify that ſhe lived a perpetual virgin, but only that ſhe was ſo unhappy as to leave the world in her youth. It is alſo alleged, that the text is taken in this ſenſe by *Joſephus*, *Philo*, and the *Chaldee* Paraphraſt, by the antient doctors both of the *Jewiſh* and chriſtian church, and by the compilers of the Homilies of our church. Nevertheleſs, thoſe who maintain the merciful ſide of the queſtion, ſtill think it improbable that *Jephthah* ſhould have been ſuffered by God, by the high prieſt, and the whole people, to offer the fruit of his own body, an innocent young virgin, an only child, and a dear and dutiful one, the ſole object of his preſent comfort and future hopes, in a burnt offering unto the Lord, who had ſo often declared his utter abhorrence of all ſuch abominations, and rejected the *Canaanites* upon that very account. Tho' he had, perhaps, lived, in the former part of his life, irregularly accuſtomed to bloodſhed and rapine, yet before he made this vow, it is expreſsly ſaid that the ſpirit of God came upon him. The terms of the vow may be alſo otherwiſe rendered than in our tranſlation; for the particle *vaw* may be properly taken in the disjunctive ſenſe, ſo that his words ſhould be rendered, 'ſhall ſurely be the 'Lord's,' *or* 'I will offer it up for 'a burnt offering.' The verb *thanah*, which is rendered to bewail, ſignifies alſo to condole, to converſe with, to declare or extol; and the grief expreſſed by *Jephthah*, might be occaſioned by his reflecting, that his dear and only child, by his vow, was deprived of marriage, the greateſt bleſſing of life, according to the opinion of the *Iſraelites*, and himſelf of all hopes of any poſterity.

were immediately put to death. No leſs than 42,000 *Ephraimites* were ſlain on this occaſion in the field and at the river. *Jephthah* is ſaid to have judged *Iſrael*, meaning that part of it which was on the other ſide of *Jordan*, ſix years, and at his death was honourably buried in one of the cities of *Gilead*.

Ibzan ninth judge.

Jephthah was ſucceeded by *Ibzan*, a native of *Bethlehem*, who after he had governed ſeven years, was ſucceeded by *Elon* of the tribe of *Zebulon*, who ruled ten years; and *Elon* was ſucceeded by *Abdon*, an *Ephraimite*, who ruled eight years. Of theſe three judges the ſacred hiſtory ſays nothing remarkable, only that the firſt and laſt of them had a very numerous iſſue, which was looked upon as a great bleſſing in *Iſrael*.

Elon, *Abdon*, judges.

During the adminiſtration of theſe judges, the *Iſraelites* enjoyed a peace of 25 years continuance: but the remarkable repentance and reformation we mentioned before the government of *Jephthah* beginning now to loſe its effect, the *Iſraelites* relapſing into their old impieties, God ſuffered the *Philiſtines* to invade and oppreſs them for forty years; that is, during almoſt the whole time of the government of *Eli*, who was both judge and high prieſt. *Eli* was of the family of *Ithamar*, the younger branch of *Aaron*'s houſe, into which the prieſthood had been transferred from the elder branch of *Eleazar*. As he is particularly recorded for his indolence and remiſſneſs, eſpecially towards his two ſons, whom he ſuffered to run into the greateſt exceſſes of debauchery and irreligion, it is no wonder the *Iſraelites* did not reform themſelves during his adminiſtration.

Eli tenth judge.

Samſon.

Notwithſtanding their depravity, God, to point out to them from whence they were to expect their deliverance, raiſed them up a ruler, who was altogether wonderful from his conception to his death. His name was *Samſon*, the ſon of *Manoah*, a native of *Zorah*, of the tribe of *Dan*. He was the miraculous ſon of old age and barrenneſs. His birth and proweſs were foretold by an angel, firſt to his mother, then to his father, with a ſtrict charge to the mother, that ſhe ſhould abſtain both from wine and ſtrong drink, and from all unclean meats during her pregnancy; and that no razor ſhould come on the child's head all his life, becauſe he was to be a *Nazarite* from his birth. While *Samſon* was yet a youth, he began to give ſome notable proofs of extraordinary courage and ſtrength in what was called the camp of the *Danites*, between *Zorah* and *Eſhtaol*, the place of his abode. How he haraſſed the *Philiſtines* during his twenty years government, and was at length betrayed into their hands by a treacherous harlot, and how, after near a year's miſerable ſervitude, he buried, with himſelf, all the *Philiſtine* nobles under the ruins of a magnificent ſtructure, we have ſeen in the hiſtory of that nation. His relations, we are told, hearing of his death, fetched

The *Philiſtine* nobles ſlain by him at his death. Bef. Chr. 1117.

fetched his body away, and buried it in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors (B).

Notwithſtanding the great conſternation of the *Philiſtines*, occaſioned by this extraordinary ſlaughter of their nobility, yet ſo depraved and diſpirited were the *Iſraelites*, that they made but weak attempts to recover their liberty. Their profligacy, inſtead of being checked, was promoted by their judge *Eli*, then near 100 years old; whoſe ſons, *Hophni* and *Phinehas*, who acted under him, taking the advantage of his extreme weakneſs, committed the greateſt abominations. They are branded in ſcripture with the worſt of characters; ſuch as, that they were ſons of *Belial*; that they knew not the Lord; that they committed ſuch infamous irregularities in the ſervice of the tabernacle, as cauſed the people to abhor the offering of the Lord; that they debauched the women that aſſembled at the gate of the tabernacle, and that their crimes were very great. The wickedneſs of a people under ſuch profligate governors, may eaſily be conjectured. *Eli* was not unacquainted with the conduct of his ſons; but inſtead of chaſtizing them, as his authority required, he contented himſelf with reproving them now and then in ſuch gentle and mild terms, as rather encouraged them in their wicked practices than deterred them from them. God at length being provoked at his remiſſneſs, ſent a prophet to upbraid him with his ingratitude, and to aſſure him that the high prieſthood ſhould be taken from his houſe, and that his two ſons ſhould be cut off in one day. This heavy ſentence was again confirmed by God to young *Samuel* in a viſion, and by him related to *Eli*.

The people corrupted by *Eli*'s ſons.

Samuel was the ſon of *Elkanah*, a *Levite* who dwelt in *Ramah*. He was a *Nazarite*, and devoted to the ſervice of the Lord from his infancy by his mother, who called his name *Samuel*, becauſe ſhe had aſked him of the Lord to put away the reproach of her barrenneſs. Being brought very young by his mother to *Shiloch*, he was immediately appointed to the ſervice of the tabernacle, and continued with *Eli*. God having one morning revealed to him the heavy judgments he had denounced againſt *Eli*'s houſe, *Samuel* diſcloſed the viſion to *Eli* at his moſt earneſt requeſt; after which he became known from one end of the kingdom to the other to be a prophet of the Lord, and to be eſtabliſhed judge of *Iſrael* in *Eli*'s ſtead.

Samuel brought to the tabernacle.

(B) *Joſephus* places the hiſtory of *Ruth* after the death of *Samſon*; but the greater part of the Jews think *Boaz* to have been the ſame with *Ibzan*, the tenth judge of *Iſrael*; but both opinions are contrary to the chronology of thoſe times. Some of our chronologers place it in the time of *Deborah*, others in the time of *Gideon*; but according to *Uſher*, whoſe opinion is thought moſt probable, it happened in the time of *Shamgar*. As *David* is named in the genealogy of *Boaz*, it is probable the book was not written till his time.

The *Iſraelites* defeated by the *Philiſtines*, and the ark taken. Bef. Chr. 1116.

Not long after this, the *Iſraelites* being repulſed in an attempt againſt the *Philiſtines* with the loſs of 4000 men, reſolved to bring the ark of God into their camp, which they ſuppoſed would be a ſure means of ſucceſs. The conſequence, however, was quite otherwiſe; for both the battle and the ark were loſt in one day, and the two ſons of *Eli* ſlain. The old prieſt, waiting with anxious concern for the event, had ſeated himſelf on a bench in the high way to *Shiloh*; and as ſoon as he heard the news of the ark's being taken by the enemy, he fainted away, and falling backward from his ſeat, broke his neck and died, after he had been ſupreme magiſtrate in *Iſrael* forty years. His daughter-in-law, the wife of *Phineas*, upon hearing all theſe dreadful news, fell in travail, and teſtified the exceſs of her grief by calling her infant ſon *Ichabod*, to ſignify the glory of *Iſrael* was departed, and expired immediately after. *Ahitub*, another ſon of *Phineas*, is ſuppoſed to have ſucceeded his grandfather *Eli*, as we find his ſon *Ahiah* high prieſt in the time of *Saul*, who ſlew *Ahimelech* his brother and ſucceſſor. *Abiathar* the ſon of *Ahimelech*, was the laſt of *Eli*'s race that enjoyed the high prieſthood.

We have formerly related what befel the ark of the covenant and thoſe that kept it captive, and in what manner it came back to *Iſrael**. Its wonderful and unexpected return to *Bethſhemeſh*, cauſed an univerſal joy in all the people, who came crowding from all the adjacent parts to feaſt their eyes with the ſight of it, as it was then the time of harveſt. The prieſts and *Levites* clave the wood of the cart, and offered up the two milch kine that brought it for a burnt offering upon a large ſtone in the field where it ſtopped. The people of *Bethſhemeſh*, however, from an imprudent curioſity, adventuring to look into the ark, which was expreſsly againſt the divine command, were puniſhed with immediate death, to the number of 50,070 men, according to ours and moſt other verſions, but according to *Bochart* 50 men of a thouſand, in which ſenſe *Joſephus* has taken the paſſage, and ſays there were only 70 ſlain. The people of *Bethſhemeſh*, terrified with this ſlaughter, entreated the inhabitants of *Kirjath-jearim* to fetch the ark away from them; which requeſt they accordingly complied with, and brought the ark to the houſe of one *Abinadab*, in the higheſt part of their city, where it continued till *David*'s time, that is about 70 years.

Samuel the tenth judge.

Samuel, upon the death of *Eli*, ſucceeding to the government, called the people together, and exhorted them very earneſtly to renounce their idolatrous practices and adhere to the ſervice of the true God, who would deliver them out of the hands of the *Philiſtines*. The people readily complied, and afterwards aſſembling, according to his appointment, at *Mizpeh*, they held a ſolemn faſt and humiliation to the Lord.

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* See the hiſtory of the Philiſtines.

This

This unuſual meeting gave umbrage to the *Philiſtines*, who coming upon them unexpectedly, put them in the utmoſt conſternation; but upon *Samuel*'s ſacrifice and interceſſion, ſuch a ſtorm of thunder and lightning fell upon the *Philiſtines* as they were advancing to battle, that they turned and fled in great confuſion, and were purſued by the *Iſraelites* with great ſlaughter unto *Bethera*. *Samuel*, in memory of this ſignal and miraculous deliverance, erected a great ſtone between *Mizpeh* and *Shen*, which he called *Eben-Ezer*, or the *ſtone of help*; and from that time to his death, the *Philiſtines* were ſo far from making any farther attempt againſt *Iſrael*, that they ſuffered them to recover all the cities they had taken from them. The *Philiſtines* miraculouſly defeated. Bef. Chriſt 1096.

The *Iſraelites* alſo being unmoleſted by the other neighbouring nations, *Samuel* employed himſelf, during the greateſt part of his government, in the peaceable adminiſtration of juſtice; for which purpoſe he took an annual circuit round a great tract of the country. But as he advanced in years, he appointed his two ſons, *Joel* and *Abiah*, to the execution of that office, who degenerating from his example, became ſuch mercenary and corrupt judges, that the elders of *Iſrael* came in a body to him, and complaining of the grievances they lay under, demanded to have the form of their government changed, and a king anointed over them, that they might be like other nations. Their demand was far from being agreeable to *Samuel*; but God, whom he conſulted on that occaſion, deſired him to comply with them if they perſiſted in their requeſt, which was an affront levelled at their divine protector. He ordered him, however, to acquaint them with the prerogatives and rights the king would aſſume, and to forewarn them, that ſlavery to them and their children, ſubjection to the meaneſt offices, loſs of liberty, heavy taxes, conſtant war, and many other inconveniencies, would be the conſequences of a kingly power. The people nevertheleſs perſiſting obſtinately in their former demand, God deſired *Samuel* to inform them that he would not fail to give them a king. The people deſire a king. Their requeſt, tho' diſpleaſing to God, is complied with.

The appearance of providence in the election of their king was indeed very remarkable. *Saul*, the ſon of *Kiſh*, of the tribe of *Benjamin*, a very tall handſome youth, happening about this time to be ſent with a ſervant to ſeek after ſome ſtrayed aſſes, after ſeveral days uſeleſs ſearch, came to the place where *Samuel* reſided, and applied to him for intelligence about them. *Samuel*, as *Saul* was advancing towards him, being informed by God that he was the perſon to be appointed king, when he applied to him for information, anſwered him in a reſpectful manner, and telling him, in ſhort, that the aſſes were found, immediately acquainted him with the purpoſe of God to raiſe him to the royal dignity. *Saul* modeſtly alleged the ſmallneſs of his tribe and family, as an argument of his being unfit for that high office; but was next morning anointed by *Samuel* privately without the city, as he was returning home; the prophet, at the ſame time, in token of the truth of his deſig- *Saul* their firſt king. Bef. Ch. 1095.

nation to that office, foretelling him ſeveral events which ſhould befal him in his return home; and aſſuring him that he ſhould find himſelf endowed with ſuch a ſuperior portion of God's ſpirit, as would give him a new heart, ſo that he would ſhortly feel himſelf quite another man.

To make his choice and inauguration more public, *Samuel* called an aſſembly of the people at *Mizpeh*, and cauſed them to preſent themſelves by their tribes before the Lord. As the tribes paſſed in their order, that of *Benjamin* was taken, then was the family of *Matri* choſen, and of that family the ſon of *Kiſh*. Whilſt this was doing *Saul* had hid himſelf, but being ſoon after brought into the aſſembly, and recommended to them by *Samuel*, the air immediately rang with the people's ſhouts, *long live the king*. *Samuel* then repeated to the people in what reſpects they were to be ſubject to the king, and how far his prerogatives extended; and afterwards writing his diſcourſe, ordered it to be kept as a record. After the ceremony of proclaiming and anointing the king, the people were diſmiſſed, and *Saul* returning to his own houſe at *Gibeah*, was voluntarily followed by a number of brave men. Some few, however, from envy or diſappointment, murmured openly at his promotion, and ſcorned to make him any preſents; which indignity he prudently took no notice of, that he might have no tumult or diſorder in the beginning of his reign.

His firſt exploit.

He had not been many days upon the throne before there happened a fit occaſion for him to exert himſelf, and to let the people ſee how well he could uſe his new authority. The inhabitants of *Jabeſh Gilead*, on the other ſide *Jordan*, being ſtraitly beſieged by the *Ammonites*, and all honourable terms of capitulation being rejected, they ſent to *Saul* and the elders of *Iſrael*, entreating their aſſiſtance. *Saul*, in a few days, by ſending a threatning meſſage through the tribes, aſſembled an army of 330,000 men, and marching directly to the relief of the place, and attacking the beſiegers by break of day, ſo totally routed and diſperſed them, that ſcarce two of them were left together. The people, elevated with this ſignal victory, were for putting all thoſe to death who had refuſed to acknowledge *Saul* for their king; he, however, generouſly withſtood it; but *Samuel* thinking it a proper time to give the malcontents an opportunity to come in, propoſed that the people ſhould all aſſemble at *Gilgal* to confirm *Saul*'s election, which was accordingly done with much rejoicing and ſolemnity. *Samuel* at this time being to reſign his authority entirely into the hands of *Saul*, took the opportunity of vindicating his adminiſtration. He therefore challenged them, as he was now old, and ready to leave the world, to accuſe him openly before their new king if he had committed any fraud, injuſtice, or oppreſſion againſt any of them, that he might now make them reſtitution before he died; and he had the ſatisfaction of being cleared and commended by the general voice of the people. He then recapitulated all the grievous thraldoms which

their

their idolatry and disobedience had drawn upon them, and the many signal deliverances which God had wrought for them upon their repentance. To convince them that they had displeased God by asking a king, he obtained by his prayers an extraordinary storm of thunder and rain, though it was then wheat harvest, a season remarkably serene. The people terrified by the storm, acknowledged their offence; upon which *Samuel* interceded for them, and assuring them that he would continue his good offices to them as long as he lived, exhorted them and their king to continue stedfast in their obedience to God, otherwise they might both expect to be destroyed.

After this solemn ratification of the kingdom, *Saul*, in the second year of his reign, dismissed all his army except 3000 men, two of which he kept for his body guard, and the other thousand were to attend his son *Jonathan*, who being a prince of great bravery, went and smote a garrison of the *Philistines* in *Geba*, which in effect was a declaration of war. The *Philistines* quickly taking arms, came and encamped at *Michmash* with an immense army of foot besides 6000 horse, and, according to our translation, 30,000 chariots, but according to some, only 3000. The *Israelites*, intimidated by this most formidable army, instead of taking the field, hid themselves in caves and dens, whilst some even fled beyond the *Jordan*. Their terror was probably encreased, as they found themselves without arms, the *Philistines* having stript them of all kinds of weapons, and neither allowed them a smith nor a forge in their whole country. The truth is, that both prince and people were greatly intimidated, because *Samuel*, whose company at this juncture was impatiently expected, was not yet come; so that the king fearing his troops would dwindle away to a small handful, or that he should be surprized by the enemy before he had implored the protection of God, ventured on the seventh day to offer up some peace offerings and a burnt offering. *Samuel* arriving immediately after, blamed him highly for what he had done; and whether he interpreted the action as a presage of *Saul*'s future rashness and want of faith, or whether his rejection had been already revealed to him, he told him he had acted very foolishly, and that his disobedience to God's command would cause the kingdom to be transferred from him to a more worthy person. He then went to *Gibeah*, whither he was followed by *Saul* and *Jonathan* with their little army, consisting only of 600 unarmed men. *Jonathan* soon after being moved by some divine impulse, and surprizing one of the out-posts of the enemy, their whole army was struck with such a pannick, that they retreated with the utmost precipitation and confusion; and being pursued by *Saul*'s forces and other *Israelites* from their lurking-holes, there were very many of them cut off. This victory, great as it was, might have been more compleat, had not *Saul* unadvisedly adjured his army not to stop their pursuit to take any refreshment, By this rash curse he defeated his own purpose; for the people

Jonathan surprises the garison of *Geba*.

The *Philistine* army surprised by *Jonathan*, and entirely routed.

ple becoming faint, were not able to continue the purſuit ſo long as they might have done, and had almoſt eaten ſome of the cattle with the blood. But what was like to have proved ſtill worſe, *Jonathan*, who knew nothing of his father's imprecation, had eaten a little honey he met with in his way; for which his father would have put him to death, had not the whole army interpoſed.

The *Iſraelites* make themſelves formidable to all their neighbours.

Saul, after this victory, kept the people ſtill in arms, and finding that their ſucceſs againſt the *Philiſtines* had inſpired them with confidence, he employed them in ſeveral other expeditions againſt them, and alſo againſt the *Ammonites*, the *Moabites*, the *Edomites*, and the *Syrian* kings of *Zobah*, and alſo the *Amalekites*, haraſſing his enemies on every ſide. The ſacred hiſtory gives us no particular account of any of theſe wars, that of *Amalek* excepted, which we have already related; neither is it eaſy to gueſs at what period of *Saul*'s reign any of them happened. What we know of him farther is, that he reigned forty years, was a valiant and ſucceſsful prince, and very much curbed the ſtrength of all his enemies round about; ſo that had he not diſregarded the command of God with reſpect to the *Amalekites*, he might have avoided the dreadful ſentence of rejection pronounced againſt him by the prophet. This, we find, made ſo deep an impreſſion upon him, that he was convinced of his guilt, but begged of *Samuel* to accompany him while he went and paid his adoration to God, that the people might not perceive that he was now caſt off.

Samuel complied, and having then cauſed the proud *Amalekitiſh* king to be put to death, returned to *Ramah*, and from that time never came more to *Saul*, but continued mourning for him, till he was reproved for it by God, who commanded him to go to *Bethlehem*, and anoint one of the ſons of *Jeſſe* in his room. *Samuel*, that his journey might not give offence to the king, or draw the public attention, went thither under the pretence of ſacrificing, and took an heifer with him.

David anointed king.

Bef. Ch. 1063.

Having invited *Jeſſe* to the ſacrifice, he deſired to ſee his ſons. When *Eliab*, the eldeſt, appeared, he had ſuch a noble, ſtately appearance, that *Samuel* immediately conjectured that he was the perſon choſen for *Saul*'s ſucceſſor; but God declaring him not to regard the outward appearance, rejected *Eliab* and his ſix other brothers. *Samuel*, not a little ſurpriſed, aſked *Jeſſe* if he had not another ſon. He replying that he had one more, a ſtripling, then keeping the ſheep, *Samuel* deſired he might be ſent for; and upon his appearance, God immediately ordered him to anoint him; which ceremony he accordingly performed in the preſence of his brethren, or according to others, apart from his brethren, that his deſignation to the kingdom might not then be publickly known. But as prophets as well as kings were anointed, *Samuel* perhaps only left them in doubt as to the intention of the ceremony. *David*, for that was the ſtripling's name, was very fair and beautiful;

beautiful; and from the time of his anointing, the ſpirit of the Lord came upon him.

Relieves *Saul*'s melancholy.

Soon after *Saul*, who was now rejected by God, began to feel himſelf tormented with an evil ſpirit, or by a deep melancholy; and young *David* being recommended to him as an excellent muſician, and remarkable alſo for prudence and bravery, he ſent for him to court. The comelineſs of *David*'s perſon, joined with the ſweetneſs of his muſic and his other accompliſhments, won *Saul*'s heart ſo far that he made him his armour-bearer, and obtained of his father that he might ſtill continue near his perſon. *Saul* being cured of his melancholy, *David* returned home to follow his uſual occupation.

Kills *Goliath*.

The *Philiſtines* probably taking courage from the report of *Saul*'s diſtemper, ſoon after made a new incurſion into the land, and advanced with a numerous army into the tribe of *Judah*. *Saul*, at the head of the *Iſraelites*, marched out againſt them, and encamped on a hill oppoſite to them. After the two armies had continued in the ſame ſituation forty days without any action, *David* arrived at the camp with ſome proviſions for his three eldeſt brothers, who were then in *Saul*'s army, and perceiving a general conſternation among the *Iſraelites*, occaſioned by the daily challenges of a gigantic *Philiſtine* named *Goliath*, he bravely offered to take the field againſt him; and putting his confidence in God, appeared before him with a ſling and a few pebble ſtones. Tho' his adverſary was compleatly armed in braſs, and of a terrible aſpect, yet *David* undauntedly run towards him, and flung a ſtone with ſuch dexterity, that it ſunk into his ſkull, and he fell to the earth.

Is eſteemed and beloved by *Jonathan*,

The death of their champion occaſioned the total rout of the *Philiſtines*; and *David* having ſo greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, was honoured by the people, and promoted by *Saul*. His behaviour on that occaſion alſo procured him the eſteem and affection of *Jonathan*, a prince of generous ſentiments and extraordinary bravery. Their ſouls, we are told, were knit together; and *David* tells us, their friendſhip exceeded by far the love of women. But in the return from this expedition, the people being extremely laviſh in their praiſes of *David*,

but hated by *Saul*,

Saul's jealouſy was awakened, and from that moment he began to look upon him as his moſt dangerous rival, and ſought ſeveral opportunities to cut him off.

who nevertheleſs gives him his daughter in marriage.

David's moderation at length making *Saul* aſhamed to own his reſentment, he concealed his envy, and under pretence of rewarding his merit, which he obſerved was univerſally acknowleged, offered him his daughter in marriage, if he would make an incurſion againſt the *Philiſtines*, and bring him 100 of their foreſkins. *David* ſucceeding, contrary to his wiſhes, he gave him his daughter; but his malice being only heightened by *David*'s growing fame, he at length deſired *Jonathan* and ſeveral of his attendants to put him to death. At the intercеſſion of *Jonathan*, however, he dropt this wicked deſign,

ſign, and in hopes the enemy would cut him off, he ſent him againſt the *Philiſtines*. *David* returning to court in triumph again narrowly eſcaped being murdered by *Saul*'s own hand; and the night following, to avoid thoſe who ſought his life, was obliged to eſcape from his own houſe by a window, his wife *Michal* deceiving her father's meſſengers, by putting an image or teraphim in his bed, and pretending he was ſick. Having retired to *Ramah*, he gave an account of his ſufferings to *Samuel*, and went with him to *Naioth* in that neighbourhood, where was a ſchool or college of prophets. *Saul* hearing of his retreat, ſent meſſengers to fetch him from thence; but they were no ſooner come within ſight of *Samuel* and the prophets, but they were ſeized with a prophetic ſpirit, and returned not again. Finding that the meſſengers, which he ſent a ſecond and a third time, were affected in the ſame manner, he went thither himſelf, and as he drew near to the place, began alſo to propheſy. Upon his arrival at *Naioth*, he continued propheſying, and ſtripping off his upper garments, lay down on the ground all that day and the night following, which gave an opportunity to *David* to get off, and to have a private interview with *Jonathan*, wherein they ſwore to each other a perpetual friendſhip. *Jonathan* ſoon after venturing to intercede for *David*, ſo incenſed his father, that he attempted to kill him; which behaviour ſo convinced the young man of the king's implacable reſentment againſt his friend, that he directly adviſed *David* to conſult his ſafety by flight. Then renewing their proteſtations of friendſhip, they tenderly embraced, and took a ſad farewell of each other.

David flees to Abimelech,

David now deſpairing of ſecurity in *Iſrael*, fled with a few followers to *Nob*, and ſeeing the high prieſt *Abimelech* who reſided there ſurprized that he was not attended as uſual, he pretended to have been ſent upon urgent buſineſs by the king, and begged ſome refreſhment for himſelf and thoſe that were with him. Having obtained ſome of the ſhew-bread loaves, he then aſked for ſome arms; and the ſword of *Goliath* being brought him, he girt it on, and taking his leave of the high prieſt, he fled to *Achiſh* king of *Gath*. Obſerving, however, that the *Philiſtines* endeavoured to prejudice *Achiſh* againſt him, he prudently feigned himſelf mad; ſo that *Achiſh* ordering him to be ſent away, he went and concealed himſelf in the cave of *Adullam*.

who with all the prieſts at *Nob* are unjuſtly put to death by *Saul*.

Saul, in the mean time, being informed by *Doeg*, an *Edomite*, the chief of his herdſmen, that he had ſeen *David* at *Nob*, and that *Abimelech* had enquired of the Lord for him, and had furniſhed him with proviſions and a ſword, he immediately ordered the high prieſt and all his kindred to be brought to him, and inveighing bitterly againſt him, without giving him leiſure to juſtify himſelf, he ordered them all to be put to death. His ſervants, however, declining to execute his command, he deſired *Doeg* the *Edomite* to perform that cruel office, which he immediately did, killing on the ſpot 85 innocent perſons,

ſons. The king, not ſatiated with this cruelty, cauſed the whole inhabitants of *Nob*, with all their cattle, to be put to the ſword. *Abiathar*, however, one of the ſons of *Abimelech*, eſcaped from this maſſacre and fled to *David*, who condoling with him upon the ruin of his family, promiſed for the future to protect him at the hazard of his life. *David*, by this time, was at the head of a conſiderable body of men, who from poverty, diſcontent, and other motives, had joined him from different quarters. Having left his parents in the land of *Moab*, under the protection of the king, he, by the advice of the prophet *Gad*, who was alſo with him, went into the foreſt of *Hareth* in the land of *Judah*; and hearing that the *Philiſtines* were ſpoiling *Keilah*, he marched and reſcued that city from the enemy. To avoid the purſuit of *Saul*, he went from thence with 600 followers to the wilderneſs of *Ziph*, where he ſkulked among the woods, caves, and rocks. *Saul* in vain endeavoured to ſeize him; *Jonathan*, however, found him out in a wood, where they again renewed their covenant, *Jonathan* obtaining a promiſe that he ſhould be ſecond in authority to *David*, when his friend was in poſſeſſion of the kingdom. *Saul* ſoon after, at the perſuaſion of the *Ziphites*, ſent a party againſt him; but *David* having intelligence of their march, removed into the wilderneſs of *Maon*, whither he was alſo purſued by the king, who had almoſt encloſed him and cut off his eſcape, when he was haſtily obliged to retire to oppoſe an incurſion of the *Philiſtines*. *David* then removed into the wilderneſs of *Engedi*, and ſoon after was beſet by *Saul*, who had quickly repulſed the invaders, and returned in purſuit of him with 3000 men. *Saul* one day happened, upon an urgent occaſion, to enter alone into the cave where *David* and his men lay concealed. Though *David* was immediately urged by his followers to diſpatch his adverſary, he would not, however, liſten to their arguments, but only went ſoftly and cut off the ſkirt of his robe, and appeaſed the reſentment of his men, by repreſenting to them how heinous a crime it was to ſtretch forth an hand againſt a lawful prince and the Lord's anointed. *Saul* was no ſooner gone out of the cave than *David* followed him, and calling after him, begged of him, in the moſt tender and reſpectful manner, no longer to entertain any unworthy ſuſpicions of him, giving him a proof of the innocency of his intentions, by ſhewing him the piece of his robe which he had cut off. This inſtance of his generoſity ſo affected *Saul* that he burſt into tears, and with the utmoſt compunction acknowledged his guilt in perſecuting him unjuſtly, owning that he was firmly perſuaded he would be king of *Iſrael*, and therefore deſired him to ſwear not to revenge the injuries he had done him upon any of his children. Having obtained this promiſe, he returned home: but *David*, not daring to truſt to his fair words, ſtill kept himſelf cloſe in the faſtneſſes of the hills.

David's generoſity to Saul.

Much

Samuel dies. Bef. Ch. 1059.

Much about this time the prophet *Samuel* died, in the 97th or 98th year of his age, and was buried at *Ramah* in great solemnity, and with the general lamentation of the people. *David* meanwhile removed from *Engedi* to the wilderneſs of *Paran*, near to *Maon* or *Carmel*, which was alſo in the tribe of *Judah*. In the neighbourhood of this place there lived a wealthy man, whoſe name was *Nabal*, of a proud and brutiſh diſpoſition. While *David* abode before in this wilderneſs, his men, who were under ſtrict diſcipline, inſtead of doing any injury to *Nabal*'s flocks, had rather been a ſafeguard to them. *David* now hearing that *Nabal* was employed in his ſheep-ſhearing, which in thoſe countries was always a ſeaſon of great feſtivity and entertainment, ſent meſſengers to him, requeſting him, with great civility, to ſend him and his men ſome portion of his good cheer. *Nabal* returned a moſt churliſh anſwer; which ſo incenſed *David*, that he ſwore to deſtroy his whole family; and for that purpoſe ſet out with 400 men. While he was on his march, he was met by *Abigail*, a prudent and beautiful woman, the wife of *Nabal*, who being informed of the brutiſh behaviour of her huſband, had haſtily carried out an elegant and plentiful ſupply of proviſions, and, by a diſcreet apology, prevented him from putting his raſh purpoſe in execution; for which he acknowleged himſelf greatly indebted to her. *Nabal* dying ten days after, *David* ſent for *Abigail*, and married her, *Michal*, *Saul*'s daughter, having been given to another during his exile.

David gives another proof of his generoſity.

Returning ſoon after to the deſert of *Ziph*, *Saul*, unmindful of his former generoſity, came thither again in purſuit of him with 3000 men. *David* perceiving the great ſecurity that prevailed in his enemy's camp, had the confidence to enter it in the night-time with his nephew *Abiſhai*, and brought off a cruiſe of water and *Saul*'s ſpear, which was ſtuck in the ground at his head. This action gave *Saul* a ſecond proof of *David*'s great generoſity, which ſo affected him, that he acknowleged his folly and injuſtice with the moſt lively tokens of remorſe, and promiſing never to ſeek his life any more, parted from him with expreſſions of love and friendſhip.

Retires to *Gath*.

David, however, knowing the inſtability of *Saul*'s temper, would not rely too far upon his fair promiſes, but retired once more to *Achiſh* king of *Gath*, who received him very graciouſly, and allowed him and his retinue to live in the royal city. Not long after, at his deſire, he gave him the city of *Ziklag*, where he continued a year and four months, the number of his followers increaſing every day, ſo that he ſoon found himſelf at the head of a conſiderable army, many of *Saul*'s beſt officers and ſoldiers coming over to him. With theſe he uſed to make incurſions, unknown to the king, into the countries of the *Geſhurites*, *Gerizites*, and *Amalekites*, three nations under the Divine anathema, and, to prevent any information, put all to the ſword. Upon his return, by certain ambiguous expreſſions, he made the king believe that the booty he brought back with him was

was taken from the *Iſraelites*. By this he ſo intirely gained the confidence of *Achiſh*, that a war ſoon after breaking out between the *Philiſtines* and *Iſraelites*, *Achiſh* deſired him to attend him with his men to the field. The other *Philiſtine* chiefs, however, apprehenſive that *David* would make his peace with *Saul*, by deſerting to him in the time of the engagement, ordered *Achiſh* to ſend him back. Upon his return, finding the city of *Ziklag* ſpoiled and burnt by the *Amalekites*, he immediately purſued the invaders; and a few days after ſurprizing them in the evening, almoſt totally cut them off, and recovered all that they had taken from *Ziklag*, and ſeveral rich ſpoils beſides.

The *Philiſtines* invade *Iſrael*.

Saul, in the mean time, having arrived with his army in the neighbourhood of the *Philiſtines*, upon viewing the great number of their troops, was filled with uneaſy apprehenſions. What heightened his terror and deſpair, was his conviction that God had now forſaken him, he having conſulted him upon this preſſing juncture, without receiving any anſwer. To eaſe his perplexity he diſguiſed himſelf, and with two attendants went in the night to *Endor*, about three leagues from mount *Gilboa* where he was encamped, to conſult a witch that lived there. As he had formerly put to death all thoſe who were found to uſe enchantments, the woman ſuſpected that he only wanted to entrap her, and inform againſt her; but upon his ſwearing ſecrecy, ſhe raiſed up the prophet *Samuel*, being then terribly alarmed herſelf, as ſhe diſcovered that it was the King who was come in perſon to enquire of her. *Saul* comforted her, and perceiving the apparition, was ſtruck with awe, and bowed himſelf to the ground. The apparition, or, as the text ſays, *Samuel*, then addreſſed him, and aſking him why he had diſturbed him to call him up, was anſwered by *Saul*, that the *Philiſtines* with a powerful army had invaded him; and that God having forſaken him, he was obliged in his extremity to call upon him. *Samuel* then replied, *Why doſt thou aſk my advice, ſeeing thy diſobedience to God's commands hath alienated him from thee, and that thy kingdom is given to* David? *Moreover the Lord will deliver the hoſt of* Iſrael *into the hands of the* Philiſtines, *and to-morrow thou and thy ſons ſhall be with me.* This dreadful denunciation ſo affected *Saul*, that his ſtrength forſaking him, he fell flat on the ground, being quite exhauſted by faſting all the preceding day. His ſervants having raiſed him up, he was perſuaded by them and the woman, tho' with the greateſt reluctancy, to take ſome refreſhment; after which he departed before break of day (A).

Saul conſults the witch of *Endor* about the event of the war.

A dread-

(A) No place in Scripture has been more canvaſſed, both by ancient and modern authors, than this paſſage. It muſt be acknowleged that in whatever ſenſe the hiſtory of the apparition is taken, difficulties occur: ſome explications of it, however, appear to us much more exceptionable than others, According to ſome, the whole was only a meer cheat and juggle of the ſorcereſs; and others,

Saul's defeat and death. Bef. Ch. 1055.

A dreadful battle ſoon enſuing, the *Iſraelites* were totally routed; and *Saul* ſeeing three of his ſons ſlain, and being himſelf grievouſly wounded by the *Philiſtine* archers, for fear of falling into their hands and being inſulted, ruſhed upon his own ſword and died. The *Philiſtines* next day could not forbear venting their reſentment on his dead body and thoſe of his ſons. They mangled and hung them up upon the walls of *Bethſhan*; but the grateful *Jabeſhites* remembering how *Saul* had ſaved them formerly from loſing their eyes and liberty, ſent ſome of their braveſt men, and carrying them off in the night, gave them an honourable burial at *Jabeſh*. The *Philiſtines*, in conſequence of their victory, took poſſeſſion of many of the cities of the *Iſraelites*, who fled to the mountains, and left them to the conquerors.

David, two days after he was returned to *Ziklag*, received the news of the death of *Saul* and *Jonathan* by an *Amalekite*, who brought him *Saul*'s crown and bracelets; but unadviſedly pretending that he had given the king his laſt wound at his deſire, inſtead of meeting with an ample compenſation, which he doubtleſs expected, he was immediately put to death, for having lifted up his hand againſt the Lord's anointed. The melancholy news of the king's death, and the total defeat of the *Iſraelites*, ſo affected *David* and his followers, that they rent their clothes, and mourned, and wept and faſted until evening. *David* par-

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others, who admit of an apparition, think it was the devil, or an evil ſpirit, which aſſumed the ſhape of *Samuel*. But it is contrary to all probability that the woman would have dared to have given ſuch a dreadful denunciation to *Saul*; or if it was the devil, that he would ſo zealouſly have reprehended him for his wickedneſs, or have uſed the name of God ſo often in his ſhort intercourſe. Neither can we conceive it poſſible for an evil ſpirit to foretel ſuch a caſual event as the rout of the *Iſraelites*, and the death of *Saul* and his ſons; as the very prediction would be a motive to *Saul* to ſhun an engagement, and the *Iſraelites*, though in worſe circumſtances, had often been bleſſed with victory. It ſeems to have been the opinion of the ancient *Jews* that *Samuel*'s ghoſt appeared to the king; for in *Eccleſiaſticus* (chap. xlvi.) it is ſaid, *that* Samuel *after his death propheſied, and ſhewed the king his end*; and the inſpired hiſtorian expreſly tells us the woman ſaw *Samuel*. It is not probable that if he had thought it only a juggle of the ſorcereſs, or an evil ſpirit, he would have omitted every thing that tended to diſcover the fraud, and in his narration inſerted every thing that tended to confirm the reality of the prophet's appearance. *Moſes* and *Elias*, we find, were ſeen converſing with our Saviour, that is, their ſouls aſſumed ſuch vehicles as were viſible to mortal eyes; therefore it is not improbable that God, to make the greater impreſſion on *Saul*, might permit *Samuel* to appear, and reprove him; and that ſomething extraordinary happened, may alſo be conjectured from the ſhrieks of the woman. *Waterland's Serm. Saurin Diſſert. v.* iv. *Calmet Diſſert. ſur l'apparit. Glanvile's Sadducis. triumph.*

ticularly

ticularly, being deeply affected with the loſs of his beloved *Jonathan*, compoſed one of the fineſt elegies that was ever penned, on him and his father.

Soon after *David*, by God's direction, removed with his family and forces to *Hebron*, where he was anointed king over *Judah* by thoſe of that tribe, who came to him in multitudes; while *Abner*, *Saul*'s general, proclaimed his ſon *Iſhboſheth*, then 40 years old, king of *Iſrael* at *Mahanaim* beyond *Jordan*. The two rival kings endeavoured each to ſtrengthen their party, without committing any hoſtilities againſt each other, for two years. At length *Abner* paſſing the *Jordan*, advanced with an army to the pool of *Gibeon*, where he was oppoſed by *Joab*, *David*'s general, with the men of *Judah*. The two armies being in ſight of each other, *Abner* ſent *Joab* a challenge to fight twelve of one army againſt twelve of the other. Theſe combatants were no ſooner come within ſight of each other, than each man took his antagoniſt by the head and ſheathed his ſword in his body; ſo that they were all killed upon the ſpot. A battle immediately enſuing, *Abner*'s army was totally routed, and himſelf forced to fly for his life. He loſt, however, only 360 men; and of the troops of *David* there were only 20 men miſſing, among whom was *Aſahel*, *Joab*'s brother, who, purſuing too eagerly after *Abner*, was killed by him with a back-ſtroke of his ſpear. After this battle *David*'s party grew daily ſtronger, and that of *Iſhboſheth* weaker; the war, however, continued for ſome time, till the death of *Iſhboſheth*.

David anointed king of *Judah* at *Hebron*.

Iſhboſheth here to

Abner, the chief ſupporter of *Iſhboſheth*'s cauſe, ſet ſuch a value upon his own ſervices, that he preſumed to have a criminal intercourſe with one of *Saul*'s concubines, named *Rizpah*, which in thoſe days was looked upon as an indignity offered to the royal family, and an affecting of the kingdom. Being on that account gently reprimanded by *Iſhboſheth*, he reſented the reproof ſo highly, that he ſwore he would from that moment become a friend to *David*. Soon after, having made propoſals of an accommodation to *David*, he went to him with his wife *Michal*, whom *Iſhboſheth* had deſired him to conduct to her huſband. Having now openly eſpouſed *David*'s intereſt, he took his leave of him, with the deſign to reconcile all the tribes to his obedience. *Joab* quickly after returning from an expedition againſt the *Philiſtines*, and hearing that *Abner* had been graciouſly received by *David*, ſent for him back unknown to the king, and killed him as ſoon as he came to the gate of the city, under pretence of revenging his brother *Aſahel*'s death, but much more likely from a motive of jealouſy, and to rid himſelf of ſo powerful a rival. *David* not being in a condition to puniſh *Joab*, was obliged to content himſelf with proteſting his innocence, and imprecating vengeance on the author of the bloody deed; making a magnificent funeral for *Abner*, and following the corps himſelf as chief mourner.

Iſhboſheth's affairs now declining apace, two of his captains, *Baanah* and *Rechab*, conſpired againſt him, and barbarouſly

Who is treache-

rously murdered by two of his own captains.

murdering him on his bed, cut off his head, and brought it to *David* at *Hebron*; but inſtead of the reward they expected, he rebuked them ſeverely, and ordered them to be put to death, cauſing *Iſhboſheth*'s head to be buried in the ſepulchre of *Abner*.

David acknowleged as king by the twelve tribes. Bef. Ch. 1048.

Iſhboſheth's death was no ſooner known, than all the tribes aſſembled at *Hebron*, to the number of 320,000 men, all ready armed and expert warriors; and a mutual compact being drawn up between them and *David*, they anointed him king. An inconſiderable party of *Benjamites* ſtill adhered to the houſe of *Saul*; but not being able to give *David* any diſturbance, he, without minding the malecontents, the following year inveſted the city of *Jeruſalem*, which, notwithſtanding its almoſt impregnable ſituation, he made himſelf maſter of; and having expelled the *Jebuſites* from thence, he enlarged and fortified it, made it his chief reſidence, and called it *the city of David*. *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, on the news of the reduction of *Jeruſalem*, concluded a league of friendſhip with *David*; but the *Philiſtines*, jealous of his greatneſs, made a ſudden inroad into the country, and taking *Bethlehem*, encamped along the valley of *Rephaim*, *David*, who was then unprovided for them, flying to the cave of *Adullam*. Soon after receiving a favourable anſwer from God, he fell upon the enemy, and ſo effectually routed them in two different onſets, that they were never more able to make head againſt him, or any of his ſucceſſors.

Takes *Jeruſalem*, and routs the *Philiſtines*.

His gratitude to God.

David now reflecting on the goodneſs of God, which, after protecting him in all his adverſity, had at length eſtabliſhed him in the kingdom, reſolved, with the higheſt ſentiments of gratitude and religion, to make his capital city the center of God's worſhip, by tranſporting the ſacred ark thither. Having accordingly aſſembled 30,000 of the chief men of *Iſrael*, he went with them to *Kirjathjearim*, where the ark had continued many years, though upon occaſion it had ſometimes been removed to different places; and having ſet it upon a new cart, either thro' inadvertency or neglect of the Divine law, which ordered it to be carried by the prieſts upon their ſhoulders, they proceeded with it towards *Jeruſalem*, the king and all that accompanied him playing upon inſtruments and ſinging and dancing before it. The cart, however, at *Nachon*'s threſhing-floor, being ſhaken by the oxen, *Uzzah*, who was one of its drivers, took hold of the ark, to prevent its falling; but, for his preſumption, being immediately ſtruck dead, the whole aſſembly were filled with fear and awe. *David* terrified at the judgment, was afraid, at that time, to carry the ark into *Jeruſalem*, but left it near the city in the houſe of *Obed-Edom*, where it continued three months. God in the mean time bleſſing *Obed-Edom* in an extraordinary manner, on account of the ark, *David*'s apprehenſions vaniſhed; and reflecting on the irregularity of his former proceeding, he now cauſed the ark to be carried to *Jeruſalem* by the prieſts; and having put on a linen ephod, danced before it to the ſound of a great number of inſtruments; inſo-

His zeal

much,

much, that *Michal*, who ſaw the proceſſion thro' a window, could not forbear deſpiſing and reflecting upon him, for acting, as ſhe thought, ſo far beneath a king of *Iſrael*. The ark being depoſited in a new tabernacle that was erected on purpoſe for it, he offered a large quantity of burnt and peace offerings, and feaſted and rejoiced with the reſt of the company that attended this ſolemnity. Having diſmiſſed the people, he afterwards appointed the claſſes of prieſts and *Levites* to officiate before it, according to their ſeveral functions, and choſe a number of ſingers and players upon muſical inſtruments, to celebrate the praiſes of God in their turns.

By this time his palace being finiſhed, by the materials and workmen ſent to him by *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, he began to reflect upon the meanneſs of the habitation of the ark of God in compariſon of his own, and conſulted with the prophet *Nathan* about the building of a ſtately temple to the Lord. *Nathan* at firſt highly approved of his deſign; but the night following God commanded him to forbid it, and to aſſure *David* that he accepted of his ſincere intentions, and would raiſe him up a ſon and ſucceſſor who ſhould build him a temple; and that his poſterity ſhould reign for many generations. In his future ſucceſsful wars with the *Philiſtines*, *Moabites*, *Amalekites*, the kings of *Zobah*, *Syria*, and *Edom*, which we have related in the hiſtories of thoſe people, he amaſſed prodigious quantities of the richeſt ſpoils; the chief part of which, namely, the ſilver and gold, he dedicated to the Lord, and laid aſide for the ſumptuous building, beſides immenſe quantities of copper, precious ſtones, wood, and other materials; ſo that at his death the wealth which was found, appropriated for that purpoſe, is almoſt beyond belief. and piety.

Having greatly extended his dominions, and rendered himſelf formidable to all his neighbours, he made many excellent regulations for the government of the kingdom. He appointed twelve expert perſons over his finances, under *Azmaveth* and *Adoram*, and judges in every tribe, to adminiſter juſtice to the people. He alſo appointed a great council for the affairs of religion and ſtate. In ſacred matters, *Zadok* the ſon of *Ahitub*, and *Ahimelech* the ſon of *Abiathar*, the two high-prieſts of the two different branches of *Aaron*'s family, preſided; but how they came both to exerciſe the pontifical office at the ſame time cannot be accounted for. The chief officers in the affairs of ſtate were, *David*'s own ſons, *Joab* the general of the army, *Jehoſhaphat* chief ſecretary, *Seraiah* recorder, *Benaiah* the captain of the *Cherethites* and *Pelethites* (A).

David

(A) Who theſe *Cherethites* and *Pelethites* were is variouſly conjectured. That they were ſoldiers is evident; and that they were the conſtant guards of *David*'s perſon is ſuppoſed, from the title of Σωματοφυλακες, body-guards, given them by *Joſephus*.

His gratitude to *Jonathan*'s son.

David at the same time, not forgetting his affectionate engagements to his late generous friend *Jonathan*, sent for his only son *Mephibosheth* to court, and after having shewed him all possible tokens of friendship and tenderness, restored to him all his grandfather *Saul*'s estate, commanding *Ziba* his head-servant to improve them to the best advantage for his master, whom he appointed to sit with his own sons at the royal table every day; which bound that young prince to his interest to the day of his death.

His war with the *Ammonites*. Bef. Ch. 1036.

His gratitude to the king of the *Ammonites* did not meet with the same returns; for his embassadors, who were sent to congratulate the young king *Hanun*, were treated with the utmost indignity: in resentment for which *Joab* was sent with a powerful army against the *Ammonites*, whom he intirely defeated, with their *Syrian* confederates. The following year the *Syrians* appeared in the field with an immense army; but were so totally routed, that they were glad to purchase peace, by becoming tributaries. This favour, however, was not granted to the *Ammonites*; but *Joab*, the year after, entering their country, destroyed many of their cities, and put great numbers of the inhabitants to death.

His adultery,

While *Joab* was employed with the army in the siege of *Rabbah*, the capital of the *Ammonites*, which held out two years against him, *David* continued in *Jerusalem*; and walking one evening on the roof of his palace, observed a beautiful woman bathing herself in her garden. Becoming enamoured of her, and his passion proving too violent to admit of any check from reason or religion, or even of a delay, he sent for her and lay with her. Her name was *Bathsheba*, and she was the wife of one of his bravest captains, named *Uriah*, who was with *Joab* at the siege of *Rabbah*. She proving with child, *David* to screen her honour and his own crime, sent immediately for *Uriah*, un-

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Cherethite, we have observed, is certainly but another name for *Philistine* (*Zephan.* ii. 4. *Ezek.* xxv. 16. 1 *Sam.* xxx. 14.) Many, however, think it highly improbable that *David* would have any of that hated uncircumcised people to be his body-guard, and think that it was his first followers who had acquired that name by living with him in *Philistia*. And as it is no uncommon thing for bands of soldiers to take their name, not from the place of their nativity or their nation, but from some particular circumstance, or the name of their leader, some imagine the *Pelethites* were also *Israelites*, so called from one *Pelet* the son of *Azmaveth*, who, we find (1 *Chron.* xii. 3) resorted to *David* while he was at *Ziklag*, or from *Peleth* son of *Jonathan*, who was of the king's own tribe. The *Cherethites* and *Pelethites* are supposed to have been the only standing mercenary forces; and the twelve bands, each of 24,000 men, that served their respective months in the year, to have been the national militia of the tribes. *Hist. of the Life of king Dav. Lowman on the Heb. Patrick's Comment. Pool's Annot.*

der

der pretence of buſineſs; and after a ſhort conference with him, deſired him to go home and refreſh himſelf. *Uriah*, however, inſtead of viſiting his wife, contented himſelf with ſleeping in the guard-room; and when the king ſeemed to wonder at his behaviour, he replied, it was beneath the bravery of a captain to go and ſolace himſelf at home whilſt his general and fellow-ſoldiers were expoſed to the fatigues of a ſiege. *David*, the next day, tried another expedient, and inviting him to eat at his table, plied him well with wine; but *Uriah*, drunk as he was, ſpending that night alſo with the guards, the diſappointed king reſolved to ſacrifice his life, that he might ſafely gratify his own violent and unlawful paſſion. *Uriah* being ſoon after killed at *Rabbah*, in conſequence of private inſtructions ſent to *Joab* to expoſe him to the fury of the beſieged, *David*, as ſoon as poſſible, made *Bathſheba* his wife; and then joining his army before *Rabbah*, took and deſtroyed the place. *David* continued for ſeveral months, without any remorſe for having committed ſuch horrid crimes; till at length God ſent *Nathan* the prophet to rouze him out of his adulterous lethargy. This prophet, who, as *Joſephus* ſays, was a polite and a prudent man, that knew how to temper the ſeverity of wiſdom with ſweetneſs of manners, accoſted the king with a parable of a wealthy man, who had ſpared his own numerous flocks, and ſeized upon an only favourite lamb of a poor neighbour, to feaſt a traveller that lodged with him. He dreſſed his ſtory with ſuch aggravating circumſtances, that the king in anger pronounced ſentence of death againſt the perſon who had been guilty of ſuch an unnatural violence. He had no ſooner denounced ſentence, than *Nathan* made him ſenſible he had condemned himſelf; and recapitulating God's mercies to him, and contraſting them with his crimes, concluded with denouncing the effects of the Divine reſentment againſt him; that *Uriah*'s murder would prove an endleſs ſource of bloodſhed in his own poſterity, and that his adultery, how private ſoever, ſhould be expiated by the open defilement of his own wives and concubines, by thoſe of his own family, and in the face of the ſun. This terrible ſentence brought *David* to ſuch a deep ſenſe of his guilt, that he could only ſay, *I have ſinned againſt the Lord*: but the ſincere remorſe with which he uttered this, obtained an immediate alleviation of the puniſhment, only the adulterous child was doomed to die. The child born by *Bathſheba* dying according to the denunciation of *Nathan*, *David* again went in unto her, and ſhe conceived and bore a ſon, who was called *Solomon*, and by *Nathan*, *Jedidiah*, or *beloved of the Lord*.

and murder.

Is reproved by *Nathan*.

His repentance.

Not long after *David* began to feel the bitter effects of the Divine anger denounced againſt him by *Nathan*. His eldeſt ſon *Ammon* fell deſperately in love with *Tamar*, the daughter of *David* by another queen, and full ſiſter of *Abſalom*, and pined away with a hopeleſs deſire of obtaining her. At length having communicated the ſecret to *Jonadab* his couſin-german, by his wicked counſel he found means of decoying her into his apartment, under pretence of making ſome cakes for him when he

Ammon's inceſt.

was ſick; and having ſent away all his attendants far enough, he laid hold of her, and in ſpite of all her prayers and remonſtrances, firſt raviſhed her, and when his brutiſh paſſion was ſatisfied, in a ſullen humour cauſed his ſervants to thruſt her out of his houſe. Such repeated barbarity ſo affected her, that ſhe immediately tore her virgin robes, put duſt on her head, and went on crying to the houſe of her brother *Abſalom*, who being no leſs politic than proud and revengeful, adviſed her, in point of prudence, to conceal her grief, as it was her brother and heir apparent to the crown who was her raviſher; and he himſelf ſo artfully concealed his reſentment, that every one believed he had taken no notice of what had happened. *David* indeed expreſſed the utmoſt diſpleaſure againſt *Ammon*; but his tenderneſs prevented him from puniſhing him. *Abſalom* continually kept alive his reſentment; and about two years after, thinking he had a proper opportunity for his deſign, he invited all his brothers to a ſheep-ſhearing feaſt at *Baal-hazor*, his country-

He is murdered by *Abſalom.*

ſeat, where, in the midſt of their feaſting and drinking, his ſervants, by his orders, when he gave the ſignal to them, fell upon *Ammon* and ſlew him. *Abſalom*, dreading his father's reſentment of that barbarous murder, fled to *Geſhur*, where he was entertained by his grandfather *Talmai* three whole years.

David at length beginning to regret the abſence of *Abſalom*, *Joab*, who perceived his inclination, and that he wanted only a plauſible excuſe to ſave his honour, ſent for an artful woman from *Tekoah* near *Jeruſalem*, and inſtructed her to addreſs herſelf to the king, under the perſonage of a diſtreſſed widow whoſe only ſon was going to be put to death for having killed his brother in a fray; ſo that if the king did not interpoſe in his behalf, there would be a total end of her huſband's name and family. When ſhe, by her pathetic expreſſions of grief, had induced the king to a compliance with her feigned petition, ſhe at length gave him to know that the caſe ſhe had been ſtating was *Abſalom*'s; and that if in a private man the king was diſpoſed to be merciful, there was much more reaſon for his par-

Who is reconciled to his father five years after.

doning his own ſon. The king perceiving that *Joab*, who was preſent, had put the woman upon this artifice, ordered him to fetch *Abſalom*; but with this condition, that he ſhould not approach the king's perſon, but retire to his own houſe. At the end of two years more, however, *Abſalom* prevailed with *Joab* to intercede farther for a full pardon, and to introduce him to the king. *Abſalom* at this time was in the bloom of youth, and greatly noted for the exceeding comelineſs of his perſon. Looking upon himſelf now as preſumptive heir of the crown, his ambition revived, and he immediately procured a ſumptuous equipage of chariots, horſes, and running-footmen, to attract the eyes of the people; and by an affected popularity and ſeeming compaſſion for thoſe who came to the king for juſtice, he inſtilled into their minds a bad opinion of his father's government, and made them believe, that if he were in authority, all abuſes would be reformed. By theſe arts and inſinuations having

inſpired

inſpired the people with a general diſaffection to the king, after 40 years, according to the text; but we are rather inclined to think after four years (which is confirmed by the *Syriac* and *Arabic* verſions *) he obtained leave of his father to go and perform a pretended vow in *Hebron*, where he had appointed the chief of his party to meet him, whilſt others, who were diſperſed thro' the tribes, were ordered to proclaim him king upon hearing the ſignal given by the ſound of the trumpet.

The conſpiracy was no ſooner publiſhed, but a general inſurrection followed in favour of *Abſalom*; and *Achitophel*, one of *David*'s chief counſellors, alſo declared for him, in reſentment for the injury done to *Bathſheba*, who is ſuppoſed to have been his grand-daughter. *David* hearing of the ſtrength of the conſpiracy, thought it not ſafe to continue in *Jeruſalem*; but leaving his palace to the care of ten of his concubines, he retired towards *Jordan* with his guards and beſt friends, leaving the city with his head covered, bathed in tears, and his feet bare, whilſt his ſorrowful retinue expreſſed their deep concern for him by the livelieſt expreſſions of real grief. The two high-prieſts followed him with the ark; but he ordered them to return to *Jeruſalem*, and likewiſe deſired his old friend *Huſhai* the *Archite*, who joined him, to remain in the city, and to pretend to eſpouſe the cauſe of *Abſalom*, that he might defeat the counſels of *Achitophel*, and by means of the ſons of the high-prieſts ſend him intelligence of the enemy's deſigns.

And revolt of bels againſt him. Bef. Ch. 1023.

David had ſcarce paſſed over mount *Olivet*, when *Ziba*, whom he had made ſteward to *Mephiboſheth*, brought him ſome neceſſary proviſions; and being aſked where his maſter was, told him that he was then at *Jeruſalem*, vaunting that he would be ſhortly reſtored to the throne of *Iſrael*. The credulous king believing this falſe accuſation, made a haſty grant of all *Mephiboſheth*'s eſtate to his perfidious ſervant. Advancing a little farther to a village called *Bathurim*, one *Shimei*, a deſcendant of *Saul*'s family, came out and threw ſtones at him, and, tho' he was ſurrounded by his guards and all his friends, loaded him with the bittereſt reproaches and execrations. *David*, however, reſtrained *Abiſhai*, one of his captains, from putting him to death, by reminding him of his more unnatural ſon; adding, that if his curſes came from God, patience and reſignation would more effectually avert them than ſuch a bloody reſentment.

Abſalom and his numerous party in the mean time entering *Jeruſalem*, *Huſhai* joined him, and pretending great zeal for his cauſe, was quickly admitted into his greateſt confidence. Having taken poſſeſſion of the palace, he immediately, by the counſel of *Achitophel*, placed a tent on the roof, and lay publicly with his father's concubines, that all the ſoldiers might ſee, and conclude that after ſuch an indignity there could be no hopes of a reconciliation.

* Calmet's Comment. Howel's Hiſt. Joſeph. Antiq. l. 7.

Achitophel next propoſed that he ſhould have leave to march with 12,000 choſen men, that very night, againſt *David* and his little army, and attack them while weary with their flight, promiſing to kill the king, which would directly put an end to the war. This counſel was greatly approved by *Abſalom*, and all the elders of *Iſrael*; but *Huſhai*, foreſeeing that if it were followed, *David* would inevitably be loſt, when his opinion was aſked, gave an oppoſite counſel. He adviſed rather to delay the attempt; for as *David* and his men, he ſaid, were known to be brave, and at that time both exaſperated and deſperate, in caſe the party ſent againſt them ſhould be worſted, this would be a means of diſcouraging others from joining him; whereas if he ſtayed till a numerous army was come together, they might be aſſured of victory. This counſel being preferred by *Abſalom* and the chiefs of the party, *Achitophel*, either taking it amiſs that his advice was ſlighted, or perceiving by *Abſalom*'s weak conduct that his affairs would not probably ſucceed, returned home in diſguſt, and ſettling his family affairs, went and hanged himſelf. *Huſhai* in the mean time informing *David* of his danger, adviſed him inſtantly to paſs the *Jordan*, leſt *Abſalom* ſhould change his mind, and come and fall upon him on a ſudden. *David* accordingly croſſed the *Jordan*, and proceeded to *Mahanaim*, where he found the people well affected to his cauſe, and was plentifully ſupplied with all kinds of proviſions.

Abſalom having tarried at *Jeruſalem*, according to *Huſhai*'s advice, till he had aſſembled a numerous army, gave the chief command to *Amaſa*; and then proceeded over the *Jordan*, and encamped in the land of *Gilead*. Soon after the two armies engaged near the foreſt of *Ephraim*, and, after an obſtinate diſpute, the rebels were diſcomfited, with the loſs of 20,000 men; and *Abſalom* flying into the wood, his buſhy hair was entangled in the thick boughs of an oak, ſo that his mule running from under him, left him ſuſpended between heaven and earth. *Joab* being informed of this accident, notwithſtanding *David*, who continued at *Mahanaim*, had given a ſtrict charge to be very careful of his ſon's life, he went and thruſt three darts thro' his body; and then cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, to prevent a farther effuſion of blood. Upon the news of *Abſalom*'s death, the rebels immediately diſperſed. *David* in the mean time waiting at *Mahanaim*, impatient to hear the ſucceſs of the action, was no ſooner informed of his ſon's death, than, not able to ſuppreſs his tears, he withdrew to the apartment over the gate, and gave a full vent to his grief; and the army hearing of his diſtreſs, ſtole ſilently into the city, as if they had done amiſs, and had been ſhamefully defeated.

The rebels defeated, and *Abſalom* ſlain.

Joab perceiving the bad conſequences of the king's untimely grief, went and upbraided him, in very inſolent terms, for not returning thanks to his friends, who had ſaved his life at the hazard of their own; and prevailed upon him to appear in public, to receive the congratulations of his army and of the people, who being now ſenſible of the folly of their rebellion, ſtrove who ſhould be moſt forward for his reſtoration. The

tribe

tribe of *Judah*, however, not being ſo zealous as he expected, he deſired the two high-prieſts to chide them for their backwardneſs, and to promiſe *Amaſa*, *Abſalom*'s general, that if he would come over to him, he ſhould be his chief general, in the room of *Joab*, whoſe inſolence began to be inſufferable.

David ſeeing all things conſpire to his reſtoration, proceeded to the *Jordan*, and was received by the tribe of *Judah* at *Gilgal*. *Shimei* alſo came hither at the head of 1000 *Benjamites*, and falling proſtrate at the king's feet, begged he would pardon his former inſolence. *David*, unwilling to eclipſe the public joy with the blood of any one, generouſly confirmed his pardon with an oath. Being accompanied over *Jordan* by his old friend *Barzillai*, who had ſupplied him with proviſions when at *Mahanaim*, he preſſed him to go and ſpend the reſt of his days with him at *Jeruſalem*. But the good old man excuſing himſelf on account of his age, which had rendered him incapable of taſting the pleaſures of a court, deſired him to beſtow his favours on his ſon *Chimham*; which requeſt was readily granted.

Before the king arrived at *Jeruſalem*, a rupture happened betwixt the tribe of *Judah* and the other tribes, who complained that before they had leiſure to aſſemble fully, the men of *Judah* had undertaken to conduct the king. *David* ſhewing ſome partiality to his own tribe, and the others, after ſome warm remonſtrances, thinking themſelves highly injured, *Sheba*, a factious fellow of the tribe of *Benjamin*, took occaſion to blow the trumpet, and to gather all the maleçontents about him. A new revolt againſt the king.

David in the mean time being conducted by his own tribe to *Jeruſalem*, immediately conſulted about ſuppreſſing this new revolt. He ordered *Amaſa*, whom he declared his general, to aſſemble what forces he could out of *Judah*, with the greateſt diſpatch. *Amaſa*, however, meeting with greater difficulty than was expected, the king gave the command of his guards, and of thoſe few troops he had about him, to *Abiſhai*, *Joab*'s brother, another of his generals, and ordered him to march in queſt of *Sheba*. *Joab*, who ſeems to have been in high diſgrace, went along with his brother, without any order; and *Amaſa* having joined them at *Gibeon*, he advanced, with all ſeeming friendlineſs, to ſalute him; but treacherouſly ſtabbed him with his ſword. Leaving him to wallow in his blood, he proclaimed himſelf general in chief; and taking the army with him, purſued after *Sheba*, whom he ſoon after beſieged in *Abel*, a city of the tribe of *Naphtali*. The rebel's head being thrown over the wall by the citizens, he returned to *Jeruſalem*, with the honour of having quaſhed a dangerous revolt, and reſtored univerſal peace to the kingdom. Having again raiſed his credit by this eminent ſervice, the king found himſelf obliged to expreſs his approbation of it, by reſtoring him to his former poſt, which he enjoyed during the remaining part of that reign. Which is quelled upon the death of *Sheba* the chief.

Two years after this, a famine happening in the land for three years together, *David* conſulted the Lord concerning the cauſe of it; and was anſwered, that it was for the murder of A famine in the land.

the

the *Gibeonites*, whom *Saul* and his bloody houſe had cauſed to b ſlain. He then ſent to the *Gibeonites*, to know what ſatisfactio they deſired: and when he was told they wanted ſeven male of *Saul*'s family to be delivered to them, and to be put to deat by them, he complied with their demand; but ſpared *Mephi boſheth*, who, upon his return to *Jeruſalem*, after the rebellio of *Abſalom*, had juſtified himſelf from the baſe aſperſions of hi treacherous ſervant. As ſoon as the deſcendants of *Saul* wer executed, the nation was bleſſed with plenty. The *Philiſtines* after this, venturing to appear in arms againſt him, were de feated in four ſucceſſive battles, as we have related in thei hiſtory.

David numbers the people. Bef. Ch. 1017.

David had not long enjoyed the fruit of theſe victories, be fore he brought a heavy judgment upon his kingdom, by de ſiring to know the number of his ſubjects. The text ſays, that the *Iſraelites* had provoked God's anger againſt them, and that therefore *David* was tempted to number them. What was his tranſgreſſion is uncertain; for the numbering of the people is expreſsly allowed by the law of *Moſes*, provided half a ſhekel were paid for every perſon numbered. *David*, perhaps, did it from wrong motives, without any neceſſity, in time of pro found peace, with a ſeeming confidence in his own ſtrength, and contrary to his continual profeſſions of truſting in God alone. Something or other in the propoſal was certainly irre gular; for *Joab* remonſtrated againſt it with great earneſtneſs: and when the king perſiſted in his reſolution, went about the work with a very unwilling mind, tho' in other caſes not very ſcrupulous. At the end of nine months and twenty days, he and the other commiſſioners returned with the muſter-roll, by which it appeared that in *Iſrael* there were 800,000 men fit to bear arms, and 500,000 in *Judah*; but of the men that be longed to the tribes of *Levi* and *Benjamin* there was no liſt given in. *David*, before that could be taken, had probably felt ſome evident tokens of the Divine diſpleaſure; and on *Joab*'s return was ſtruck with a lively ſenſe of his folly, which broke out in expreſſions of the deepeſt remorſe. On the next morning the prophet *Gad* was ſent to him to chuſe, as a puniſhment for his ſin, either a three years famine, or, according to the book of *Chronicles*, a ſeven years famine, including probably the three years on account of the *Gibeonites* and the intermediate year, or to be three months purſued by his enemies, or to ſuffer a three days peſtilence. *David* choſe the three days peſtilence as the more equal puniſhment and more immediately under the direc tion of Heaven: and no ſooner had he made the diſmal choice, than that dreadful diſtemper received the Divine commiſſion, and executed it with ſuch amazing ſwiftneſs, that it had de ſtroyed 70,000 men before its time was expired. But when it was going to fall upon *Jeruſalem*, God was pleaſed to put a ſtop to it, at the prayer of *David*, who beholding the miniſter of Divine vengeance ſtanding over the threſhing-floor of *Araunah* a prince of the *Jebuſites*, humbly intreated that God would ſpare

Which brings a peſtilence on the land.

ſpare the innocent people, what vengeance ſoever might light upon him, who was chiefly guilty. As he was expecting ſome heavy ſtroke, the prophet came to him, and commanded him to erect an altar on that ſpot of ground over which he had ſeen the angel. This he immediately performed; and having purchaſed the place, and ſome oxen for ſacrifice, for 50 ſhekels of ſilver, he offered burnt offerings and peace offerings, God declaring his acceptance of them and his reconciliation, by a miraculous fire which deſcended from heaven. The book of *Chronicles* ſeems here again to claſh with that of *Samuel*, in ſaying that *David* paid to *Araunah* 600 ſhekels of gold. To reconcile the difference, it is ſuppoſed there was a ſecond bargain, and that this laſt price was paid for the whole mountain of *Moriah*, which he had then made choice of to build the temple upon *.

David ſoon after arriving at his 70th year, found his ſtrength and natural heat ſo exhauſted by a continual ſeries of wars, fatigues, and misfortunes, that no clothes could keep him warm; ſo that his ſervants were forced to ſeek out a young beautiful virgin to cheriſh him and lie in his boſom. His eldeſt ſon *Adonijah*'s conſpiracy. *Adonijah*, who was born next after *Abſalom*, obſerving his declining ſtate, began to entertain thoughts of making himſelf king, preſuming that his father either could not or would not obſtruct him. He provided a ſumptuous equipage of chariots, guards, and running-footmen; and having gained *Joab* the general of the forces, and *Abiathar* one of the high-prieſts, over to his party, he invited all the king's ſons, except *Solomon*, and almoſt all the great officers of the court, to a ſumptuous entertainment at *Enrogel*, when the deſign was formed to proclaim him king. *Nathan* the prophet ſuſpecting their purpoſe, went directly to *Bathſheba*, and urged her to go and put the king in mind of his promiſe in favour of her ſon and his pupil *Solomon*. Whilſt ſhe was ſtill ſpeaking, *Nathan*, as had been before agreed, came in and gave the king an account of *Adonijah*'s feaſt and intention. *David* ſurprized with this report, ordered *Solomon* immediately to be ſet on his mule and to be carried to *Gihon*, accompanied with his guards, with *Zadok*, *Benaiah*, and ſome others of his chief officers, there to be anointed king, then to be brought back, ſeated upon the royal throne, and there proclaimed his ſucceſſor by the ſound of the trumpet. The king's command was executed with ſuch ſpeed, that *Adonijah* and his company had not the leaſt notice of it till they were alarmed with the univerſal ſhouts of, *Long live king* Solomon. While they were at a loſs to account for the noiſe, *Jonathan* the ſon of *Abiathar* came and informed them, that *Solomon*, by *David*'s expreſs order, was anointed king; which news ſtruck them with ſuch amazement, that they all fled with the utmoſt ſpeed; and *Adonijah*, ſeeing himſelf forſaken, went and took ſanctuary at the horns *Solomon* proclaimed.

* Patrick's Comment. Eſſay on a new tranſl.

of

of the altar. *Solomon*, however, pardoned him; but assured him his next disloyal attempt would certainly be punished with death.

David now finding himself near his end, ordered all the princes of *Israel* and *Judah*, and all the officers of his court and army, with the priests and *Levites*, to attend him; and in a solemn oration put them in mind of God's goodness to him, and of his designation of *Solomon* to succeed in his throne, and to build him a temple. He then told them that he had made great preparations for that edifice, and had laid up immense quantities of gold, silver, copper, iron, and other materials (A); all which, together with the plans and models of the building, the order and disposition of the several branches of the Divine service, the courses of the priests and *Levites*, of the musicians, singers, and porters, the plan for establishing judges and courts of justice, with many other religious, civil, and military regulations, he now resigned up to him, to be perfected and improved as his own wisdom should direct him. In this assembly *Solomon* was again anointed in a more public manner, and solemnly acknowleged by all the tribes, *Zadok* at the same time being declared sole high-priest. The king, not long after this, sent for *Solomon*, and gave him his last instructions. *David* soon after died, in the 70th year of his age, after having reigned seven years in *Hebron* over the house of *Judah*, and 33 over all the twelve tribes. He left an immense treasure behind him, besides that which he had dedicated to the service of the temple, and was buried in a magnificent tomb in that part of *Jerusalem* which was called by his name.

David dies. Bef. Ch. 1015.

Solomon was hardly seated on the throne of his father when *Adonijah*, whether from youthful indiscretion, or an ambitious view, is uncertain, desired *Abishag*, the late king's concubine, in marriage. The king, however, was so far from granting his request, that looking upon it as an avowed design to renew his pretensions to the crown, he caused him immediately to be put to death. *Abiathar* and *Joab* seem to have been the advisers of *Adonijah*: *Solomon*, therefore, divested *Abiathar* of his share in the priesthood, and banished him to *Anathoth*, and caused *Joab* to be put to death, even at the altar, whither he had fled for

Solomon causes *Adonijah* and *Joab* to be put to death.

(A) *David* is said to have presented 7000 talents of silver, and 3000 talents of gold of *Ophir*; from whence dean *Prideaux* conjectures that *David* must have established a navigation to that country to have got so much gold of that kind, as the gold procured by the spoils made a separate article. He likewise supposes that the talents by which the sum was reckoned were of much less value than the *Mosaic* talents; for what was given by *David* and the people for the building, if computed by these last talents, would exceed the value of eight hundred millions of our money, which was sufficient to have built all that temple of solid silver. *Prid. Connect.* b. i.

sanctuary.

nctuary. He next ſent for *Shimei*, and confined him to *Je-*
ſalem as a priſoner at large, but with a ſtrict injunction not
o move out of the place upon pain of death. The old man
hanked the king for his unexpected clemency; but venturing
me years after to tranſgreſs his orders, and to ride out
fter two run-away ſervants, he was put to death for it at his
eturn.

Having thus ſecured his kingdom at home by cutting off
he heads of the faction that was againſt him, he ſtrengthened
is intereſt abroad by marrying the daughter of the king of
Egypt, who gave her for dower the city of *Gezer* which he had
aken from the *Canaanites*, which being then in ruins, *Solomon*
auſed it to be rebuilt. The young king, who is generally ſup-
poſed to have been educated by *Nathan*, began his reign with
a deep ſenſe of religion, and ſoon after his marriage went to
Gibeon, where he offered 1000 ſacrifices in acknowledgment of
God's goodneſs to him. The following night the Lord ap- His choice
pearing to him in a dream, and promiſing to grant him what- of wiſdom.
ever he ſhould aſk, the young monarch, conſcious of his ten-
der years, begged only for ſuch a degree of wiſdom, as might
enable him to govern with that prudence and ſagacity as be-
came a king of *Iſrael*; which modeſt requeſt was ſo pleaſing
to God, that he promiſed to give him ſuch a ſhare of wiſdom
and knowlege as had never been poſſeſſed by any mortal; be-
ſides ſuch wealth, honour, and other earthly bleſſings as he had
ſo judiciouſly overlooked. It was not long before he gave his
people a proof of his excellent wiſdom in the method he took
to paſs a right judgment between two women, each contend-
ing to be the mother of a living child, and diſclaiming a dead
one with ſuch equal ardour, that it was thought impoſſible to
adjudge the infants to their right mothers. As there was no evi-
dence to direct the judgment, he found an expedient to make
nature determine the diſpute; for by ordering the living child
to be divided by a ſword between the contending mothers,
the real one was ſo alarmed, that ſhe earneſtly entreated the
king to ſave the infant and give it to her adverſary, while the
other very unconcernedly agreed to the propoſal for butchering
it. His juſt and extraordinary deciſion of this difficult matter
raiſed his reputation through all his dominions, and cauſed
him to be reſpected and revered by all his ſubjects; though ac-
cording to the learned archbiſhop *Uſher*, he was at this time
only 20 years of age.

He rendered himſelf no leſs conſpicuous by the choice he His mag-
made of his officers, by the order and magnificence of his court, nificence.
the proviſions for his houſe, the number and richneſs of his
tables, chariots, horſes, ſtalls, and equipage, by the ſettling of
his cuſtoms and finances, and the regulating of his guards
and his army, which added to the vaſt number of his ſubjects
and his immenſe riches, gave him ſuch a powerful ſway, that
he lived in the profoundeſt peace, plenty, and grandeur of any
prince of his time. All the neighbouring nations either were
his

his friends or allies, or paid him tribute. For his excellent wiſdom and magnificence, he was reſorted to from all parts of the world. The continual concourſe of ſtrangers to his metropolis, enriched it to ſuch a degree, that gold and ſilver ſeemed to have loſt their intrinſic value by their extraordinary abundance. The revenue which his navy brought him in, excluſive of his cuſtoms, amounted to 666 talents of gold.

He makes a treaty with *Hiram* king of *Tyre*.

Hiram king of *Tyre*, *David*'s old friend and ally, was the firſt who ſent ambaſſadors to congratulate his acceſſion to the throne. *Solomon* returned the embaſſy, and acquainting him with his deſign of building the temple, deſired him to ſupply him with wood and workmen. *Hiram* very readily complied with his deſire, and in conſideration of his aſſiſtance, *Solomon* agreed to furniſh him yearly with 20,000 meaſures of wheat, and 20,000 meaſures of pure oil for his houſhold, beſides the ſame quantities of barley, wheat, wine and oil which he had engaged to give to his ſervants that were employed in the work. Having thus regulated what regarded the building, they entered into an alliance which continued during their lives.

The building of the temple finiſhed. Bef. Chr. 1004.

Solomon, to carry on the ſtupenduous building with greater eaſe and ſpeed, cauſed an account to be taken of all the *Canaanites* and foreign ſlaves that were in the land, and finding them to amount to 153,600, he appointed 70,000 of them to carry burdens, 80,000 to hew timber and ſtone in the mountains, and the remaining 3600 to be overſeers over them. Of his own ſubjects, he ſent 30,000 to work with the king of *Tyre*'s men in the quarries of *Libanus*, 10,000 by turns every month. An immenſe number of excellent artiſts being employed, he was able to lay the foundations of this vaſt ſtructure in the fourth year of his reign, which was the 480th after the departure of the *Iſraelites* from *Egypt*; and the work was carried on with ſuch prodigious ſpeed, that it was finiſhed in little more than ſeven years (A), in ſuch a rich and ſumptuous manner, as eaſily excelled any thing then extant of that kind; though perhaps not in that magnificent manner in which we have ſeen it repreſented in a vaſt number of plans, which the authors have formed more from the prophetic account of *Ezekiel*, or from *Joſephus*, or the *Jewiſh Rabbies*, than from the meaſures and deſcriptions in the books of Kings and Chronicles. What is ſtill more ſurprizing, all the materials of the temple, whether timber, ſtone, or metal, were ſo prepared and adjuſted before they were brought together, that no other tools were wanted or heard than what were neceſſary to the joining them to each other.

(A) The building of *Diana*'s temple at *Epheſus*, employed all *Aſia* for the ſpace of 200 years; and in erecting one pyramid, no leſs than 360,000 men were taken up for 20 years together. Vid. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 12.

Solomon,

Solomon, to celebrate the dedication of this new temple with greater magnificence, chose to defer it till the next year, which was the jubilee, giving notice to the elders of *Israel*, the princes of the tribes, and the heads of the families, to repair to *Jerusalem* at the time appointed. The ceremony began on the eighth day of the seventh month of the sacred year, and lasted seven days, at the end of which began the feast of the tabernacles, which likewise lasted seven days; so that the vast concourse of people who were invited by the king, and flocked to that solemnity, staid at least fourteen days in *Jerusalem*. On the first day, the priests, preceded by the king and the elders of the people, carried the ark with a pompous procession from the tabernacle which *David* had erected for it to the temple, and deposited it in the most holy place, while others of the priests offered an infinite number of sacrifices in all the places thro' which the ark passed. The tabernacle of the covenant made by *Moses*, the golden candlestick, the altar of incense, and other sacred utensils of the sanctuary, were at this time also brought from *Gibeon* and laid up in the temple, though not used, as *Solomon* had provided others larger and more magnificent. While the priests were depositing the ark in the most holy place, the air rung with the sound of 120 trumpets, and with the voices of the *Levites*, who sang the praises of God, repeating these words at proper stanzas, *Give thanks to the Lord, for he is good, and his mercy endureth for ever*. The priests had no sooner left the holy place, than God took possession, as it were, of his new temple, by filling it with a miraculous cloud, insomuch that the priests could not continue to officiate.

The temple solemnly dedicated.

Solomon, who stood upon a brazen scaffold three cubits high before the altar, observing the miraculous cloud, kneeled down towards the sanctuary, and spreading his hands towards heaven, dedicated the sacred building to God in an elegant and devout prayer which he then made in their hearing, intreating the divine mercy to make it its residence, and to hear the prayers of all, whether *Jews* or gentiles, who upon any occasion, either of public or private calamity, might direct their prayers to him thither. The spacious altar, in the mean time, being covered with proper victims, as soon as his prayer was ended, they were consumed by a miraculous fire, as a token of the divine favour and acceptance. The king then turning to the people, after he had blessed them, gave them a strict charge to be sincere in their duty towards God, to walk in his statutes, and observe his laws. On this occasion there are said to have been sacrificed 22,000 oxen, and 120,000 sheep; but whether all on one day, or during the fourteen days that the people were assembled, is not agreed *.

In the night that followed the dedication, according to the general opinion, though according to others, not till above

* 1 Kings ix. 2 Chron. v. vi. vii. Joseph. l. viii. Patrick's Comment.

fourteen

fourteen years after, God again appeared to *Solomon* in a dream, and declared his acceptance of that ſumptuous edifice, renewed his promiſes to him and his poſterity, provided he and they ſerved him with an upright heart; but if they provoked him by their idolatry and diſobedience, he would cut them off, overturn his kingdom, and deſtroy the temple.

Solomon's palaces.

Solomon having a particular taſte for building, had no ſooner finiſhed and conſecrated the temple, than he cauſed a palace to be built for himſelf with the greateſt magnificence and ſplendor, another for his *Egyptian* queen, and a third that was called *the houſe of the foreſt of Lebanon*, ſuppoſed to be in ſome ſhady place near *Jeruſalem*, where he chiefly choſe to reſide. Theſe were the works of thirteen years; and as *Hiram* had kindly ſupplied him with men, money, and materials, he preſented him with twenty cities in *Galilee*; but the *Tyrian* king refuſing to accept of them, *Solomon* built them anew himſelf, and planted colonies of *Iſraelites* in them. To conclude the account of his buildings: he built the walls of *Jeruſalem*, and a ſenate-houſe in the ſame city call *Millo*. He repaired and fortified *Hazor*, *Megiddo*, the two *Bethhorons*, *Baalah*, *Tadmor* or *Palmyra*, beſides ſeveral other ſtore cities for his chariots and horſes, for his magazines of corn, wine, oil, and other proviſions and ammunition. He reduced the *Syrians* of *Hamath Zobah*, who had preſumed to revolt, and brought under his yoke the remainder of the *Amorites*, *Hittites*, *Perizzites*, *Hivites*, and *Jebuſites*, who ſeem to have remained hitherto unſubdued; and on them he laid all the drudgery and ſervile labour.

His navy.

A large ſupply of wealth being as neceſſary as a multitude of hands to carry on his many expenſive buildings, *Solomon* carefully cultivated the trade to *Ophir*, which his father is ſuppoſed to have begun from *Eloth* and *Eziongeber*, two ports on the *Red* ſea. His fleet being partly manned with expert mariners from *Tyre*, and partly with his own ſubjects, proceeded to *Ophir* (B), and in about three years time brought him back an immenſe weight of gold and ſilver, beſides ſeveral kinds of precious ſtones,

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(B) Authors are not at all agreed where to look for this land of *Ophir*. Some have ſuppoſed it in *America*, ſome on the coaſt of *Africa*, ſome in *Spain*, others in *Armenia*. But if we attend to the circumſtances of the hiſtory, it will appear to have been ſome place in the *Eaſt-Indies*, which is the opinion of *Joſephus*. *Bochart* places it in the iſland of *Ceylon*, others in *Siam* or in the kingdom of *Pegu*, the inhabitants of which pretend to be deſcended from the *Jews* ſent thither by *Solomon*. *Dean Prideaux* thinks *Ophir* lay on the ſouthern coaſt of *Arabia*. The moſt probable conjecture is, that *Ophir* was in ſome of thoſe remote rich countries eaſt from the *Ganges*, and perhaps as far as *China* or *Japan*, which laſt ſtill abounds with the fineſt gold. *Calmet*, *Prideaux*, *Grot. Ar. Montan. Huet. Nat. diſplayed.*

ſpices,

ſpices, ebony and other curious wood, ivory, peacocks, monkeys, and other rarities. The gold itſelf amounted to 450 talents, beſides the profit which he made of all the other commodities. Some of the precious woods the king beſtowed in adorning the galleries about the temple, and in making of a great number of muſical inſtruments for the ſervice of God. His annual revenues were 666 talents of gold, beſides the tributes of the nations that were in ſubjection to him, the ſubſidies which the *Iſraelites* paid, and the ſums ariſing from the merchants for his cuſtoms. The bucklers of his guards were of gold, the ivory throne where he ſat was overlaid with it, and all the utenſils of his palaces and veſſels of his table were of the ſame metal. To ſee the face, and hear the wiſdom of the renowned *Solomon*, was the prevailing ambition of the great men of that age.

Captivated with this deſire, the queen of *Sheba*, or *Arabia*, as is generally ſuppoſed, came to *Jeruſalem*. She brought with her a vaſt number of camels laden with gold, precious ſtones, and ſuch rich ſpices and perfumes as had not till then been known even in *Solomon*'s court; by all which the ſplendidneſs of her equipage and retinue may be gueſſed. Her purpoſe was to try if *Solomon*'s wiſdom was anſwerable to the high commendations ſhe had heard of it, and therefore in diſcourſe ſhe propoſed to him ſeveral hard queſtions; but being amazed with his clear and ſatisfactory ſolutions, ſhe owned herſelf fully convinced, that he was with juſt reaſon eſteemed the wiſeſt prince of his time. Having afterwards viewed the temple, his palaces and gardens, and all the magnificence of his court and capital, ſhe expreſſed her aſtoniſhment in the warmeſt and moſt reſpectful terms, and preſented the king with 120 talents of gold, a great number of precious ſtones and rich perfumes. He, on the other hand, was too generous not to make her ſuitable returns, and diſmiſſed her with the ſtrongeſt proofs of his munificence. He is viſited by the queen of *Sheba*.

Solomon hitherto has appeared in the amiable view of a wiſe, pious, and magnificent prince; but the latter actions of his life do ſadly tarniſh and diſgrace his character. In his declining years, he became ſuch a ſlave to the paſſion of love, that he ventured to marry an amazing multitude of ſtrange women, without diſtinction of nation, country, or religion, and without the leaſt regard to God's expreſs commands to the contrary. The number of his wives amounted to 700, beſides 300 concubines, or wives of the ſecond rank; and his complaiſance for them in his old age went ſo far, that he built altars and temples to all their deities, inſomuch that the neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem*, if not the city itſelf, was filled with idols and temples, and the mount of *Olives*, which was over-againſt it, was defiled with two altars, one to *Chemoſh* the god of *Moab*, and another to *Moloch* god of the *Ammonites*. Such a ſhameful defection being highly diſpleaſing to God, he denounced a heavy judgment againſt him, and told him, that as His ſad apoſtacy.

he had revolted from his worſhip, ſo the greater part of the kingdom ſhould revolt from his ſucceſſor, and put themſelves under the government of one of his ſervants. To make him ſenſible that his judgment began without delay to operate, he raiſed up ſeveral enemies to the diſturbance of his peace, which he had hitherto enjoyed without interruption. The firſt of theſe was *Hadad* the *Edomite*, who returning from *Egypt*, where he had been a refugee ever ſince the time of *David*, made ſeveral attempts to recover his dominions. The ſecond enemy was *Rezon*, a general of one of the kings of *Zobah*, who about this time prevailed upon many of the *Syrians* to revolt and eſtabliſh a new kingdom in *Damaſcus*. But the moſt dangerous enemy of all was *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Nebat*, a bold enterprizing man, whom *Solomon* had made chief ruler over the tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh*, in the carrying on of his works. He was one day told in the fields by the prophet *Ahijah*, that God would give him the ten tribes which were to be rent from *Solomon*'s ſucceſſors. The king having intelligence of this, was thinking to take him into cuſtody; but he made his eſcape, and fled unto *Shiſhak* king of *Egypt*, where he continued during the ſhort remainder of *Solomon*'s life, who having reigned forty years, died about the 58th year of his age, and and death. Bef. Chriſt 975. was buried in the city of *David*, being ſucceeded on the throne by his ſon *Rehoboam*.

Rehoboam ſucceeds to the throne.

Rehoboam, ſoon after his father's death, went to *Shechem*, a city in the tribe of *Ephraim*, where all the chiefs of the people were met together to proclaim him king, *Jeroboam* in the mean time being returned from *Egypt*. As the kingdom had been burdened with ſome heavy taxes during his father's reign, they refuſed to acknowlege him, unleſs he would promiſe them a redreſs of their grievances. The king, inſtead of following the advice of his father's aged counſellors, who adviſed him to ſoothe the people with a gracious anſwer, moſt injudiciouſly took the advice of the young politicians, and thinking that hard words would frighten the people into obedience, on the third day he told them in a haughty tone, that he deſigned to govern them with greater ſeverity than ever his father had done, and if they dared to murmur, he would uſe ſcorpions inſtead of whips to chaſtiſe their inſolence.

Ten tribes revolt from him, and declare *Jeroboam* king.

The people, irritated by this fooliſh anſwer, immediately diſclaimed all further allegiance to the houſe of *David*, and having murdered *Adoram*, the chief treaſurer whom the king had ſent to appeaſe the tumult, ten of the tribes choſe *Jeroboam* for their head. *Judah* and *Benjamin*, however, adhered to *Rehoboam*, and conveyed him with all ſpeed to *Jeruſalem*, to avoid his being inſulted by the revolters. He immediately raiſed an army of 180,000 men to reduce the revolted tribes; but while they were preparing for a battle, they were perſuaded to deſiſt by *Shemaiah* the prophet, who acquainted them that the defection was from God. Both princes, therefore, inſtead of going to war, applied themſelves to ſecure their

respective dominions. *Rehoboam* repaired and fortified fifteen frontier towns, built several strong holds, and erected magazines in several cities. *Jeroboam* enlarged *Shechem* and *Penuel*, and made the former the place of his residence. Being apprehensive that the ten tribes might be reconciled to the house of *David*, if they were permitted to go up three times a year to worship at *Jerusalem* as the law directed, he set up a couple of golden calves, the one at *Dan* and the other at *Bethel*, which were at the two extremities of the kingdom, and to these places he commanded the people to repair for the worship of God. He likewise built some temples and altars in the high places; and because the *Levites* adhered to *Rehoboam*, he made priests to his deities out of the other tribes.

He corrupts the true worship, and introduces the golden calves.

Besides the tribe of *Levi*, which we have observed joined *Rehoboam*, great numbers of the other tribes that abhorred the new idolatry, came to *Jerusalem* and the cities of *Judah*, to serve God according to the law of *Moses*; so that *Rehoboam*, in a little time, saw his subjects as numerous as those of his revolted rival. No sooner, however, did he find himself in a condition to cope with his adversary, than he threw off the mask, and discovered his propensity to idolatry, in which, before he was four years on the throne, he even outdid the revolted *Israelites*. His subjects imitating his example, besides their idolatry, introduced the detestable sin of sodomy, and all the other wickednesses that the antient *Canaanites* had been expelled for. God, for these provocations, stirred up a potent adversary against them, *Shishak* king of *Egypt*, who invading the country with an immense army in the fifth year of *Rehoboam*, took many of the fenced cities of *Judah*, and besieged *Jerusalem*. *Rehoboam* and the inhabitants humbling themselves upon the remonstrances of the prophet *Shemaiah*, God was pleased to mitigate his punishment. *Shishak*, however, took the city, and stripped the temple and the palaces of all their treasure, and carried off all the golden shields and vessels. *Rehoboam* reigned after this twelve years peaceably, except a few skirmishes with the king of *Israel*. He had 18 wives and 60 concubines, and by them 28 sons and 60 daughters. He made his sons, who were grown to maturity in his lifetime, governors of the fenced cities in his kingdom, and appointed *Abijah*, who was the eldest by his favourite wife *Maacah*, to succeed him in his throne.

Rehoboam is succeeded by his son *Abijah*, Bef. Ch. 958.

Abijah, or *Abijam*, was a prince of an active and martial spirit, and therefore resolving to put an end to the long dispute between the two kingdoms of *Judah* and *Israel*, he raised an army of 400,000 men, and marched to the borders of *Ephraim*, where *Jeroboam* met him with an army of double that number. Before the action, *Abijah* mounted a hill, and expostulated with the *Israelites* for their defection from *David*'s family, and upbraided *Jeroboam* with his base extraction and wickedness in introducing a false and idolatrous religion. *Jeroboam*, no ways solicitous to answer him in these points, while he was

who defeats the *Iſraelites*, and takes many cities from *Jeroboam*.

ſpeaking, ordered a part of his army to file round the hill and ſurprize him in the rear. The men of *Judah*, finding themſelves ſurrounded by their enemy, addreſſed themſelves to God, and giving a general ſhout, charged them ſo vigorouſly, that they were ſoon totally routed, and loſt on the ſpot 500,000 men, the greateſt ſlaughter that was ever heard of. *Abijah*, improving his victory, took a great many cities from *Jeroboam*, particularly *Bethel* his capital, and weakened him ſo much, that he could never again appear in the field. *Abijah*, after reigning three years, left his kingdom to his ſon *Aſa*. He is ſaid not to have ſerved God with ſincerity, but to have followed the ſinful ways of his father. He left 22 ſons and 16 daughters by 14 wives.

His ſon *Aſa* ſucceeds him. Bef. Ch. 955. His piety.

Aſa ſucceeded in the twentieth year of *Jeroboam*, who died two years after, and left the kingdom of *Iſrael* to his ſon *Nadab*. *Aſa* was a religious prince; and as the ten firſt years of his reign were bleſſed with peace, he ſpent a great part of that time in purging his kingdom from the heatheniſh abominations which his predeceſſors had introduced into it. So ſincere was his zeal in that good work, that he depoſed his own mother for patronizing idolatry. He broke down their idols, and demoliſhed their altars in all the cities of *Judah*; but he could not by his power and authority divert the people from the high places. His time of peace he alſo employed in fortifying ſeveral cities on the frontiers, and in training up his ſubjects to the art of war, ſo that in a ſhort time he had an army of 580,000 men.

Nadab the ſon of *Jeroboam* ſlain by *Baaſha*, who ſeizes the kingdom.

During theſe proceedings, *Nadab* king of *Iſrael*, after reigning two years, had been treacherouſly ſlain at the ſiege of *Gibbethon*, a fortreſs belonging to the *Philiſtines*, by *Baaſha*, a man of the tribe of *Iſſachar*, who having ſeized upon the kingdom, deſtroyed the whole race of *Jeroboam*, thereby fulfilling a denunciation of a prophet.

While *Aſa* was buſied in promoting the welfare of his ſubjects, his kingdom was invaded by a million of *Cuſhites* or *Arabians*, commanded by *Zerah*. *Aſa* truſting more in God than in his own ſtrength, marched againſt the enemy, and after a ſharp engagement, totally routed them, returning to *Jeruſalem* laden with their ſpoil. Soon after he ſacrificed a conſiderable portion of the ſpoil to God, and at the ſame time ſolemnly engaged with his ſubjects, that whoever ſhould forſake the true worſhip of God, ſhould be put to death.

The fame of the great reformation which he ſtill promoted, and the bleſſings with which God had hitherto diſtinguiſhed his reign, made multitudes flock to him from the revolted tribes; to prevent which defection, and to ſtop the communication between the two kingdoms, *Baaſha* built the fortreſs of *Ramah*. *Baaſha* being at this time in alliance with *Benhadad* of *Syria*, *Aſa* bribed this monarch with all the gold he could find in his own treaſury and in that of the temple, to break his alliance with the king of *Iſrael*, and to invade his territories. The *Syrian* monarch accordingly invading the tribe of *Naphtali*,

Baaſha

Baasha was obliged to desist from his enterprize. *Asa*, however, being reproved by the prophet *Hanani* for not applying to God rather than to the *Syrians*, and threatned by him with troubles the remaining years of his reign, he was so incensed at his boldness, that he cast him into prison. He was likewise at the same time guilty of some cruelties towards others, being, it is likely, rendered morose and peevish by a distemper in his feet, probably the gout. Having, for a considerable time, been afflicted with this distemper, he died in the 41st year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son *Jehoshaphat*.

Asa king of *Judah* dies, and is succeeded by his son *Jehoshaphat*. Bef. Ch. 914.

During the long reign of *Asa*, several changes of the succession happened in the kingdom of *Israel*. *Baasha* neglecting to make any reformation of religion in his dominions, God by one of his prophets declared, that he would utterly cut off his posterity. He died after he had reigned 24 years, and left the kingdom to his son *Elah*, who in the second year of his reign was murdered while he was carousing in his steward's house by *Zimri*, the commander of his chariots, who seized the kingdom. The army which was then besieging *Gibbethon* of the *Philistines*, hearing of this detestable murder, immediately declared their general *Omri* king, and went and besieged *Zimri* in *Terzah*, who despairing of any quarter from the enemy, set fire to the royal palace and burnt himself in it, having reigned only seven days, during which time, however, he had destroyed the whole race of *Baasha*.

Baasha succeeded by *Elah*, who is murdered by *Zimri*.

Upon the death of *Zimri*, *Omri* was not acknowledged by all the revolted tribes, but one half of them chose *Tibni* the son of *Ginath*, who for four years maintained himself against his competitor. At length his party being weakened, and himself slain, *Omri* reigned unrivalled. During the first six years of his reign, he built the city of *Samaria* upon a hill of that name, and made it the metropolis of his kingdom, where he reigned other six years, and *did worse than all that were before him*.

Zimri is succeeded by *Omri*.

He was succeeded by his son *Ahab*, who is said to have begun his reign three years before *Asa*'s death; which makes it probable that there is an error in the chronology of his father's reign, or that he was partner with him in the throne for some years. *Ahab* was one of the most wicked princes that ever sat upon the throne of *Israel*. He not only continued the worship of calves, but having married *Jezebel* the daughter of *Ethbaal* king of *Zidon*, he suffered her to introduce the worship of the *Zidonian* deities, which consisted in human sacrifices, and in the most abominable ceremonies. Having countenanced her idolatry himself, his example soon spread the infection thro' the whole kingdom. *Elijah* the *Tishbite*, an inhabitant of *Gilead*, grieved to see such a general apostacy, prayed earnestly to God to shew some token of his displeasure against so wicked a people; and accordingly, in a short time, he was sent to *Ahab* to assure him, that God would bring a sore famine upon the land for want of rain, which should continue above three whole years.

Ahab king of *Israel*. Bef. Ch. 918. His wicked reign.

Jehoſhaphat king of *Judah* for his piety is bleſſed by God.

While the *Iſraelites* were thus abandoning themſelves to the groſſeſt idolatry, *Jehoſhaphat*, in the fourth year of *Ahab*, ſucceeded his father *Aſa*, being then 35 years old. He was ſo aſſiduous and zealous in promoting the true worſhip of God in his kingdom, that it drew upon him and his people the greateſt proſperity and ſucceſs. Having pulled down all the monuments of idolatry which his father had not been able to abeliſh, he ſent itinerant prieſts and *Levites* thro' all his dominions to inſtruct the people in the law. The moſt conſiderable places of the land being ſtrongly fortified by him, and his army conſiſting of no leſs than 1,100,000 men, none of his enemies dared to moleſt him, and the *Philiſtines* and *Arabians* even voluntarily brought him tribute.

A ſore famine in *Iſrael.*

The *Iſraelites*, in the mean time, ſuffered the dreadful effects of their impiety; but while they were afflicted with the ſore famine, *Elijah* was miraculouſly ſupported by God. For a whole year he was fed by the ravens, which brought him bread and fleſh twice every day; and two years more he lived at *Sarepta* with a poor widow, whoſe ſmall ſtore of flour and oil was miraculouſly ſupplied during all that time. He at length appeared before *Ahab*, and after reproaching him for his idolatry, deſired that all *Iſrael* might be aſſembled at mount *Carmel* with all the prieſts of *Baal* whom *Jezebel* maintained. *Ahab*, upon the firſt interview, had upbraided the prophet as the cauſe of the calamity; but probably being ſenſible that he only could remove their diſtreſſes, ordered the people and the idolatrous prieſts to attend at *Carmel*. *Elijah* having reproved the people for halting between two opinions, propoſed to them to determine by an experiment which was the true God; namely, that the prieſts of *Baal* ſhould offer a bullock to their god, and he would offer another to the God of *Iſrael*, and that the deity whoſe ſacrifice ſhould be conſumed by a miraculous fire, ſhould be acknowledged as the only true God. The prieſts of *Baal* accordingly began and laid their ſacrifice upon the wood of the altar, and called upon *Baal* from morning till afternoon, cutting themſelves till the blood ran down upon the ground; but all to no purpoſe. *Elijah* then deſiring the people to draw near, erected an altar of twelve ſtones, and laying the wood and the bullock upon it, poured a great quantity of water three times on the ſacrifice. Then addreſſing himſelf to God, with a loud voice begged of him that he would ſhew himſelf to the whole people to be the only true God; upon which a fire fell down from heaven, which conſumed the victim, wood and altar. The people, aſtoniſhed at the miracle, fell upon their faces, and cried out, *the Lord is the only God.* The prieſts of *Baal* were then all ſeized by the people, and put to death at the brook *Kiſhon*. *Elijah* declaring that rain would immediately follow, *Ahab* returned to *Jezreel*, the prophet running all the way before him: but *Jezebel*, in reſentment for the loſs of her prieſts, threatning to put him to death, he withdrew to *Beerſheba*, and afterwards to the wilderneſs.

Elijah's zeal againſt *Baal.*

Not

Not many years after *Ahab* was beſieged in *Samaria* by *Benhadad* king of *Syria*; but as that proud inſolent monarch inſulted the God of *Iſrael*, a prophet encouraged *Ahab* to attack him with a handful of men, and aſſured him of a victory; which accordingly came to paſs. *Benhadad*, to retrieve his credit, again entered *Ahab*'s dominions, but was defeated with a moſt terrible ſlaughter; and being cooped up in *Aphek*, was obliged to beg for peace. *Ahab* moſt inconſiderately agreed to all the terms he propoſed, made an alliance with him, and diſmiſſed him honourably; which was ſo diſpleaſing to God, that he ſent a prophet who reproached *Ahab* for what he had done, and told him, that his life ſhould pay for that of his priſoner. *Ahab*'s victory over the *Syrians*.

The king was ſomewhat alarmed at this threatning ſpeech, but inſtead of reſolving upon any reformation, ſoon added another offence to his great crime. *Naboth*, an inhabitant of *Jezreel*, refuſing, at his requeſt, to part with his vineyard, which was his paternal inheritance, *Ahab* returned ſullen and diſcontented to his palace, and taking to his bed, refuſed to eat his meat. *Jezebel* quickly fell upon a moſt wicked expedient to procure the vineyard, and by letters written in the king's name to the elders of *Jezreel*, cauſed *Naboth* to be ſtoned to death upon a falſe accuſation of having blaſphemed God and the king. His eſtate being confiſcated on account of his treaſon, *Ahab* went and took poſſeſſion of the ground: his ſatisfaction, however, was ſoon blaſted by the denounciations of the prophet *Elijah*, who told him, that for this murder, dogs ſhould lick his blood where they licked that of *Naboth*; that *Jezebel* ſhould be devoured by dogs, and all his poſterity cut off. Upon his immediate humiliation and repentance, God was graciouſly pleaſed to ſuſpend the calamities which he threatned till after his death. *Naboth* murdered.

Jehoſhaphat, all this while, had enjoyed a profound peace, and ſpent his time partly in ſtrengthning his kingdom, advancing his naval trade, and partly in making all the proper regulations for the utter aboliſhing of idolatry and promoting the worſhip of God. He is blamed only for two things, his not totally demoliſhing the high places, and ſuffering his ſon *Jehoram* to marry *Athaliah* the daughter of *Ahab*, with whom he alſo entered into an alliance. Having viſited *Ahab* at *Samaria*, he conſented to join him in an expedition againſt the *Syrians*, who had refuſed, according to a late treaty, to deliver up *Ramoth Gilead*. Four hundred prophets being conſulted on this occaſion, they one and all aſſured him that he would come off victorious: their unanimity, however, rendering them ſuſpected to *Jehoſhaphat*, at his deſire *Micaiah*, a true prophet, was brought, who was extremely odious to the king on account of his ſtrict and conſtant adherence to truth. *Micaiah* told him, that his intended enterprize ſhould prove fatal to him and to all *Iſrael*, therefore he adviſed him to deſiſt. *Ahab*, contrary to this warning, preſumed to take the field, *Ahab*'s expedition againſt *Ramath*.

His ill success and death. Bef. Ch. 897.

where his army was defeated and himself mortally wounded, as we have elsewhere related. His corpse was buried in the royal sepulchre at *Samaria*, and his bloody armour, chariot, and harness being brought to a pool in that place to be washed, the dogs licked his blood, thereby verifying *Elijah*'s prophecy.

Tho' *Jehoshaphat* escaped and returned in peace to *Jerusalem*, yet in his way thither the prophet *Jehu* met him, and reproved him in the severest terms for entering into a confederacy with the impious king of *Israel*. The king becoming sensible of his error, endeavoured to retrieve it by a more assiduous application to every thing that related either to religion or the good of his kingdom.

His son *Ahaziah* dies, Bef. Christ 896.

Ahaziah the son of *Ahab*, in the mean time, in the second year of his reign, being greatly bruized by a fall thro' a grate in his upper chamber, sent messengers to consult *Baalzebub*, the god of *Ekron*, about his recovery. The prophet *Elijah*, however, turned back the messengers with this answer, that since he had sent to the god of *Ekron*, as if there had been none in *Israel* worth consulting, he should certainly die, which accordingly came to pass a short time after.

and is succeeded by *Jehoram*.

Jehoram, the brother of *Ahaziah*, succeeded him on the throne, and in the beginning of his reign assembled an army to reduce the *Moabites*, who had revolted from *Israel* upon the death of *Ahab*. *Jehoshaphat*, with the tributary king of *Edom*, assisted him in this war; and it was well for *Jehoram* that he had so good a prince with him; for when the army was ready to perish with thirst, *Elisha*, for the sake of *Jehoshaphat*, procured a miraculous supply of water, which at once refreshed the confederate army, and by its red appearance to the *Moabites* next morning, so confounded them, that *Israel* gained a compleat victory over them, as we have elsewhere related.

Judah invaded.

Jehoshaphat, not many years after, again experienced the favour of God, when the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, with a mixed multitude of other nations, had invaded his kingdom, and suddenly advanced as far as *Engedi*, within 36 miles of his capital. In this extremity the pious king proclaimed a strict and general fast, and imploring the divine assistance at the head of the people assembled at *Jerusalem*, he was assured by a prophet, that God would speedily deliver him from those invaders in such an extraordinary manner, that he should have nothing to do but seize upon their spoil. Accordingly the king next morning went against them with a small army; but when he came within sight of the enemy's camp, he observed them all lying dead on the ground, God before his approach having so confounded them, that they had slaughtered one another. His troops having employed themselves three days in carrying off their spoil, assembled afterwards in a valley, where they returned thanks to Heaven for their victory, and marched back to *Jerusalem* at the sound of musical instruments accompanied with canticles sung by the *Levites*.

The enemy cut off in a miraculous manner.

For the remainder of his reign he met with no moleſtation. One loſs, however, he had towards the concluſion of his reign, in joining with *Ahaziah* to fit out a fleet in *Ezion-geber* for *Tarſhiſh*; on which account the fleet, according to the prediction of the prophet, was daſhed to pieces. Being ſenſible of his error, he ſuffered *Ahaziah* to have no concern in his next fleet. He died in the 60th year of his age, after he had reigned 25 years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Jehoram*, whom he ſeems to have aſſociated with himſelf in the government ſome years before, diſpoſing his other ſons into ſeveral cities of *Judah* under proper tutors.

Jehoram being probably corrupted by his wife *Athaliah* the daughter of *Ahab*, no ſooner ſaw himſelf alone upon the throne, than he began to undo all that his pious father had done. He ſignalized the beginning of his reign with the murder of his ſix brothers, and of ſeveral chief men of his kingdom who he thought adhered to their party, or were likely to revenge their deaths. After this, being wholly influenced by his queen, he gave himſelf up to idolatry, and eſtabliſhed the worſhip of *Baal*, which the wicked king of *Iſrael* even began to diſcountenance. For theſe crimes he was ſeverely reproved by a letter ſent him by the prophet *Elijah* a little before he was taken up into Heaven; the prophet foretelling him likewiſe, among many other evils, the almoſt total extirpation of his poſterity, and his own death by an incurable diſeaſe in his bowels. The *Edomites* obſerving his diſorderly and weak government, threw off the yoke, and ſet up a king of their own, as we have ſeen elſewhere; and in ſo doing they verified the prophecy of *Iſaac*, that *Eſau*'s poſterity ſhould in time ſhake off the yoke of *Jacob*. *Libnah*, on the frontiers of *Judah*, revolted probably to the *Edomites* their neighbours. His kingdom was preſently invaded by the *Arabians* and *Philiſtines*, who penetrated even to *Jeruſalem*, and carried off all the riches of that metropolis, together with the king's wives and all his ſons, except only *Jehoahaz* the youngeſt, who lived to be his ſucceſſor. *Jehoram* was ſoon after ſeized with an incurable diſeaſe in his belly, which laſted two years, and weakened him to ſuch a degree, that his bowels came out, and he died with extremity of pain. He reigned eight years, four with his father and four by himſelf.

Jehoram the ſon of *Jehoſhaphat* ſucceeds his father. Bef. Chriſt 889. *Judah* and *Iſrael* immerſed in idolatry.

Jehoram king of *Iſrael*, in the mean time, was continually threatned by his powerful neighbour *Benhadad* king of *Syria*; but all his ſecret attempts were diſcovered by *Eliſha* the prophet. *Benhadad* at length came up, not by ambuſhes and ſtratagems as formerly, but with a numerous hoſt, and laying cloſe ſiege to *Samaria*, reduced the city to ſuch diſtreſs, that an aſs's head was ſold for 80 pieces of ſilver, and a ſmall meaſure of dove's dung, according to our tranſlation, but according to *Bochart*, of a kind of peas very common in thoſe countries, for five pieces. Nay, to that extremity was the famine come, that even mothers were conſtrained to eat their own children; *Samaria* beſieged by the *Syrians*.

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which when the king underſtood, in a fit of rage he vowed to be revenged of *Eliſha*, whom he took to be the cauſe of all the calamity. The king accordingly having ſent an officer to take off his head, followed hard after him, and entered the prophet's houſe before the officer was allowed to come in. The prophet, after repreſenting to the king the unreaſonableneſs of puniſhing an innocent perſon for a calamity which was ſent from above, deſired him to have but patience till next day, by which time there would be ſuch a ſupply of proviſion in *Samaria*, that a buſhel of fine flour ſhould be ſold for a ſhekel of ſilver, and the reſt in proportion. This accordingly came to paſs; for that very night four lepers who had been ſhut out of the city, ventured in deſpair to go to the *Syrian* camp either to get ſome food, or to meet a ſpeedier death than that of ſtarving. To their great joy and ſurprize they found the enemy gone, and their tents, proviſions and baggage all left behind them. Having ſatisfied their hunger with what they found at hand, they haſted back to the city, and communicated the news to the famiſhed *Samaritans*. The king at firſt thinking the *Syrians* had only laid a ſtratagem to deceive him, ſent out two horſemen to view the country, who found no enemy as far as the *Jordan*, they having really fled, imagining from an extraordinary noiſe of chariots, horſes, and armour, which they then heard, that the kings of *Egypt* and other neighbouring nations, had come to the aſſiſtance of the beſieged. Having left every thing behind them, and not even ſtopped to untie their horſes and aſſes, the city was ſoon ſupplied from their camp with all manner of proviſions, which were ſold at the gate of *Samaria* at the rate foretold by *Eliſha*. A nobleman, a favourite of the king, being appointed to ſtand at the gate to prevent diſorders, was there trod to death, the prophet having told him, that for preſuming to doubt of the truth of his prediction, he ſhould ſee the plenty, but not taſte of it.

The ſiege raiſed in a miraculous manner.

Ramoth again beſieged by *Jeboram.*

Benhadad being ſoon after murdered by *Hazael*, one of his officers, who invaded the throne, *Jehoram* thought the opportunity favourable for recovering *Ramoth Gilead* from the *Syrians*, and prevailed with *Ahaziah*, the young king of *Judah*, to accompany him. *Ahaziah*, or *Jehoahaz*, was then only 22 years of age, and being wholly conducted by his mother *Athaliah* and ſuch counſellors as ſhe pleaſed to appoint, followed all the wicked courſes of his father, and made no difficulty of entering into an alliance with the king of *Iſrael*, who being wounded at the ſiege of *Ramoth Gilead*, was forced to leave the command of his army to *Jehu*, and to return to *Jezreel* to be cured.

Jehu is anointed king,

Jehu, in the mean time, being privately anointed by a prophet ſent to him by *Eliſha*, and ordered to extirpate the whole race of *Ahab*, acquainted his fellow officers, at their requeſt, with the ſecret, who immediately paid him homage, and proclaimed him king of *Iſrael* by ſound of trumpet. *Jehu*, with a

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good body of forces, marched directly to *Jezreel* to surprize *Jehoram*, who being then not quite recovered, was visited by *Ahaziah* king of *Judah*. The two kings being informed of *Jehu*'s approach, went out in a chariot to meet him; but finding by his threats that he did not come as a friend, they endeavoured to escape. Their endeavours, however, were in vain; for *Jehu* instantly pierced *Jehoram*'s heart with an arrow, and ordered his body to be thrown into *Naboth*'s vineyard, which was near at hand; and some of his party pursuing *Ahaziah* king of *Judah* gave him several mortal wounds, of which he died at *Megiddo*, and was carried to *Jerusalem* and buried with his ancestors, having reigned one year, and leaving only one son, an infant, who afterwards succeeded him. Bef. Christ 884.

While *Jehu*'s men went in pursuit of *Ahaziah*, he himself marched directly to *Jezreel*, where *Jezebel* resolving to keep up her grandeur to the last, painted and dressed herself in her royal robes, and looking out of her window, upbraided him with his treachery as he passed by, and reminded him of the unhappy fate of *Zimri*, who slew his king and master. *Jehu*, without making her any answer, called to somebody to throw her out of the window; which her own eunuchs did. By her fall her blood stained the walls of the palace, and when she was upon the pavement the horses trampled her under foot, and the dogs devoured her body, insomuch that when *Jehu*, in consideration of her quality, after he had refreshed himself, ordered some of his servants to go and bury her, they found nothing of her remaining but her skull, feet, and the palms of her hands, so punctually was the prophet's prediction concerning her fulfilled. *Jezebel* killed.

Having thus settled himself in quiet possession of *Jezreel*, *Jehu* sent a letter to the nobles and other great men who were at *Samaria*, and had the care of the princes of the blood, desiring them, if they thought it safe and proper to oppose him, to declare one of the princes their king. They, terrified at his impetuous disposition, returned a most submissive answer, and declared that they were ready to execute his commands; which as soon as he knew, he sent them an order to put all the young princes, who were no less than 70, to death, and to send him their heads. In this likewise being punctually obeyed, he proceeded, without any farther delay, to extirpate every one that remained of *Ahab*'s family, the great men of his court, and all his friends. Proceeding then to *Samaria*, in his way he met 42 princes of the house of *Judah*, who were going to pay a visit to those of the house of *Ahab*, all of whom he also caused to be slain upon the spot; and meeting *Jonadab* the son of *Rechab*, a man of great strictness and sobriety of life (A), he took him Seventy of *Ahab*'s sons slain.

(A) The *Rechabites*, so famous in scripture for the austere singularity of their life, were not content to excell in common moral virtues, but affected to distinguish themselves from the rest of the world by a peculiar abstinence from wine, from dwelling in houses,

him up into the chariot with him, that he might be an eye-witneſs of his zeal againſt the impious worſhipers of *Baal*.

Baal's prieſts and temples deſtroyed by *Jehu*.

As ſoon as he was come to *Samaria*, he firſt deſtroyed all that were left of the houſe of *Ahab* in that city, and then pretending an uncommon zeal for *Baal*, and propoſing to celebrate a feaſt to him, he commanded all his prieſts, prophets, and worſhipers, upon pain of death, to be preſent at this great ſolemnity. Having, by this ſtratagem, filled the temple with them from one end to the other, he commanded a body of men to go in and put them all to the ſword in the height of their worſhip. After this he pulled down all the idols and ornaments of that abominable deity, burnt them without the temple, and cauſed the building to be demoliſhed and turned into a common jakes. He did not ſtop till he had entirely cleared his kingdom of that kind of idolatry, for which he was ſo far approved and rewarded by God, that a prophet aſſured him the kingdom of *Iſrael* ſhould remain in his poſterity till the fourth generation. Happy had it been for him if he had alſo extirpated the idolatry introduced by *Jeroboam*; for God, offended with the *Iſraelites* for not returning to his pure worſhip, reſolved to cut them ſhort even from the beginning of *Jehu*'s reign. *Hazael*, as it was foretold by *Eliſha*, began to prevail againſt them, and took a great number of towns from the two tribes and an half on the other ſide *Jordan*, beſides ſome other frontier towns on this ſide; and wherever he came ravaged the country, and put the inhabitants to death in the moſt inhuman manner. *Jehu* died in the 28th year of his reign, was buried in *Samaria*, and ſucceeded by his ſon *Jehoahaz*.

Athalia's impious reign at *Jeruſalem*.

Mean while the wicked *Athaliah*, upon the death of her ſon *Ahaziah*, ſeizing the government of the kingdom of *Judah*, deſtroyed all the children that her huſband *Jehoram* had by another wife, and all their offspring, that ſhe might reign without a rival. During this bloody maſſacre, *Jehoſheba*, the daughter of the late king *Jehoram*, who was then married to the high prieſt *Jehoiada*, coming to the palace, ſtole from thence

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houſes, from poſſeſſing either houſes, vineyards, or fields, and from all kind of agriculture. The *Rechabites* are generally ſuppoſed to have been of the race of *Hobab* the *Kenite*, brother-in-law to *Moſes*, (1 Chron. ii. 55.) ſo that being *Midianites*, they might continue to imitate their manner of dwelling in tents, as they were ſtrangers, and had no right to any inheritance in the land of *Canaan*. This *Jonadab* is ſuppoſed to have renewed their antient inſtitution, which was then greatly neglected, and to have bound his poſterity to the obſervance of it. It is plain however, that he laid them under no curſe in caſe of diſobedience, as we find the prophet *Jeremiah* was directed by God to invite them to drink wine, which would have been an unworthy action, if they had been under an indiſpenſible obligation of abſtaining from it. Jerem. xxxv. 6, 7. Serrar. l. ii. Calmet. Patrick's Comment. Bedford's Script. Chron.

Joa

Joash her brother *Ahaziah*'s ſon, then but a year old, and conveyed him and his nurſe into the temple, where they were concealed ſix years, the young prince being inſtructed by *Jehoiada*. During thoſe ſix years *Athalia* tyrannized over *Judah* without controul, filling *Jeruſalem* with blood, and deſtroying the ſervants of the true God, that ſhe might more effectually eſtabliſh the worſhip of *Baal* throughout the kingdom. By this time her murders and impieties were grown to ſuch an height, that *Jehoiada* ſaw himſelf forced to put a ſtop to them, by producing the only remains of *David*'s race, at once to convince the people that God was ſtill mindful of his promiſe to that holy monarch, by preſerving him as it were by a miracle from the common ruin. He engaged the prieſts and *Levites*, and all the leading men in all the parts of the kingdom, in his intereſt, who took an oath of fidelity to the young prince. The prieſts, *Levites*, and *Nethinims* who ſhould have gone out in their courſes, ſtaid behind in the temple, and took the arms that were there depoſited, while the chiefs who were privy to the deſign, raiſed a ſufficient number of men ready to ſecond them upon the firſt ſignal. When the appointed day was come, the young monarch was brought out and conducted into the prieſts porch, and there the high prieſt anointed and crowned him, and put the book of the law in his hand. He was then proclaimed with the ſound of the trumpet, which was ſeconded with the joyful ſhouts and acclamations of the people.

The infant *Joaſh* ſaved by *Jehoiada*, and proclaimed king. Bef. Ch. 878.

Athaliah hearing the noiſe, made all the haſte ſhe could to the temple; but when, to her great ſurprize, ſhe ſaw the young king on a throne, and the people and great men about him in arms, ſhe rent her cloaths and cried out treaſon. She in vain hoped to raiſe a party in her favour; for the chief officers, by *Jehoiada*'s order, immediately ſeized her, and hurrying her away from the temple, put her to death. *Jehoiada* then propoſed, that the king and people ſhould enter into a ſolemn covenant to ſerve the Lord; which being agreed to, the king was conducted to the palace, and the people went and pulled down the temple of *Baal*, deſtroyed all the idols, and ſlew *Mattan* the idolatrous prieſt. *Jehoiada* being now at the head of all affairs, both religious and civil, made a new reformation at court and in the temple, by naming thoſe who had ſhewed the greateſt bravery and zeal in the late revolution to the higheſt poſts in the government, and by reſtoring that regularity in the divine ſervice which had been interrupted during the reigns of ſo many impious monarchs.

Athaliah ſlain. *Joaſh*'s piety and zeal.

Joaſh continued to teſtify his grateful ſenſe of the divine protection by his uncommon zeal for the worſhip of God, during the good high prieſt's life. In the beginning of his reign he was very ſollicitous about the houſe of God wherein he had been ſo happily concealed. As it was greatly decayed, he took no ſmall pains to ſettle revenues and procure contributions for its reparation. He deſired the prieſts and *Levites* to collect the money from the people; but they executed his or-

ders with such shameful slowness, that he was forced to discharge them at once, and committed the whole care of the money and repairs to the high priest and other proper officers, when the people poured in their presents with great alacrity and munificence. *Jehoiada* in the mean time dying in the 130th year of his age, was, on account of his faithful counsels as well as signal services to the king and nation, buried in the royal sepulchre of *Jerusalem*. Soon after his death, which is supposed to have happened about the 131st year of

His sad defection.

Joash's age, the base princes of *Judah*, tired with dissembling a zeal for God, prevailed upon the too easy king to grant them a licence to worship such idols as they thought fit, and afterwards deluded him into the like apostacy. This ungrateful defection kindled the divine vengeance both against the king and people, who paid no regard to the warnings and remonstrances of the prophets. *Zechariah*, the worthy son of the late *Jehoiada*, remonstrating in the strongest terms against the general impiety, the wicked king was offended at his freedom, and little remembring the kindness of his father and mother who had saved his own life, caused him to be stoned to death in the very court of the temple. The divine admonitions having no effect upon them, the following year God stir-

The *Syrians* invade his dominions.

red up *Hazael* against them. The *Syrian* king, after ravaging a great part of *Judea*, making a great slaughter among the *Jewish* princes, and sending very much spoil to *Damascus*, came up with his army against *Jerusalem*. *Joash* now despairing of any assistance from God, and finding himself unable to resist so powerful an enemy, stripped the temple and his own palace of all their treasure, and gave it as a ransom to the *Syrian* conqueror, who thereupon left *Jerusalem* and returned to *Damascus*. The divine vengeance, however, still pursuing *Joash*, afflicted him with very grievous diseases, which confining

he is murdered,

him to his bed, two of his own servants slew him in resentment for the murder of *Zechariah*. He reigned 40 years, and was buried in the city of *David*, but not in the royal sepulchres.

and succeeded by *Amaziah*.

Amaziah the son of *Joash* succeeded his father in the 25th year of his age, and having established himself upon the throne, put to death the two traitors who had murdered his father. The severe judgments which he had seen inflicted upon *Joash* and his apostate chiefs, made him for some time afraid to imitate them; he therefore, in the beginning of his reign, countenanced the true worship of God.

Bef. Ch. 838.

The kingdom of *Israel*, in the mean time, had been for many years ravaged by *Hazael* on account of the idolatries both of the king and people. *Jehoahaz* the son of *Jehu*, after reigning 17 years, and seeing his subjects oppressed by the *Syrians*, left his kingdom to his son *Joash*, who ascended the throne much about the same time with *Amaziah*.

The *Edomites*, about 54 years before, having revolted from the kingdom of *Judah*, *Amaziah* resolved upon an expedition against them, and hired 100,000 *Israelites* to join his own army

army of 300,000 men. But a prophet aſſuring him that he would ſucceed better if he diſmiſſed thoſe auxiliaries, who were diſpleaſing to God, he accordingly diſcharged them, and obtained a ſignal victory over the *Edomites* with the troops of *Judah*. The *Iſraelites*, however, whom he had diſmiſſed, while he was abſent upon the expedition, ravaged many of the towns of *Judah* in their return home, which occaſioned a bloody war between him and *Joaſh*. His ſucceſs againſt the *Edomites* proved in the end the occaſion of his ruin; for his mind being thereby elated, he became ſo ſtupidly fond of the idols he had taken from the enemy, that he cauſed them to be ſet up in *Judah* at his return, and went ſo far as to burn incenſe himſelf before them, and to vent ſome inſolent threats againſt a prophet ſent from God to reclaim him.

He defeats the *Edomites*, but embraces their idolatry.

Joaſh king of *Iſrael*, in the mean time, had obtained three ſignal victories over *Benhadad* the ſon of *Hazael*, and recovered from the *Syrians* all the cities of *Iſrael* which his father had loſt. When, therefore, *Amaziah* ſent in an arrogant manner to demand ſatisfaction for the ravages of the *Iſraelites* in *Judah*, and challenged him to appear in the field againſt him, he treated his meſſage with the utmoſt contempt, and adviſed him to reſt contented with his late petty victories, and not ſuffer his ambition to drive him into a deſperate attempt. *Amaziah* was only the more exaſperated at this anſwer, and haſted to go out againſt his rival. The two armies engaging in the neighbourhood of *Bethſhemeſh*, that of *Judah* was totally routed, and *Amaziah* being taken priſoner, was carried to *Jeruſalem* by *Joaſh*, who entered the city in triumph by a breach of the wall. Having obliged *Amaziah* to buy his freedom at the expence of all the gold and ſilver which were found either in the temple or in his own treaſury, he took hoſtages with him for the performance of ſome engagement, and returned to *Samaria*. He did not outlive this victory above a year, but dying in the 16th year of his reign, left the kingdom to his ſon *Jeroboam*. As for *Amaziah*, though he outlived his diſgrace 15 years, we read of nothing remarkable concerning him, only that he ſtill perſiſted in his idolatry, and continuing under God's diſpleaſure, fell at length under the contempt of his ſubjects, ſome of whom formed a conſpiracy againſt him, and ſlew him at *Lachiſh*. He was carried back upon horſes to *Jeruſalem* and buried with his anceſtors, and his ſon *Azariah*, or *Uzziah*, proclaimed in his ſtead.

He is defeated and taken priſoner by the king of *Iſrael*.

He is murdered. Bef. Ch. 809.

Mean while *Jeroboam* II. the brave great grandſon of *Jehu*, vigorouſly proſecuted the war againſt the *Syrians*, and being bleſſed with a long reign of 41 years, and encouraged by the prophets *Jonah* of *Gathepher* in *Galilee*, and *Hoſea* the ſon of *Beeri*, he greatly enlarged his territories, and in the end conquered both *Hamath* and *Damaſcus*, and made the *Syrians* his tributaries. He is blamed for adhering to the idolatries of his predeceſſors, and for neglecting the adminiſtration of juſtice in his dominions. The prophets *Hoſea* and *Amos*, who lived in his

Jeroboam II. king of *Iſrael*.

his days, give us very dreadful accounts of the disorders and debauchery which then prevailed. They warmly reproved the *Israelites* for their injustice, luxury, rapine, and other immoralities, and denounced the most severe judgments against them, even to their total ruin and dispersion.

His death. Bef. Ch. 783. Great confusion in that kingdom.

Upon the death of *Jeroboam*, the nation was in such confusion and disorder, occasioned by the corruption of manners and profligacy that every where prevailed, that there was no fixed government for eleven years. *Zechariah* the son of *Jeroboam* was at length acknowledged as king; but about six months after he was slain in the presence of the people by *Shallum*, one of his own domestics*, who seized upon the kingdom, and after reigning 30 days, was himself murdered by *Menahem*, *Zecharia*'s general, in the metropolis of *Samaria*. *Tirzah* and some other places refusing to acknowlege him, he took them by force, put the inhabitants to the sword, and caused the pregnant women to be ripped up. *Pul* king of *Assyria*, from what motive is uncertain, a few months after invaded his kingdom.

Menahem supports himself on the throne by the assistance of the *Assyrians*. Bef. Ch. 770. The piety and prosperity of *Uzziah*.

Menahem being hardly seated on the throne, and unable to oppose him, was forced to buy his friendship at the price of 1000 talents of silver, which he levied on the wealthiest of his own subjects, obliging them to pay 50 shekels each. *Pul* having received the money, withdrew his army, and *Menahem* having made him his friend, reigned quietly for ten years, and upon his death was succeeded by his son *Pekahiah*, in the 50th year of *Azariah*, or *Uzziah*, king of *Judah*.

The kingdom of *Judah* all this while enjoyed a perfect peace. *Azariah*, upon the murder of his father, had been proclaimed king in the 16th year of his age, and in the 27th of *Jeroboam*'s reign; that is, according to *Usher*, from his being admitted copartner with his father *Joash*. The young king of *Judah* being wholly directed by the wise counsels of a prophet named *Zachariah*, distinguished himself for his zeal against idolatry, and for his pious imitation of his best predecessors, for which God prospered him in all his undertakings, and blessed his arms with great success, especially against the *Philistines*, whom he defeated in several battles. He fortified *Jerusalem*, repaired the breach in the wall that had been made by the king of *Israel*, and built several fortresses and magazines in several parts of his kingdom, and in those countries he had taken from the *Philistines*, *Arabians*, and *Mehunims*, who are supposed to have inhabited in the southern parts of *Arabia Petræa* towards *Egypt*. His army consisted of upwards of 300,000 men, commanded by 2600 select officers, all armed with proper arms, and trained in the most perfect manner of martial discipline. His magazines were also stored with arms, and on the towers of the wall of *Jerusalem* were placed engines of a new invention for throwing darts and large stones to a great distance. Being a great

* Joseph. Antiq. l. ix.

lover

lover of agriculture, he employed a great number of husbandmen and vine-dressers, besides shepherds, to look after his numerous herds and flocks, whereby he acquired considerable wealth. After the death of his pious counsellor *Zechariah*, his heart, by his uninterrupted prosperity, began to be elated, and he was tempted to infringe upon the priestly office, and in imitation probably of the heathen princes, entered the temple to burn incense upon the sacred altar. *Azariah* the high-priest, with four other priests, represented to him the rashness of his design; but he paid no regard to their remonstrances, till he felt himself smitten with a leprosy; which filled him with such terror and remorse, that he hasted out of the temple. His disease being found incurable, he lived in a separate place by himself without the city, secluded from common society, for several years, till his death, which happened in the 68th year of his age, and the 52d year of his reign. He was buried in a sepulchre apart, adjoining to that of his ancestors; and his son *Jotham*, who had taken the government upon him immediately after his father's seclusion, was declared king.

He is smitten with leprosy, and dies.

Two years before the death of *Azariah*, *Pekahiah* succeeded his father *Menahem* in *Israel*; and two years after was killed in his palace by *Pekah*, one of his generals, who usurped the throne, about a year before *Jotham* succeeded his father. He was a very wicked prince; so that his reign proved troublesome and unfortunate. Having made an alliance with the *Syrians*, he made an attempt against *Judah*; but was forced to return and defend his own kingdom against *Tiglathpileser* king of *Assyria*, who had invaded his territories, taken a great many cities, and carried off almost the whole tribe of *Naphtali* into captivity. After seeing his kingdom almost desolated by the frequent incursions of the enemy, he was murdered by *Hoshea* in the 20th year of his reign.

Pekahiah, the son of *Menahem*, murdered by *Pekah*, who usurps the throne. Bef. Chr. 760.

Jotham in the mean time, who was 25 years of age at his father's death, had distinguished himself on the throne of *Judah* by his pious and prudent conduct, which secured him the favour of God, who blessed him with extraordinary success. He gained considerable advantages against his neighbours, especially against the *Ammonites*, whom he made tributary for three years. Having repaired and beautified the temple, fortified the city, and done many other public acts, he died in peace, after a reign of sixteen years, and was succeeded by his son *Ahaz*, then twenty years old.

Jotham king of *Judah*.

Ahaz no sooner ascended the throne, than he discovered the sad depravity of his heart, and his strong inclination to idolatry: for which God stirred up against him *Rezin* king of *Damascus* and *Pekah* king of *Israel*, who, after ravaging his kingdom, came and invested *Jerusalem*. *Ahaz* was in the utmost terror and despondency upon the approach of two such formidable enemies, who had proposed to extirpate him and his whole race, and to give the crown of *Judah* to the son of one *Tabeal*.

Is succeeded by *Ahaz*, who reigns wickedly. Bef. Chr. 740.

beal *. God, however, to encourage him in the defence of the city, ſent the prophet *Iſaiah* to him to aſſure him, that thoſe two princes ſhould try their ſtrength in vain againſt *Jeruſalem*; and at the ſame time, to confirm his faith, gave him two ſigns, the one to be accompliſhed ſpeedily, and the other at ſome diſtance of time. The former was, that the prophet ſhould marry and have a ſon; and before the child ſhould be of age to diſcern between good and evil, both the confederated kings ſhould be cut off from the land. The other was, that before the final end of the *Jewiſh* monarchy, which he ſuſpected to be very near, *a virgin ſhould conceive and bear a ſon, and call his name* Emanuel, *or God with us.*

His kingdom is ravaged by the *Iſraelites* and *Syrians*,

The two kings, according to *Iſaiah*'s prediction, raiſing the ſiege and returning home, *Ahaz*, inſtead of reforming his life, and thanking God for his deliverance, gave himſelf up to the vileſt impieties and idolatries. He ſet up the golden calves, made molten images of all the inferior gods of the heathen, and even cauſed his ſon to paſs thro' the fire to *Moloch*; for which God was pleaſed, the following year, to give him up to his two grand enemies. *Rezin* took *Elath* on the *Red* ſea; and having expelled the *Jews*, planted a colony there, and returned, with an immenſe booty and a great number of captives, to *Damaſcus*. *Pekah* having routed the army of *Judah*, and killed 120,000 men in one battle, another party of his troops, under *Zichri*, took *Jeruſalem*, and ſlew *Maaſeiah* the king's ſon, and all the great men of the kingdom whom he found there; the two armies then returning with no leſs than 200,000 captives. As they approached *Samaria*, a prophet, named *Oded*, with the principal inhabitants of the city, came out and met them; and exclaiming againſt their inſolent behaviour towards their brethren, aſſured them, that if they perſiſted to carry thoſe innocent priſoners into captivity, their cruelty would bring down ſevere judgments upon themſelves. By their remonſtrances they were prevailed upon, not only to releaſe the priſoners, but to let them be cloathed and relieved out of the ſpoils they had taken.

and by the *Edomites* and *Philiſtines*.

The kingdom of *Judah* became now a prey to every invader; for the following year it was ravaged not only by the *Edomites*, who carried off a great number of captives, but by the *Philiſtines*, who recovered ſeveral conſiderable frontier towns. *Ahaz*, continuing ſtill hardened in his impiety, applied not to God in his diſtreſs, but ſtripping the temple of all the gold and ſilver, ſent it, with his own treaſure, to *Tiglathpileſer* king of *Aſſyria*, offering to become tributary to him, if he would aſſiſt him againſt his enemies. That ambitious prince, wanting a pretence for enlarging his dominions, immediately marched againſt *Rezin*, whom he ſlew, and taking *Damaſcus*, tranſplanted its

* Iſaiah, c. vii.

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inhabitants. *Ahaz* going thither to pay him a visit, was so taken with the make and figure of an idolatrous altar which he saw there, that he caused a model to be taken of it, and sent to the high-priest, with injunctions to have another made as like it as possible. When he returned, he removed the altar of the Lord out of its place in the temple, and ordered the new one to be set up in its stead, and that sacrifices, for the future, should be offered on it alone. Soon after he caused the temple to be shut up, and established, by authority, the worship of the gods of the *Syrians* and of other nations, alleging that they had helped their respective worshipers. In the height of all his impiety and prophaneness, he was cut off by a sudden stroke, in the very prime of his age, after he had lived 36, and reigned 16 years. His death. Bef. Ch. 726.

Pekah being murdered by *Hoshea*, as we have mentioned, the year after his expedition against *Ahaz*, the kingdom of *Israel* was thereby again thrown into confusion and anarchy. *Hoshea* was not acknowleged as king till nine years after; and in the third year of his reign, *Salmaneser*, who had then succeeded to the throne of *Assyria*, came with an army against *Samaria*, and obliged him to become his tributary *. At this time he is supposed to have carried off the golden calf from *Bethel*, the other idol at *Dan* having been taken thence by his father †; so that the *Israelites* being now deprived of their idols, were even allowed by their king to go up to *Jerusalem* to worship. *Hoshea* king of *Israel* becomes tributary to the *Assyrians*.

Hezekiah about this time ascended the throne of *Judah*, in the 25th year of his age; so that, if there be no error in the chronology, he was only eleven years younger than his father. In the very beginning of his reign, he immediately set himself, with all his might, to work a thorough reformation of religion. He began with opening the temple, and commanded the priests and *Levites* to renew the daily worship of God, according to the law of *Moses*. After the house of the Lord was purified and sanctified, he went up thither himself, with the rulers and great men of the kingdom, and after offering sin offerings to expiate the sins of the nation, they sacrificed such numbers of burnt and peace offerings, that the priests were obliged to call in the *Levites* to their assistance. *Hezekiah*'s good reign. The temple opened and purified.

The service of God being restored in every particular, as it had been performed in the purest times, *Hezekiah* revived the celebration of the passover, which solemn festival had been omitted for a long course of years. He not only invited his own subjects to this holy festival, but wrote a most pathetic letter to all the tribes, pressing them to return to the worship of the true God, as the most effectual means, not only to avert his future judgments, but even to obtain from him the recalling of their unhappy brethren who were captives. So great was the degeneracy of the people, that many in the tribes of *Eph-*

* 2 Kings vii. & xxii.

† Prid. Connect. ex Seder Olam Rabba,

raim, *Manaſſeh*, and *Zebulon*, treated *Hezekiah*'s meſſengers with ſcorn and ridicule. Great multitudes, however, even from theſe parts, came to *Jeruſalem* upon this occaſion; and the concourſe indeed was ſo numerous, that this was reckoned one of the greateſt paſſovers that had been ſolemnized from the days of king *Solomon*. Many of the people had neglected to purify themſelves according to the law, or perhaps were intirely ignorant of the neceſſary preparatives; but the king, greatly pleaſed with their zeal and the ſincerity of their intentions, warmly interceded with God to pardon that omiſſion. The ſolemnity, which continued fourteen days, double the uſual time, being ended, the people, upon their return home, zealouſly deſtroyed all the old relics of idolatry each in their reſpective countries, the king himſelf encouraging them by his example; ſo that the true worſhip of God was again univerſally reſtored throughout both kingdoms.

A ſolemn paſſover celebrated.

Hezekiah at this time deſtroyed the brazen ſerpent made by *Moſes* in the wilderneſs, becauſe it had lately become an object of idolatry. He next reſtored all the branches of the worſhip of God, and ſettled the prieſts, *Levites*, and muſicians, in their ſeveral courſes, according to *David*'s model, and provided for their maintenance, by reviving the laws of *Moſes* relating to the *Levitical* revenues. The king, all this while, was bleſſed with ſucceſs equal to his piety; and his kingdom was ſoon in ſuch a flouriſhing ſtate, that he threw off the yoke of the powerful king of *Aſſyria*, and turning his arms againſt the *Philiſtines*, not only regained all the cities of *Judah* which they had lately ſeized, but diſpoſſeſſed them of almoſt all their own territories, except *Gaza* and *Gath*.

Hezekiah's proſperity.

Hoſhea king of *Iſrael* likewiſe endeavoured to ſhake off the yoke of the *Aſſyrian* monarch, and for that purpoſe entered into a confederacy with *So* or *Sabaco* the *Ethiopian*, who, a few years before, had conquered *Egypt*. *Salmanezer* having intelligence of this treaty, immediately raiſed a powerful army, and marching thro' *Moab*, razed the two chief cities of the *Moabites*, as *Iſaiah* had foretold three years before. From thence entering the kingdom of *Iſrael*, he ravaged the whole country, and ſat down before *Samaria*, which, after three years cloſe ſiege, he at laſt made himſelf maſter of. Such was the fatal end of the *Iſraelitiſh* kingdom; for the capital being burnt and reduced to a heap of rubbiſh, and all the land laid waſte, the inhabitants were carried off captives, and planted by the conqueror in the eaſtern provinces of his empire, whither their brethren had been ſent in a former reign. A great number of the *Iſraelites*, however, eſcaped from the conquerors, ſome into *Egypt*, and a much greater number into the kingdom of *Judah*, where they weaned themſelves by degrees from their former idolatries and rebellion, and became ſubjects to *Hezekiah* and his ſucceſſors. On the other hand, the *Aſſyrians* ſent colonies from ſeveral of their provinces, but chiefly from *Cuthah*, to repeople the land of *Iſrael*; from whence thoſe new inhabitants came to be called *Cutheans*. Upon their

The *Aſſyrians* take *Samaria*, and put an end to the kingdom of *Iſrael*. Bet. Chr. 721.

their firſt ſettlement, it is ſaid, they were like to have been deſtroyed by lions, for their diſregard to God; ſo that, upon their petition, ſome *Iſraelitiſh* prieſts were ſent back to inſtruct them how to worſhip and appeaſe him. Tho' they learned the worſhip of the true God, they, nevertheleſs, thought it unneceſſary to forſake their old idols; but each nation adhering to their reſpective gods, built ſeparate places of worſhip for them. Hence ſprang that mutual hatred between the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, which ſubſiſted, with ſuch rancour, for many ages.

Judea invaded by the *Aſſyrians* under *Sennacherib*.

About eight years after the deſtruction of *Samaria*, *Sennacherib*, who had then ſucceeded his father *Salmanezer*, demanded the tribute of *Hezekiah*; and upon his refuſal, entered *Judea* with a numerous army, and in a ſhort time took a great number of fortified places. *Hezekiah*, expecting to be beſieged in *Jeruſalem*, made all proper preparations for a vigorous defence. He repaired the walls, and fortified them with towers, and laid in great ſtore of arms and proviſions. He cauſed all the fountains about the city to be ſtopped, and the courſe of the brook *Gihon*, which watered all that region, to be turned another way; and to ſtrengthen himſelf the more againſt ſo potent an enemy, he entered into an alliance with the king of *Egypt*, which, however, was ſeverely cenſured by *Iſaiah*, who, in a moſt elegant diſcourſe, urged the people to confide in God alone for their deliverance. He was indeed ſoon convinced of his error in ſeeking help from *Egypt*; for his allies never ſtirred to his aſſiſtance, notwithſtanding the rapid progreſs of the *Aſſyrians*; he therefore ſent and ſubmitted to *Sennacherib*, acknowleging his fault in the moſt humble terms. *Sennacherib* agreed to a peace, on condition of receiving 300 talents of ſilver and 30 talents of gold; which *Hezekiah* was not able to raiſe, without exhauſting all his treaſures, and ſtripping the very doors of the temple of the gold plates, wherewith they were overlaid. Upon receiving this money, *Sennacherib* bent his march for *Egypt*, which he ravaged for three years.

Hezekiah's life prolonged 15 years.

Hezekiah, about the time the *Aſſyrians* entered *Judea*, being ſeized with a dangerous illneſs, had a meſſage from God, by the prophet *Iſaiah*, to ſettle his affairs, and prepare for death. But on his hearty prayer to God, he obtained another meſſage from him, by the ſame prophet, promiſing him life for fifteen years longer, and alſo deliverance from the *Aſſyrians*. To give him full aſſurance of this, God, at his requeſt, made the ſun go back ten degrees upon the ſun-dial of *Ahaz*. A plaiſter of figs being then applied, by the prophet's direction, to the ulcer, he recovered within three days, and went up to the temple, to return God thanks for ſo wonderful a deliverance.

Upon his recovery, *Merodach-Baladan* king of *Babylon* ſent ambaſſadors to congratulate him, and to enter into an alliance with him againſt *Sennacherib*, whoſe growing power the *Babylonians*, as well as the *Jews*, had reaſon to fear. As the *Chaldeans* were then above all other nations given to aſtronomy,

the ambaſſadors were deſired likewiſe *to enquire of the wonder that was done in the land*; which ſhews that the miracle was not univerſal, and performed by retrogradation of the whole courſe of nature, but might be the effect of a miraculous inflexion of the ſun-beams. *Hezekiah* was ſo taken with the honour done him by the king of *Babylon*, that out of the vanity and pride of his heart, he ſhewed the ambaſſadors all the wealth and ſtrength of his kingdom: for which he was reproved by *Iſaiah*, who aſſured him, that a day would come when all the ſtores he made ſuch oſtentation of would be carried to *Babylon*.

Sennacherib's army miraculouſly deſtroyed.

Sennacherib returning out of *Egypt*, again entered *Judea*, and notwithſtanding the late accommodation betwixt him and *Hezekiah*, he ſent three of his principal officers, with a party of troops, to demand the ſurrender of *Jeruſalem*. *Hezekiah* having refuſed to comply with his demand, he marched in a hoſtile manner againſt *Jeruſalem*; but as he approached the city, an angel of the Lord went forth, and ſlew of the *Aſſyrians*, in one night, 185,000 men; which dreadful judgment ſo terrified the proud monarch, that he immediately fled, in the utmoſt confuſion, to *Nineveh*, where he was ſoon after aſſaſſinated by two of his own ſons. *Joſephus* and ſome others think the *Aſſyrian* army was deſtroyed by lightning; but from the words of *Iſaiah*, who threatned him with a blaſt from God, it is moſt likely the deſtruction was effected by the hot wind, which is frequent in thoſe parts, and cauſes inſtant death by ſuffocation.

Hezekiah lived the remainder of his days in peace and tranquillity, being both honoured and revered by all neighbouring nations. Being at reſt from wars, he applied his thoughts to the good government of his people, and the ſtrengthening of the city of *Jeruſalem*, by erecting magazines and filling them with arms, and making a large pool and conduit for ſupplying the city with water. He was a great lover and encourager of huſbandry, and had numberleſs flocks and herds in his own paſture-grounds. After a courſe of great and worthy actions, he died in the 29th year of his reign, and was buried, with great ſolemnity, in the moſt honourable place of the ſepulchres of the ſons of *David*.

Manaſſeh ſucceeds to the throne of Judah. Bef. Chr. 697.

Manaſſeh, the ſon of *Hezekiah*, was but twelve years old when he ſucceeded his father. Whether he was naturally vicious, or fell into the hands of wicked counſellors, we may date the downfal both of the kingdom and religion from the fatal day of his aſcending the throne. He not only worſhiped idols, reſtored high places, and erected altars unto *Baal*, but in the room of the ark of the covenant ſet up an idol, even in the ſanctuary itſelf, and erected altars for *Baalim* and all the hoſt of heaven in both the courts of the temple. He likewiſe practiſed witchcrafts and inchantments, and dealt with familiar ſpirits, made his children paſs thro' the fire to *Moloch*, filled *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* with his high places, and brought in all manner of other idolatrous profanations, whereby the true religion might be moſt corrupted, and the groſſeſt impiety be moſt promoted in the

His wicked reign,

kingdom.

kingdom. The prophets, who were ſent to reprove him, he treated with the utmoſt contempt and outrage; and reſolving to compel the people to embrace his religion, he exerciſed the moſt horrid butcheries on the prophets and prieſts, nobles and people indifferently, till he had filled *Jeruſalem* with blood from one end to the other. It is particularly ſaid that he cauſed the prophet *Iſaiah*, who was of the blood royal, to be ſawed aſunder; which it is thought the apoſtle *Paul* refers to in his epiſtle to the *Hebrews*.

He is carried priſoner to *Babylon*.

Providence at length was pleaſed to put a full ſtop to his bloody career, by delivering him into the hands of ſome of the chief commanders of the *Aſſyrian* army, who came upon him ſo ſuddenly, that ſeeing no way to eſcape, he went and hid himſelf in a thicket. He was, however, ſoon brought out of it, loaded with chains, and carried away into *Babylon*, where he was caſt into a dungeon by *Eſarhaddon*, or *Aſſarhadin*, king of *Aſſyria*, who had made himſelf maſter of *Babylon* about five years before, and was, by this time, become ſole monarch over both empires. This is generally ſuppoſed to have happened in the 22d year of his reign, when *Eſarhaddon*, according to the learned *Uſher* and *Prideaux*, came with an army againſt *Syria* and *Iſrael*, and carried off ſome few remains of the *Iſraelites*; which fulfilled the prophecy of *Iſaiah* againſt them *.

His ſincere repentance, and reſtoration to the throne.

His priſon and his chains having ſoon brought him to a due ſenſe of his great ſin, he returned unto God with repentance and prayer, and in his affliction greatly humbled himſelf before him; and his repentance being ſincere, God was intreated of by him, and mollified the heart of the king of *Babylon* towards him; ſo that, on a treaty, he was again reſtored to his liberty, and reinſtated in his kingdom. How long his impriſonment laſted, or on what terms he regained his liberty, the text does not mention; but this much is plain, that from the greateſt ſinner he became the greateſt penitent, and from the bloodieſt tyrant one of the beſt monarchs. We have a prayer among the apocryphal books of the Old Teſtament, which it is ſaid he made in priſon. We find by an expreſſion in the book of *Chronicles*, chap. xxiii. that ſome ſuch prayer of his compoſing was kept upon record; and it is ſcarce poſſible to pen one more expreſſive of his miſery and repentance, than the above-mentioned.

Upon his return to *Jeruſalem*, he beſtowed his whole time and application in redreſſing the miſchiefs which his former impiety had occaſioned. He aboliſhed all the idolatrous profanations of the temple, reſtored in all things the reformation which his father had made, and obliged all his ſubjects to worſhip and ſerve the Lord only. He was alſo careful to repair and fortify *Jeruſalem*, and the other places of his kingdom; and having

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* Iſaiah, vii. 8. Uſher ad an. m. 3227. Prid. Connect. l. i. Calmet Hiſt. V. T.

His death. Bef. Ch. 643.

been bleſſed by God with 33 years of proſperity after his return from *Babylon*, he died in the 55th year of his reign, and 67th of his age; but was not buried in any of the royal ſepulchres, but laid in a grave in his own garden.

Ammon's idolatry and death.

After *Manaſſeh* reigned *Ammon* his ſon, who, tho' only 22 years of age when he came to the crown, and conſequently having only his father's good example to imitate, yet was ſo depraved, that he gave himſelf up to all manner of wickedneſs; ſo that God ſhortned his government, by permitting ſome of his domeſtics to conſpire againſt him and ſlay him, after he had reigned two years. The inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, however, put all thoſe to death who were concerned in the murder; and burying *Ammon*, not in the royal ſepulchres, but in the garden with his father, placed his ſon *Joſiah* upon the throne, who was then about eight years of age.

During the ſhort reign of *Ammon*, an amazing depravity and corruption of manners overſpread the whole kingdom; of which we have an account given us by the prophet *Zephaniah*, who flouriſhed in the days of *Joſiah*. Among the princes, judges, and magiſtrates, he tells us, there reigned injuſtice, oppreſſion, cruelty, and all manner of debauchery; among the prieſts, pride, avarice, corruption, and a ſhameful traffic of religion; among the people, ignorance and irreligion, men ſwearing in the ſame breath by the Lord and by *Moloch*; altars reared every where to *Baal*, and to all the other deities of the heathen; the very ſanctuary was again polluted with a filthy idol, and its court furniſhed with *Sodomites*, and with women who wove hangings and tents to hide the unnatural and abominable ceremonies of its votaries.

Joſiah's good reign. Bef. Ch. 640.

The young king being from his infant years greatly addicted to virtue, and having the happineſs of pious guardians, early diſplayed an ardent zeal to accompliſh a thorough reformation. In the 16th year of his age, having taken upon him the adminiſtration of the kingdom, he ſet about his premeditated deſign with great zeal and intrepidity. To this purpoſe he took a progreſs thro' the kingdom, and wherever he came broke down the altars, cut down the groves, and brake in pieces all the carved and molten images, and digged up the graves of the idolatrous prieſts, and burnt their bones upon all places of idolatrous worſhip, thereby to pollute and defile them for ever. Whatever prieſts of the *Levitical* order had at any time ſacrificed on one of the high places, tho' to the true God, theſe he depoſed from their ſacerdotal office. He broke down the houſes of the *Sodomites*, and defiled the valley of *Hinnom*, a place infamous for the horrid cruelties that were practiſed by the worſhipers of *Moloch*. He removed the chariots and horſes of the ſun, which ſtood at the entrance of the houſe of the Lord, and cauſed the chariots to be burned. Having thus cleanſed all *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*, he took a circuit thro' all the reſt of the land, formerly poſſeſſed by the ten tribes, which was now ſubject to him, and deſtroyed every where the idols and altars.

A total reformation in his kingdom.

which

which either the *Iſraelites* or *Aſſyrian* colonies had ſet up, and put all their idolatrous prieſts to death. At *Bethel* he particularly broke down the altar and high place erected by *Jeroboam*, together with the groves and idols, cauſing the bodies of the idolatrous prieſts to be dug up, and burnt upon them. But diſcovering, by an inſcription, the tomb of that prophet who had denounced to *Jeroboam* that total deſtruction of idolatry which he was then fulfilling, he ordered his aſhes not to be diſturbed, which ſaved thoſe of the lying prophet that was buried with him from an indignity.

Having in a few years deſtroyed all the relics of idolatry, his next care was to have the temple repaired. While the high-prieſt, by his orders, was ſurveying and examining every place, he chanced to find the book of the law, which he ſent to the king by *Shaphan* the ſcribe. This is generally ſuppoſed to have been the original copy of the Pentateuch written by *Moſes*, which ſome pious perſon had cauſed to be hid during the wicked reigns of *Ahaz* or *Manaſſeh*. The king, upon hearing part of it read, which was (ſay the *Jewiſh* doctors) the xxviiith chap. of *Deuteronomy*, containing the curſes for diſobedience, rent his clothes thro' grief, and was ſeized with great terror, on account both of himſelf and people, and immediately ſent the high-prieſt and ſome other of his chief officers to *Huldah* a propheteſs, then reſiding in a college in *Jeruſalem*, to enquire of the Lord. The anſwer which they brought back, was a ſentence of deſtruction upon *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*; but that the execution of it ſhould be delayed during the days of *Joſiah*, becauſe of his repentance. The good king, however, to avert the wrath of God as far as he could, called together a ſolemn aſſembly of all the elders and people of *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*; and going up with them to the temple, cauſed the law of God to be there read to them: after which, both he and the people entered into a covenant to obſerve all that was contained in it.

The temple repaired.

The book of the law found.

After this he made a ſecond progreſs thro' the whole land, deſtroying every remainder of idolatry that he could meet with; and when the ſeaſon of the next paſſover was come, cauſed that feaſt to be kept with ſuch exactneſs and ſolemnity, that it not only exceeded the paſſover of *Hezekiah*, but all other paſſovers from the days of *Samuel* to that time.

The paſſover kept with great ſolemnity.

In the 31ſt year of his reign, *Pharaoh Necho* king of *Egypt* entered his dominions with an army, propoſing to march againſt the *Babylonians*, and to inveſt *Carchemiſh* on the *Euphrates*. *Joſiah*, being probably tributary to the king of *Babylon*, who had reſtored to him the kingdom of *Iſrael*, according to his oath of fidelity, refuſed to grant the king of *Egypt* a paſſage thro' his territories; and aſſembling an army, went to oppoſe him at *Megiddo*, a town of the tribe of *Manaſſeh*. The *Egyptian* king aſſured him he had no hoſtile deſign againſt him, and adviſed him not to concern himſelf in the war between him and the *Babylonians*: but *Joſiah* paying no regard to his advice, ventured a battle, in which he was routed and mortally wounded.

He is mortally wounded at *Megiddo*.

He

He died as ſoon as he reached *Jeruſalem*, in the 39th year of his age, univerſally lamented by all his good ſubjects, particularly by the prophet *Jeremiah*, who, on this mournful occaſion, wrote a ſong of lamentation, as he afterwards wrote another upon the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. This laſt is that which we now have; the other is not now extant. It was called *the Lamentation of Hadad Rimmon*, from a town near the field of battle; and it was ſo pathetic, and ſo long continued, that it afterwards became a proverbial phraſe for the expreſſing of any extraordinary ſorrow.

Jehoahaz, his ſon, depoſed by the king of *Egypt*.

After the death of *Joſiah*, the people of the land took *Jehoahaz*, otherwiſe called *Shallum*, the youngeſt of his four ſons, and made him king in his ſtead. He began to give early proofs that he deſigned to reign as wickedly as ſome of his predeceſſors had done; upon which account *Jeremiah* was ſent to him from God, to exhort him to imitate his father's piety; adding, that if he did not, he ſhould be carried away captive, and die in a ſtrange land. *Pharaoh Necho* came accordingly againſt *Jeruſalem*, in his return from the expedition againſt *Carchemiſh*, and dethroned him, in the third month of his reign; and having ſet his elder brother *Eliakim*, whoſe name he changed to *Jehoiakim*, upon the throne, and laid him under the yearly tribute of 100 talents of ſilver and one talent of gold, carried his captive brother into *Egypt*, where he ended his days. The Jews ſuppoſe that *Shallum* had provoked his reſentment, by putting himſelf at the head of an army to revenge his father's death, and that he was overpowered by the *Egyptians*. The prophet *Ezekiel* (chap. xix.) repreſents him as a daring enterprizing youth.

Jehoiakim reigns wickedly.

The unhappy fate of *Shallum* did not in the leaſt deter his brother *Jehoiakim* from following his ſteps, nor the people from conforming to his wicked ways; for which the prophet *Jeremiah* denounced God's ſevere judgments againſt them, unleſs they repented. He boldly reproved the king in his palace, and in the court of the temple threatned the people, if they did not return to God, with the utter deſtruction of the city and temple. The prieſts and people, offended at his freedom,

Jeremiah accuſed,

ſeized him, and brought him before the king's council, in hopes of having him put to death; but *Ahikam*, one of the chief lords, ſo befriended him, that he got him diſcharged by the general ſuffrage. *Uriah*, another prophet, however, propheſying after the ſame manner, was obliged to fly into *Egypt*; from whence he was brought back by a party ſent thither by *Jehoiakim*, and put to death in *Jeruſalem*. We do not find that the prophets *Habbakuk*, *Zephaniah*, and *Nahum*, who are ſuppoſed to have propheſied in this reign, were at all perſecuted by the king.

Jeremiah, however, in the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, denouncing deſtruction to the city and temple, and declaring that *Nebuchadnezzar*, who was then aſſociated with his father *Nabopolaſſar* in the empire, ſhould ravage the land, and carry the people

people into captivity to *Babylon*, was soon after put in prison. *Nebuchadnezzar*, in the mean time, resolving to recover *Syria* and *Palestine* from the *Egyptians*, routed their army at the *Euphrates* with a great slaughter, and recovered *Carchemish*. The king of *Babylon*, in the end of the same year, entering *Judea* with his victorious army, took *Jerusalem*, rifled the temple, and sent the youths of the royal blood, and of the nobility, of the fairest countenances and quickest parts, to *Babylon*, there to be made eunuchs in his palace. Among these last were *Daniel* and his three companions; from whence is dated the beginning of the seventy years captivity. *Jehoiakim* was at first put in chains, and designed to be sent away with the rest; but upon his submission, and promise of paying a yearly tribute to him, the king changed his mind, and left him as a kind of vice-roy under him in the kingdom.

and imprisoned. *Jehoiakim* taken prisoner by *Nebuchadnezzar*, but restored to the throne.

Jehoiakim, instead of being amended by these chastisements, rather turned more perverse; and after a three years subjection to the king of *Babylon*, rebelled against him; which so exasperated that monarch, that he sent an army into *Judea*, consisting of *Syrians*, *Chaldeans*, *Ammonites*, and *Moabites*, who ravaged the whole kingdom for three years, and investing *Jerusalem*, surprized and slew the king, and cast his dead body into the highway, where they left it unburied, according to *Jeremiah*'s prediction.

He revolts from the *Babylonians*.

Jehoiakim being dead, *Jehoiachin* his son, who is also called *Jeconiah*, and *Coniah*, reigned in his stead; but as he was dethroned three months after, and *Jerusalem* was besieged all that time, his father may be justly reckoned to have had no heir, and his reign counted as nothing. When *Nebuchadnezzar* arrived with a royal army at *Jerusalem*, *Jeconiah* went out and delivered himself into his hands: but hereby he only saved his life; for he was immediately put in chains, and sent to *Babylon*, where he continued in prison for 37 years. *Nebuchadnezzar* then entering *Jerusalem*, ransacked the temple, palace, treasury, and the whole city, a second time, and carried off 10,000 captives, famed either for their valour or wisdom, besides 1000 of the best artificers in gold, silver, and other metals and materials. Among his captives of note was the famed *Mordecai*, and, as is most generally believed, the prophet *Ezekiel*.

His son *Jeconiah* sent prisoner to *Babylon*.

The conqueror then set *Mattaniah* upon the throne, and changed his name to *Zedekiah*, that is, *the justice of the Lord*; and having laid him under a certain tribute, and taken an oath of fidelity and subjection, returned into his dominions.

Zedekiah appointed king by *Nebuchadnezzar*. Bef. Ch. 598.

Zedekiah began to reign in the 21st year of his age, and proved as impious as his late predecessors. Tho' he received embassies from the kings of *Ammon*, *Moab*, *Edom*, *Tyre*, and *Sidon*, inviting him to throw off the yoke of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and to enter into a confederacy against him, yet, by the warning of *Jeremiah*, he still continued faithful to him for some years. The people, not sensible of their miserable state, soothed themselves with the opinion that their calamities would soon be succeeded

ceeded with a courſe of proſperity, and that the captivity of their brethren would ſoon be at an end. Theſe vain hopes were continually fed by falſe prophets, both in *Jeruſalem* and at *Babylon*; while *Jeremiah*, on the other hand, threatned ruin and deſolation to thoſe in *Judea*, and wrote to the captives at *Babylon*, aſſuring them, that their captivity would laſt 70 years; and therefore exhorted them to provide for themſelves in the country. They, however, inſtead of following his advice, wrote to *Jeruſalem* againſt him, as a dangerous enemy to his country, who uttered not what the God of *Iſrael* but the king of *Babylon* dictated to him; and the conteſt laſting ſome years, his enemies at length prevailed ſo far as to cauſe him to be impriſoned.

He revolts.

The falſe prophets being chiefly favoured both by king and people, *Zedekiah*, by their perſuaſions, entered into a confederacy with *Pharaoh Hophra*, or *Apries* king of *Egppt*, againſt *Nebuchadnezzar*; who no ſooner heard of his revolt, than he made preparations for puniſhing him. In the 9th year of *Zedekiah*, *Nebuchadnezzar* came with a powerful army into *Judea*, and quickly making himſelf maſter of almoſt all the fortified cities, marched directly againſt *Jeruſalem*. The *Jews* being then ſtruck with conſternation, made a ſhew of returning to the Lord their God, entered into a ſolemn covenant thenceforth to ſerve him only, and, it being the ſabbatical year, they immediately proclaimed liberty to all *Hebrew* ſervants of either ſex, according to the law of God. But *Nebuchadnezzar* withdrawing with his army to oppoſe the *Egyptians*, who were approaching to the relief of *Jeruſalem*, the *Jews* vainly concluded he would never return, and repenting of their covenant of reformation, cauſed every man his ſervant, and every man his handmaid, to return to their ſervitude: for which baſe prevarication and inhumanity God ordered his prophet to proclaim *liberty* to the ſword, to the famine, and to the peſtilence, to execute his wrath upon them, to their utter deſtruction. The prophet being now frequently conſulted by the king, and deſired to pray for them, aſſured him poſitively, that the *Egyptians*, on whom he depended, would certainly deceive him; and that the *Chaldeans* would return to the ſiege, and in the end burn the city with fire, even tho' their army were to conſiſt only of wounded men. The *Chaldeans* accordingly obliging the *Egyptians* to retire, and returning to the ſiege, ſoon reduced the city to the greateſt extremity. *Jeremiah* was again frequently conſulted; but perſiſting in his former declarations, and preſſing the king and princes to ſubmit without delay to the beſiegers, as the means to procure the beſt terms, he was accuſed of being a favourer of the enemy, and thrown into a loathſome priſon.

The *Babylonians* beſiege *Jeruſalem*.

The infatuated *Jews*, tho' they ſaw themſelves deſtitute both of divine and human aſſiſtance, and were daily periſhing in great numbers by famine, and alſo, according to *Joſephus*, by grievous peſtilence, yet obſtinately perſiſted in defending the city. The beſiegers at length, in the 6th year of the ſiege,

the 9th day of the 4th month, took the city by ſtorm at midnight, when *Zedekiah*, with a few followers, fled by a private paſſage, and endeavoured to eſcape to the wilderneſs. The *Chaldeans*, however, purſuing after him, ſoon brought him back to their exaſperated monarch at *Riblah* in *Syria*, who, after ſome ſevere reproaches, cauſed his ſons, and all his princes that were taken with him, to be ſlain before his face, and then commanded his eyes to be put out, and ſent him bound in fetters of braſs to *Babylon*, where he ended his days in a priſon. *Nebuchadnezzar* then entering *Jeruſalem* about a month after, was joined by *Nebuzaradan*, the captain of his guard, who, after ſtripping the temple of all its holy veſſels and furniture, and gathering together all the riches that could be found either in the king's houſe, or in any of the other houſes of the city, ſet both the temple and city on fire, and burnt them to the ground. He next demoliſhed all the walls, towers, and other fortifications; and having reduced the whole to a perfect deſolation, he carried off all the *Jews* priſoners, down to the very common people, ſome few of whom of the baſer ſort, he left to till the land, making *Gedaliah* the ſon of *Ahikam* governor over them. As for *Jeremiah* he was carried in chains to *Ramah*, where, by order of *Nebuchadnezzar*, he was ſet at liberty, and allowed his choice either to go to *Babylon*, where he ſhould be well treated, or to continue in the land; which laſt he preferred, and went and lived with *Gedaliah*.

They take and burn the city, and carry the *Jews* into captivity. Bef. Chr. 588.

Such was the dreadful end of the once flouriſhing monarchy of the *Jews*, who, by their almoſt conſtant and horrid ingratitude, and invincible itch of imitating the idolatries and witcheries of other nations, forfeited the favour of God, who would have otherwiſe been their great ſupport and protector againſt all their enemies.

The poor remains of the *Jews*, upon the departure of the *Babylonians*, coming out of the deſerts and neighbouring countries, whither they had eſcaped, reſorted to *Gedaliah* at *Mizpah* in the land of *Gilead*, where he had fixed his reſidence; and he having promiſed them protection, they ſettled themſelves in the land, and gathered in the fruits of it. *Iſhmael*, one of thoſe who returned from the land of *Ammon*, being of the blood royal, came with a treacherous deſign to aſſaſſinate *Gedaliah*, and make himſelf king. The governor was warned of his intention; but being of a generous diſpoſition, would not give credit to the information, and entertained *Iſhmael* with great hoſpitality, which gave the traitor an opportunity of murdering him, and all the brave *Chaldeans* he had about him. Two days after meeting with about 80 *Iſraelites*, who were going on a religious account with offerings and incenſe to the houſe of God, he craftily drew them into *Mizpeh*, and there ſlew them all, excepting ten of them, who offered their ſtores for the redemption of their lives. *Johanan*, who had given *Gedaliah* information of *Iſhmael*'s treachery, hearing of his villainy, and that he was returning with a great number of captives to the king of *Ammon*,

Gedaliah, the governor of the land, is ſlain by *Iſhmael*.

Ammon, who had prompted him to the wicked deed, purſued after him with an armed force, reſcued all the priſoners, and forced him to fly for his life, with only eight of his men. This barbarous action made the *Jewiſh* officers, and the reſt of the people, ſo afraid of the reſentment of the *Chaldeans*, that they began to think of fleeing into *Egypt* for ſafety; but *Jeremiah*, whom they conſulted, declared, that if they went thither, they would all inevitably periſh. Inſtead, however, of hearkening to his advice, they both ventured to go down, and to force him and *Baruch* to go along with them; where, a few years after, the vengeance of God overtook them, to their utter deſtruction, when *Nebuchadnezzar* made a conqueſt of that country. What became of *Jeremiah* is not known. Some ſuppoſe him to have been ſtoned by his countrymen for reprehending them for their eagerneſs after the *Egyptian* idolatry *.

The remains of the *Jews* fly into *Egypt*.

CHAP. II.

SECT. II.

The Hiſtory of the JEWS, *from their return from the* Babyloniſh *Captivity to the total deſtruction of* Jeruſalem *by* Titus Veſpaſian.

AS ſoon as the 70 years captivity, pronounced by *Jeremiah* againſt this rebellious people, was fully accompliſhed, God was pleaſed to raiſe up the great *Cyrus* to the throne, who, in the firſt year of his reign, iſſued out a decree for their reſtoration. By this edict they were not only permitted to return to their own land, which that prince, in ſome of his expeditions, probably had beheld lying deſolate and barren, tho' naturally fertile; but were alſo allowed to rebuild their temple at *Jeruſalem*, and tranſport thither all the ſacred utenſils which *Nebuchadnezzar* had brought away from thence. The king ordered theſe to be delivered to *Shezbazzar*, ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Zerubbabel*, who, being the grandſon of *Jehoiakim*, or *Jeconiah*, king of *Judah*, was then the firſt prince of the royal blood, and was therefore appointed head governor of *Judea*, under the title of *Tirſhata*. The royal decree alſo contained directions concerning the dimenſions of the temple, which was to be 60 cubits in heighth and breadth, built upon a ſtrong foundation, with three rows of great ſtones and a row of timber; the expence of the whole to be furniſhed out of the king's houſe. Beſides, the king allowed thoſe who inclined to ſtay behind per-

The decree of *Cyrus* for the reſtoration of the *Jews*. Bef. Ch. 536.

* Jerom in vit. Jerem.

fect liberty to contribute, as liberally as they pleaſed, gold, ſilver, or precious ſtuffs, towards the building and adorning of that ſacred edifice, and the renewing and carrying on the worſhip of God there.

Immediately upon the publiſhing of this edict, the chiefs of the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, together with the prieſts and *Levites*, aſſembled themſelves; and as many as ſtill retained a love for their country, and a zeal for the God of *Iſrael*, diſpoſed themſelves to return to that once happy land. Others, however, who were by far the greater number, preferring the land of *Babylon* to the country of their anceſtors, contented themſelves with furniſhing their returning brethren with gold, ſilver, cattle, and other conveniencies, either for their journey or for the building of the temple and city. At the head of thoſe who returned into their own country were *Zerubbabel* and *Jeſhua* the high-prieſt, whoſe grandfather *Seraiah* was high-prieſt when *Jeruſalem* was taken. The whole number of thoſe who returned amounted to about 42,360, including thoſe that came afterwards with *Nehemiah*, beſides their ſervants and ſlaves of both ſexes, which were in all 7337. Among thoſe who returned were many of the deſcendants of the ten tribes, who had been formerly carried away by *Tiglathpileſer*, *Shalmaneſer*, and *Eſarhaddon*; but theſe, with thoſe of the tribes of *Levi*, *Judah*, and *Benjamin*, who were more particularly mentioned, were from this time all blended together, under the name of *Jehudim*, or *Jews*. We find mention likewiſe made of 200 men and women ſingers, whom they brought with them, 135 camels, 736 horſes, 245 mules, and 6700 aſſes.

The chiefs of thoſe who returned.

It is evident from this liſt how ſmall the number was of thoſe who returned, in compariſon of thoſe who ſtaid behind; and accordingly the *Jews* themſelves tell us, that only the bran came out of *Babylon*, but that the flour ſtaid behind. Even of the prieſts, only four of the twenty-four claſſes, into which they were divided, returned, tho' they ſubdivided themſelves each into ſix claſſes, that they might again make up the old number, and called themſelves by their names accordingly. Some of theſe not being able to make out their lineal deſcent from the prieſthood, were on that account deprived of the office and the privileges attending it, until ſome high-prieſt ſhould ariſe that could decide their title by the *Urim* and *Thummim*. The ſame diſpute happened alſo concerning ſome others, who being come from *Tel-Melah*, *Tel-Harſa*, perhaps *Telaſſar*, a province of *Aſſyria*, and from other places, could not prove themſelves to belong to any tribe. Theſe were about 650 in number, beſides upwards of 390 *Nethinims*, the poſterity of the *Gibeonites*, whom *Solomon* had dedicated to the ſervice of the temple. The prieſts, *Levites*, ſingers, *Nethinims*, and other officers of the temple, ſettled themſelves as well as they could in or near *Jeruſalem*, that they might readily wait on the ſervice of God, by rearing up his altar, and preparing all other things againſt the next grand ſolemnity. As for the reſt, the greater part of them diſperſed

perſed themſelves in the neighbouring cities and country, where ſome of them had formerly dwelt, and where they probably found alſo ſome of their brethren, whom *Nebuchadnezzar* had left there.

Soon after their return, the month *Tiſri* approaching, they failed not to come from all parts to celebrate the two grand ſolemnities, namely, the expiation-day, which was to be kept on the 10th, and the feaſt of tabernacles, which began on the 15th, and ended on the 22d of the month. Tho', for want of a temple, they were forced to ſet aſide part of the ceremonies of the feaſt of expiation, ſuch as the high-prieſt entering that day into the moſt holy place, yet they obſerved a faſt, prayed, and offered the proper ſacrifices on the altar, which they had by this time repaired. From this day they ceaſed not to offer the morning and evening and all other ſacrifices preſcribed by the law of *Moſes*. The feaſt of tabernacles coming five days after that of expiation, they erected booths at *Jeruſalem*, and celebrated that feſtival with the uſual ſolemnities.

In this ſolemn aſſembly it was reſolved to ſet about the rebuilding of the temple; towards which every one chearfully contributed, according to their power. The whole amounted to 61,000 drachms and 5000 minas of ſilver, in all about 75,000*l.* ſterling, beſides 100 veſtments for the prieſts to officiate in. Workmen were immediately hired, and ſent to *Tyre* and *Sidon* for cedars from *Libanus*, purſuant to the decree of *Cyrus*; and the firſt year was employed in preparing materials for the building.

The foundation of the temple laid. Bef. Ch. 538.

In the 2d month of the following year, which was the third of the reign of *Cyrus*, and the ſecond from their return, they began to lay the foundation of the temple with great ſolemnity.

The *Jews* tell us that the new temple wanted five conſiderable things, which were the chief glory of the firſt. Theſe were, 1ſt, The ark, or mercy-ſeat. 2d, The Divine Preſence, called by them *the Shekinah*. 3d, The holy fire upon the altar. 4th, The *Urim* and *Thummim*: and laſtly, The ſpirit of prophecy. But the lamentations of the *Jewiſh* elders at the foundation of the ſecond temple ſeem to have ariſen from their reflecting not upon theſe things, but upon the unlikelihood that the new temple would ever be raiſed to the grandeur and magnificence of the old.

Why obſtructed by the *Samaritans*.

Whilſt the work was carrying on, the *Samaritans*, who were the deſcendants of the foreign nations brought into the inheritance of the ten tribes by *Shalmaneſer* king of *Aſſyria*, came to *Zerubbabel* and the *Jewiſh* congregation, and expreſſed an earneſt deſire to aſſiſt them in their undertaking, ſeeing that ever ſince they had been ſettled in the kingdom of *Iſrael* they had worſhiped the true God. Whether the *Jews* ſuſpected the ſincerity of their offer, or deſpiſed them as a people who were not of the ſeed of *Iſrael*, but only imperfect worſhipers of God, *Zerubbabel*, *Jeſhua*, and the whole congregation, refuſed to let them bear

bear any part in the undertaking. This refusal proved the source of a bitter and irreconcileable hatred between these two nations, the sad effects of which the *Jews* soon felt in the immediate obstruction of their work, and by numberless ill offices which the incensed *Samaritans* did to them.

The *Samaritans*, to be revenged on the *Jews*, began with bribing underhand some of the king's chief ministers and officers to represent them as a rebellious nation, who by their rebuilding the temple, shewed that they intended to shake off their obedience to him. They failed not to carry their point, and the work was accordingly stopped, in a great measure, not only during the remaining five years of the life of *Cyrus*, but also during the reign of his successor. However, whilst *Cyrus* lived, the *Jews* still kept on gathering materials for their work, in hopes of better times, being still assisted by the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians*, whom they in return supplied with corn, wine, and oil.

Cyrus was no sooner dead, than the *Samaritans*, encouraged by the ill disposition of his successor *Cambyses*, declared openly against the *Jews* and against their undertaking, and wrote in the most pressing manner to that monarch to put an immediate stop to it. *Cambyses*, however, probably out of respect to his father's decree, would not seem to revoke it, but privately gave the *Samaritans* leave to obstruct the work.

Cambyses dying after a reign of seven years and five months, and one of the *Magi* mounting the throne of *Persia*, the *Samaritans* failed not to renew the accusation against the *Jews* to that usurper. He having been one of the chiefs of the sect of the *Magi*, against whom the *Jews* were known to be diametrically opposite in point of religion, did not want many arguments to induce him to suppress them; but sent an immediate decree to them to desist from their enterprize, charging the *Samaritans* to see his edict put in execution. The *Samaritans* accordingly went directly to *Jerusalem* with the decree, and caused a total stop to be put to the work, till the *Jews* obtained a fresh decree in the second year of the reign of *Darius* his successor; that is, about two years after.

The *Jews* were now so disheartned, that upon the death of the usurper, when his decrees were all annulled, they did not shew the least readiness to renew their enterprize, till God had punished their indolence with a great dearth. They had, in the mean time, taken care to seat themselves in commodious and sumptuous houses, without giving themselves much concern about the house of God. On this account the prophet *Haggai* upbraided them with their ingratitude, and at the same time assured them, that if they would set about the work in good earnest, God would not only make it prosper in their hands, but that he would make the glory of this second temple by far exceed that of the first. The people, roused by this message, resumed the work, and carried it on under the eye and guidance of *Haggai* and *Zechariah*. The *Samaritans* now applied themselves to *Tatnai* governor of *Syria* and *Palestine*, and complained

The negligence of the *Jews* punished by dearth.

The building of the temple resumed.

plained againſt the *Jews* for renewing the undertaking not only againſt the king's order, but to the manifeſt detriment of his realm. *Tatnai*, upon theſe complaints, came with ſome of his counſellors to *Jeruſalem*, to enquire into the affair; and *Zerubbabel* and *Jeſhua* acquainting him with the decree they had formerly obtained from *Cyrus*, and producing the ſacred veſſels reſtored to them by that monarch, he thought proper not to determine any thing of himſelf, but ſent a full account of the matter to *Darius*. The old decree of *Cyrus* being found among the records at *Ecbatan*, *Darius*, out of reſpect to that monarch, readily confirmed it by a new edict, in which all the grants of the old were repeated and ratified. The execution of this decree was committed to *Tatnai* and *Shetharboznai*, who is ſuppoſed to have been governor of *Samaria*, and was by them communicated to the *Jews*. The building now began to riſe apace, as the *Jews* were no longer oppoſed by their enemies, but were ſupplied by the king's order with all the neceſſaries towards the expence of it out of the treaſury of that prince. Three years after, that is in the ſixth year of *Darius*, and in the month *Adar*, which is the laſt of the *Jewiſh* year, the temple was compleatly finiſhed.

The temple finiſhed.

The envious *Samaritans* were greatly chagrined that they had been obliged to pay not only towards the rebuilding of the temple, but towards the ſacrifices and oblations daily offered up there. The temple was no ſooner compleated, than they with-held the uſual tribute, under pretence that it was intended to ceaſe as ſoon as the building was finiſhed. *Zerubbabel*, *Mordecai*, and *Ananias*, going as deputies, and complaining to the king, he iſſued out a freſh decree, commanding his officers at *Samaria* to cauſe the uſual tribute to be paid to the temple. After this the *Jews* met with no farther obſtacle during the reſt of that monarch's reign, which laſted 23 years longer, nor during the 12 years of his ſucceſſor, but enjoyed a perfect peace, being governed by their high prieſts in matters of religion, and in thoſe of ſtate by the heads of the tribe of *Judah*, tho' ſtill in ſubjection to the kings of *Perſia*, and ſubordinate to his governors on this ſide the *Euphrates*.

The *Samaritans* refuſe to pay to it.

Xerxes had no ſooner ſucceeded his father, than he confirmed all the privileges granted to the *Jews*. *Joſephus* adds, from a paſſage out of an antient poet, that the *Jews* aſſiſted *Xerxes* in his great expedition againſt *Greece*. The poet, in enumerating the king's forces, mentions, that a ſtrange people, who uſed the *Phœnician* dialect, and dwelt in the high and hilly grounds of *Solyma* near a great lake, marched under his ſtandard. Whether the *Jews* are meant by this deſcription, has been greatly conteſted; but it is hardly to be ſuppoſed that this people ſhould be excuſed from ſerving in that expedition, when all the other nations of the *Perſian* empire were obliged to ſend their quotas to the army, which conſiſted of upwards of a million of men. In the third year of *Xerxes*, according to the *Alexandrian* chronicle,

Xerxes favours the *Jews*. Bef. Ch. 458.

chronicle, *Jeſhua* the *Jewiſh* high prieſt died in the 53d yeär of his high prieſt-hood, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Joiakim*.

Xerxes being murdered in the 21ſt year of his reign, was ſucceeded by his ſon *Artaxerxes*, who was the *Ahaſuerus* of ſcripture, the huſband of *Eſther*, or *Hadaſſeh*. *Eſther* was an orphan of the tribe of *Benjamin*, brought up and adopted by her uncle *Mordecai*, who by his conſtant attendance at the palace gate, ſeems to have been one of the king's porters. As *Eſther* was very beautiful, ſhe was introduced into the palace among other beauties who were to be candidates to ſucceed the divorced *Vaſhti*. It was a peculiar privilege of thoſe virgins to obtain whatever they aſked of the king whenever their turn came to appear before him; and as *Eſther* captivated the *Perſian* monarch above all the other beauties, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that it was by her intereſt that *Ezra*, a very learned and zealous *Jew* of the houſe of *Aaron*, obtained an ample commiſſion from *Artaxerxes* in the ſeventh year of that monarch's reign. By this edict, as many *Jews* as were willing to return to *Jeruſalem*, were allowed to accompany *Ezra* thither; and he was empowered to regulate all matters there, whether of church or ſtate, as he ſhould ſee fit.

Ezra arrives in *Judæa*.

Ezra, and thoſe who attended him, after a journey of four months, arrived at *Jeruſalem* on the firſt day of the fifth month, or in the middle of *July*. At his arrival he opened his commiſſion before the whole *Jewiſh* aſſembly, and there delivered to the prieſts the offerings which had been made by the king, nobles, and by the *Babyloniſh Jews*, which were very conſiderable. Having next ſent to acquaint the governor of *Syria* and *Paleſtine* with the power he had received from the king, he began with appointing judges and magiſtrates, to reform every thing that was contrary to the law of *Moſes*. *Artaxerxes*, in the mean time, raiſing *Eſther* to the throne, *Ezra* relying upon her protection, and that of *Mordecai*, who now engroſſed the king's favour, ſet himſelf to reform ſome great abuſes which had crept in among thoſe who were returned from *Babylon* under *Zerubbabel*. He particularly obliged all thoſe who had taken wives from among any of the foreign nations, to put away both their ſtrange wives and the children they had by them.

He reforms the church and ſtate.

His next great work was to reform the whole ſtate of the *Jewiſh* church, by reſtoring its diſcipline and rites according to its antient pattern. In order to this, his firſt care was to collect and ſet forth a correct edition of the ſacred books, and then, as the *Talmudiſts* and antient *Jews* relate, he reduced the obſervance of the *Moſaic* law to that ſtandard. That he at this time collected the ſacred writings, made ſome ſmall additions to them, and fixed the canon of the Old Teſtament to 22 books, as they are now received by the *Jews* and proteſtant chriſtians, is confirmed by many reaſons. He was excellently well verſed in them, his extenſive authority enabled him to gather up all the beſt copies that could be met with; he was himſelf inſpired, and had the aſſiſtance of the prophets *Haggai*

Collects the ſacred books.

and *Zechariah*, and ſome indeed have ſuppoſed him to be the ſame with the prophet *Malachi*, as the name *Malachi* is rather a common than a proper name, and that prophet, in his writings, reproves the people for marrying ſtrange wives, for oppreſſing their poor brethren, and for ſeveral other abuſes then rectified by *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*: the then confuſed ſtate of the *Jews* required ſuch a collection and reviſal of the ſacred writings. Laſtly, the whole current of *Talmudiſt* writers, and all the antient and modern *Jews*, except *Joſephus* and the *Samaritans*, who reject all but the *Pentateuch*, aſcribe this work to *Ezra* as preſident of the *Sanhedrim*, in which they have been followed by no ſmall number of antient fathers, and by far the greateſt part of modern writers.

It is in the time of this reviſal that he is ſuppoſed to have exchanged the old *Hebrew* character for the more beautiful and commodious *Chaldee* now in uſe. Another, and a very uſeful, improvement which he and his inſpired aſſociates are generally, and with great probability, believed to have made to this new edition of the ſacred books, is the interſperſing here and there an explanatory clauſe by way of parentheſis, and making ſuch other additions to the text, as were neceſſary to explain, illuſtrate, or confirm it. Thus we find in ſeveral of the hiſtorical books concerning ſome antient monuments, ſuch-like words as theſe added by way of teſtimony, *which remain unto this day*. To the ſame end he is ſuppoſed likewiſe to have added ſome new names of places to the old ones which were become obſolete. Thus *Abraham* is ſaid to have purſued the confederate kings as far as *Dan*, which name was long afterwards given to the city of *Laiſh* by the *Danites*. Many more modern names are added, by the help of which we come to the knowlege of the places there mentioned, which we could never have known by their antient names.

He reſtores the worſhip of the temple.

The laſt work of this great man, was the reſtoring the worſhip of the temple according to its antient form, to reviſe and amend the *Jewiſh* liturgy, and to add particular prayers and thankſgivings proper for the feſtivals that were ſuperadded after their return from the captivity; ſuch as for the dedication of the new temple, for the feaſt of *Purim*, and the like. Whether he lived to finiſh all theſe things, or left them to be compleated by his ſucceſſors, cannot be determined. We are informed in the ſecond book of *Maccabees*, that *Nehemiah* founded a library at *Jeruſalem*, in which he depoſited the acts of the kings, and the writings of the prophets, and of *David*; which ſeems to intimate as if the reviſal of them had been compleated before that time.

Ezra, after governing the *Jewiſh* church and nation thirteen years, was ſucceeded by *Nehemiah*, whom he aſſiſted few years in ſome part of his office; after which we hear no more of him. *Joſephus* tells us, that he died and was buried at *Jeruſalem*: but the reſt of the *Jews* affirm, that he returned into *Perſia*, and died there in the 120th year of his age. The

Je

Jews have so great a veneration for him, that they look upon him as a second *Moses*, and one every way worthy to have been their lawgiver, had not that honour been bestowed on *Moses*. They join the books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* into one, and make him the author of both. He undoubtedly was the author of the first, since he mentions nothing in it but what was done in his time and under his eye, and almost every where speaks of himself in the first person. As for the other two books falsely attributed to him, and known by the names of the first and second books of *Esdras*, they are justly rejected, as being stuffed with absurdities and fables.

Nehemiah, cup-bearer to the king of *Persia*, a *Jew* of great learning and piety, and supposed to have been of the royal family of *Judah*, having heard of the ruinous condition in which *Jerusalem* still remained, preferred a petition to the king, while he and the queen were at table, and obtained from him a commission to succeed *Ezra* in the government of *Judea*, with full power to rebuild and adorn both city and temple, and with fresh orders to *Sanballat* and others of his officers on this side the *Euphrates*, to furnish him with all necessary materials out of the royal treasury. Having arrived at *Jerusalem* with a fresh supply of men and women, he kept himself private three days, at the end of which he went in the night, accompanied with a few of his men, to take a full view of the city and walls, which he found in a most desolate condition. On the morrow he opened his commission in the great assembly of the heads of the people, and told them, that he intended to put it in force without delay. He divided the work between a number of great families, to each of whom he assigned a stated extent, which they were to build at their own charges. *Nehemiah* succeeds *Ezra* as governor of *Judæa*. Bef. Ch. 445.

While the work was going on, the *Jews* were forced to bear with many bitter sarcasms from *Sanballat* governor of *Samaria*, and from some of his officers. Some treacherous *Jews* being hired by these enemies, endeavoured to dishearten both the governor and the people with the specious pretence, that they were sent from God to put a stop to the enterprize. *Nehemiah* soon found out the cheat; but being informed that his enemies intended to use force, he ordered the people to arm themselves, even while they were at work, placing strong guards to defend them. But the greatest obstacle of all was, that the poorer sort, who were to bear the greater share of the labour, had been so impoverished by the continual extortions of the rich for some years before his arrival, that they had been forced to mortgage their lands, sell their sons and daughters, and submit to so many other hardships, that they scrupled now to give their assistance in the great undertaking. *Nehemiah*, who expected nothing less than to hear of such horrid cruelties committed by the *Jewish* rulers, upbraided them in the severest terms, and partly by persuasions, and partly by his own authority, obliged them to restore all their ill-gotten wealth to

the poor owners, and at the ſame time took care that they ſhould be ſupplied with all neceſſary ſuſtenance while they continued in the work. By theſe means he defeated the meaſures of the *Samaritans*, and finiſhed the wall in 52 days. As ſoon as the wall was finiſhed, he cauſed the dedication of it to be celebrated with the uſual ſolemnities, and left the government of the city to his two brothers *Hanani* and *Hananiah*, he himſelf, as the learned *Prideaux* reaſonably conjectures, returning into *Perſia* to obtain a new commiſſion.

He finiſhes the wall of *Jeruſalem*,

As *Jeruſalem* ſtill remained thinly peopled, *Nehemiah* perſuaded at firſt the nobler and richer *Jews* to build themſelves houſes there. All that willingly offered themſelves to come and ſettle in the city were alſo accepted; but theſe not proving ſufficient, he was obliged to take every tenth family by lot, by which means the city being well built, peopled, guarded, and fortified, ſoon began to reſume ſomething of its former luſtre; *Herodotus*, who ſaw it ſoon after this time, compares it to *Sardis*, the metropolis of *Aſia Minor* *.

and peoples the city.

Whilſt *Nehemiah* was employed in peopling and fortifying the city, adorning the temple, and rectifying the genealogies both of prieſts and people, *Ezra*, who had finiſhed his collection of the ſacred books, was preparing himſelf and ſome other learned prieſts, to read them to the whole nation on the approaching feaſt of the trumpets, which uſhered in the new year. The people being accordingly aſſembled in one of the largeſt ſtreets of the city, the whole pentateuch was read, verſe by verſe, and expounded to them by ſix aſſiſtant prieſts well verſed in the *Chaldee* language. The grand feſtival of tabernacles following a few days after, the people who had lately heard the order of its celebration read to them, kept it with a ſuch ſtrictneſs and ſolemnity, as had not been obſerved ſince the time of *Joſhua*.

The law publickly read and expounded.

As there appeared a lively concern in the people whenever any point of the law was read in which they knew themſelves tranſgreſſors, *Nehemiah* made uſe of that happy diſpoſition to extort from them a general confeſſion of their ſins, and a ſolemn promiſe and vow to rectify all that was amiſs for the future. The people particularly engaged, 1. Not to make any intermarriages with the *Gentiles*, and to diſannul thoſe already made. 2. To obſerve the ſabbaths, ſabbatic years, and thoſe divine commands which related to them. 3. To pay their yearly tribute to the temple. And, 4. To pay their tythes, firſt fruits, vows, *&c.* to the prieſts and *Levites*. The ſolemnity concluded with a generous collection for the ſervice of the temple.

The people conſent to the reformation of ſeveral abuſes.

During his abſence, which laſted but five years, it is almoſt incredible what abuſes were crept into the *Jewiſh* church and commonwealth. *Eliaſhib*, who was overſeer of the temple cham-

The temple profaned.

* Herod. l. iii. Prid. Connect. under the years 610 and 445.

bers,

bers, had married his grandſon to the daughter of *Sanballat*, the profeſſed enemy of the *Jews*, and had ſo much baſe complaiſance for him, as to allow his friend *Tobiah* the *Ammonite*, another inveterate enemy, a large apartment in that ſacred place, from which even the *Iſraelites* who were not of the tribe of *Levi*, were excluded.

The ſabbath profaned.

Another ſhameful abuſe which had crept in, was an almoſt total diſregard of the ſabbath. They threſhed their corn, preſſed their wine and oil, bought and ſold from the *Tyrians* and other ſtrangers, and were baſely ſuffered to do ſo by thoſe magiſtrates whoſe buſineſs it was to have hindered them. To prevent this practice for the future, *Nehemiah*, having again returned as governor, ordered the gates of the city to be ſhut up every *Friday* night about ſun-ſet, and not to be opened again till the ſabbath was quite over. What aggravated the folly and baſeneſs of the *Jews* is, that they had among them the prophets *Zechariah*, *Haggai*, and *Malachi*, who rebuked them ſeverely for their crimes, and warned them of the dreadful puniſhments which their wickedneſs would draw upon them.

Nehemiah returns from the *Perſian* court, and reforms the abuſes.

Beſides the abuſes which we have already obſerved, *Nehemiah* rectified a number of others which were no leſs enormous; one of which was the ceaſing of the divine worſhip thro' the avarice of the people, who refuſing to pay the prieſts and *Levites* their tythes and other dues, had forced them to ſeek their living out of the temple and city. The enormities which had prevailed among the people within the ſhort interval of his abſence, being manifeſtly owing to their ignorance or forgetfulneſs of the *Moſaic* law, *Nehemiah* reſolved, as the only remedy to prevent future abuſes, to enforce the frequent lecture and expoſition of the ſacred writings in all the cities and towns of *Judæa*. Theſe lectures were probably held at firſt in ſome great ſtreet or market-place, ſince there is no mention before this time of any buildings for that purpoſe. As theſe aſſemblies now became more fixt and regular, it is ſuppoſed, that to avoid the inconveniencies of cold and rain, they began to build ſome proper places to aſſemble in, which have been ſince known by the name of ſynagogues and ſchools. The regulations of theſe new ſynagogues may be reduced to the three following heads: 1. They were to be under the inſpection of certain rulers, called from thence rulers of the ſynagogue. 2. There were ſtated times for coming to them, namely, the ſabbaths and other feaſt and faſt days, and *Mondays* and *Thurſdays*. 3. Proper miniſters were appointed, ſome to read and expound the ſacred books, others to read the liturgy, others to ſing, &c. and theſe, if qualified for thoſe offices, might be choſen out of any tribe; only they took care to have always one or more of the prieſtly order to preſide.

The holy ſcriptures ordered to be read.

How long *Nehemiah* lived after he had made this reformation, whether he continued in his place as governor, and whether he died in *Judea* or in *Perſia*, we are not informed either by

Nehemiah's death.

the text or *Josephus*. The latter only says, that he died in an advanced age; and indeed even at the time where his book ends, he must have been at least 70 years of age. In his days, and about the eleventh year of *Darius Nothus*, died the high priest *Eliashib*, who was succeeded by his son *Joida*, the father of that *Manasseh*, who having married the daughter of *Sanballat*, chose to retire with her to *Samaria* rather than part with her. He drew a great many rebellious *Jews* after him, who not chusing to conform to the reformation carrying on at *Jerusalem*, went and settled at *Samaria*.

Bef. Ch. 409. After the death of *Nehemiah*, the face of the government was wholly changed. We hear no more of any governors of *Judæa*; but the country seems to have been joined and subject to the perfecture of *Syria*. The governors of *Syria* seem to have committed the administration of the *Jewish* state to their high priests; so that from this time we may ascribe the greatest part of those misfortunes that befel their nation, to a set of men who aspired to that high dignity more thro' ambition and avarice, than any zeal for their religion.

Josephus gives us a signal instance of this truth. About the 32d year of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, *Johanan* succeeded his father *Joiada* in the priesthood. *Bagoses* governor of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, having contracted an intimate friendship with *Jeshua* the brother of *Johanan*, had promised him a grant of the priesthood some few years after *Johanan*'s investiture. *Jeshua* coming to *Jerusalem*, had an interview with his brother in the inner court of the temple, and acquainting him with the intention of the governor, the dispute arose to such a heighth betwixt them, that *Jeshua* was killed by his brother. *Bagoses* immediately repairing to the place, upbraided the *Jews*, in the severest terms, for making a shambles of the temple of their God. He then offered to enter into the holy place; but being opposed by the priests, he asked them angrily, whether they thought his living body more impure than the dead carcase which lay there? and without staying for an answer, forcibly entered in. Being fully informed of the fact, he imposed a heavy fine upon the temple, which continued for seven years, till the death of *Artaxerxes*.

Jeshua killed in the temple. Bef. Ch. 373.

The *Jews* were not altogether free from trouble in the reign of *Ochus* the successor of *Artaxerxes*; for he being engaged in a war against the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians*, and having conquered the greatest part of *Phœnicia*, marched directly towards *Judea*, besieged and took *Jericho*, and carried off a great number of *Jews* captives, part of whom he sent into *Egypt*, and part into *Hyrcania* along the *Caspian* sea. About ten years after, that is, in the 18th year of that monarch's reign, died *Johanan*, in the 32d year of his high priesthood, and was succeeded by his son *Jaddua*: and three years after *Ochus* was poisoned by *Bagoas* the eunuch, and *Arsaces*, the king's youngest son, was placed on the throne; but was soon after succeeded by *Darius* III. surnamed *Codomannus*.

Johanan the high priest succeeded by *Jaddua*.

In

In the fourth year of this prince's reign, *Alexander* the Great intending to beſiege *Tyre*, ſent to *Jaddua* the high prieſt, demanding that ſupply of proviſions from the *Jews*, which they were wont to pay to the *Perſians*. *Jaddua* modeſtly excuſed himſelf from complying with his demand, alleging, that his oath of fidelity to *Darius*, did not permit him to transfer that tribute to an enemy. *Alexander*, provoked at this refuſal, had no ſooner completed the reduction of *Tyre*, than he marched ſtrait to *Jeruſalem* with the intention of puniſhing the *Jews*, who in the mean time implored the protection of God, and by their prayers, ſacrifices, and other acts of humiliation, obtained a gracious promiſe from him, that he would protect his temple and people from the approaching calamity. *Jaddua* was directed in a dream to go and meet the threatning conqueror in his pontifical robes, at the head of all his prieſts in their proper habits, and attended with the reſt of the people dreſſed in white garments. He accordingly obeyed next morning; and *Alexander* no ſooner approached him, than he was ſeized with ſuch an awful reſpect, that he advanced towards him and embraced him with a religious kind of veneration, to the great ſurpriſe of all that attended him. *Parmenio*, with his uſual freedom, venturing to aſk the king the reaſon of this unexpected behaviour, was anſwered, that he paid this reſpect not to the prieſt, but to his God; for when he was filled with anxiety about the event of his *Aſiatic* expedition, that very perſon, in that very habit, appeared to him in a dream at *Dium* in *Macedonia*, and encouraged him to paſs boldly over into *Aſia*, promiſing that God would give him the empire of the *Perſians*. He then gave orders to march on to *Jeruſalem*, and was attended thither by the high prieſt and his retinue, and conducted to the temple, where he cauſed a great number of victims to be offered to the God of the *Jews*. Upon his departure, he granted the *Jews* the freedom of their country laws and religion, and exempted them every ſeventh year from paying any tribute. *Alexander* conferred a great many favours on the *Jews*, a vaſt number of whom he ſettled in *Alexandria* among other nations, and endowed them with large privileges and immunities, allowing them the free exerciſe of their religion, and admitting them to the ſame liberties with his own *Macedonians*. During all his reign, the *Jews* continued in his favour both in *Paleſtine* and out of it; but thoſe who were in his army were like to have forfeited it, by their ſtiff refuſal to aſſiſt at the rebuilding of the temple of *Belus* which that monarch had begun. The invincible conſtancy with which they bore his ſevereſt puniſhments, wrought at length ſo far upon him, that he diſcharged them from his ſervice, and ſent them home to their own country; ſoon after which he died, and left his empire in the greateſt confuſion. Four years after him died alſo *Jaddua* the *Jewiſh* high prieſt, in the 20th year of his pontificate,

He refuſes to aſſiſt *Alexander* the Great,

who is miraculouſly prevented from attacking the *Jews*.

Alexander enters *Jeruſalem*.

His kindneſs to the *Jews*.

With

Their miſerable ſtate under his ſucceſſors.

With *Alexander* died the proſperous ſtate of the *Jews*, their country being ſucceſſively invaded and themſelves captivated by the *Syrians* and *Egyptians*, and conſtantly oppreſſed under either government. At firſt it was given, together with *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, to *Leomedon* the *Mitylenian*, one of *Alexander*'s generals, and confirmed to him by a ſecond partition treaty. *Ptolemy* ſoon ſtripped him of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*; but the *Jews* ſtanding firm to him from a ſenſe of their oath of allegiance, the *Egyptian* king invaded *Judæa* and laid ſiege to *Jeruſalem*, which he took by ſtorm on a ſabbath day, when the *Jews*, from a ſuperſtitious fear of violating the law, made no defence. Near 100,000 *Jews* were carried on this occaſion captives into *Egypt*, 30,000 of whom *Ptolemy* choſe to fill his garriſons, ſending the reſt into *Libya* and *Cyrene*. Soon after reflecting on their known loyalty to their former conquerors, he committed the keeping of ſeveral conſiderable gariſons, both in *Judea*, *Samaria*, and in *Egypt*, to them.

Jeruſalem taken by *Ptolemy*.

The *Samaritans* make *Sichem* their metropolis.

By this time the *Samaritans*, who daily encreaſed in number, ſtrength and wealth, by the continual concourſe of apoſtate *Jews*, made *Sichem* their metropolis and the head of their ſchiſmatic ſect. As they were neither ſo ſcrupulous about their oaths of allegiance, nor ſo tenacious of the precepts of the *Moſaic* law as the *Jews*, they ſeldom heſitated to ſide with the ſtrongeſt, and to comply with the will of their princes, even in things which were abſolutely forbidden by their law. This policy not only freed them from the many perſecutions which the *Jews* underwent, but made them fare much better under every government than they. Many of the *Jews*, therefore, took refuge among them, not only to eſcape puniſhment, but to avoid perſecution or the tyranny and oppreſſion of their governors. We ſhall therefore here give a ſhort account of them and their tenets, that the tranſactions of the *Jews* with them may be more clearly underſtood.

They were originally deſcended from the *Cutheans* and other foreign nations ſent thither by the *Aſſyrian* kings, inſtead of the ten tribes carried away captive by them; but they themſelves boaſt that they are deſcended from *Joſeph* by *Ephraim*, and affirm, that when *Joſhua* entered into the promiſed land, he cauſed a temple to be built upon mount *Garizzim*, and appointed *Ruz*, of the ſeed of *Aaron*, to officiate as high prieſt. 1. They believed in one God, and in his ſervant *Moſes*, and that *Garizzim* is the only place of God's worſhip, and admit none of the ſacred writings but the five books of *Moſes*. 2. They always circumciſe their males on the eighth day, not deferring it upon any account, as the *Jews* do ſome of them to the hour of their death. 3. They never allow themſelves two wives, nor do they marry their nieces: but the *Jews* do both. 4. They waſh themſelves every morning after either matrimonial converſe or any accidental defilement. 5. They obſerve the ſabbath with the greateſt ſtrictneſs, not ſtirring from their houſes unleſs to go to the ſynagogue. 6. They never

never offer any ſacrifice but on mount *Garizzim*. 7. They boaſt a continual ſucceſſion of prieſts from *Ruz* the ſon of *Phineas*. Their high prieſt always makes his reſidence at *Sichem*, now called *Naplouſa*, from whence he iſſues out his directions to the whole ſect for keeping their feſtivals and whatever relates to the *Moſaic* obſervances.

How and when the manuſcript of the pentateuch came into the hands of the *Samaritans*, is hard to gueſs. The general opinion is, that it was brought into *Samaria* by the prieſt whom *Ezarhaddon* ſent to inſtruct the new inhabitants of that country, and that after the rupture of the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, the latter wilfully corrupted thoſe places of it that made againſt them. Father *Simon* and the learned *Prideaux*, however, are of opinion, that it was brought to *Samaria* by *Manaſſeh* who married the daughter of *Sanballat*, and that it was tranſcribed from that of *Ezra*, ſince we find in it all the emendations and explanations which that inſpired writer is ſuppoſed to have made to thoſe five books, and conſequently could be of no older date. Each of theſe opinions is attended with difficulties which are not eaſily ſolved. Beſides this copy, written in the old character in the *Hebrew* tongue, the *Samaritans* had another written in the vulgar language ſpoken among them; becauſe, like the *Jews*, they had forgot the old *Hebrew*, and were accuſtomed to a mongrel mixture of *Aſſyrian*, *Babyloniſh*, and *Chaldee*. They had alſo a *Greek* verſion of it for the ſake of their helleniſtical brethren, as the *Jews* had the *Septuagint*. The old *Hebrew* copy remained for many centuries unknown to the weſtern Chriſtians. *Scaliger* was the firſt modern who got intelligence of it; after which is was brought over into *Europe*, and printed in the *Polyglots* of *Paris* and *London*, the latter of which is reckoned by far the moſt correct.

After *Ptolemy* had held *Judæa* about five years, he was forced to abandon it to *Antigonus* and his ſon, who came againſt him with a ſuperior army. *Ptolemy* having demoliſhed the fortifications of *Ace*, *Samaria*, *Joppa*, and *Gaza*, carried off an immenſe booty, and a great number of *Jews*, whom he ſettled at *Alexandria*, and endowed with conſiderable privileges and immunities. He was then deſigning to make that city the metropolis of *Egypt*; and being well ſatisfied with the faithfulneſs and uſefulneſs of the *Jews*, he ſpared no encouragement to allure them thither, and his endeavours were very ſucceſsful. *Judæa* yielded to *Antigonus*. Bef. Ch. 312.

Seleucus very much imitated the clemency and generoſity of the *Egyptian* king, while their competitor *Antigonus* ſtuck at no cruelty, falſehood, or tyranny. Great numbers of *Jews*, on this account, fell away from that tyrant to *Seleucus*, who granted them large privileges. He built ſixteen cities in leſſer *Aſia*, to which he gave the name of *Antioch*. Nine he called by his own name, ſix by that of his mother *Laodicea*, three from his firſt wife *Apamea*, and one from *Stratonice* his laſt wife. In all theſe he ſettled conſiderable colonies of the *Jews*, eſpecially *Seleucus* favourable to the *Jews*.

especially at *Antioch* in *Syria*. Hence this nation came to spread themselves over *Syria* and lesser *Asia*, whilst *Judæa* became yet thinner of its own inhabitants. *Ptolemy*, after the death of *Antigonus*, who was slain at the battle of *Ipsus*, again obtained possession of *Cœle Syria* and *Judæa*.

Onias the high priest dies, and is succeeded by *Simon* the Just.

Onias, the high priest of the *Jews*, dying the year after, was succeeded in the high priesthood by *Simon* his son, who from the holiness of his life, and the great integrity which shone forth in all his actions, was called *Simon the Just*. He enjoyed the office of high priest nine years, during which he repaired and fortified the temple and the city with high walls, and caused to be made in *Jerusalem* a most capacious cistern, covered with brass, as a reservoir for water. He is supposed to have finished the canon of the Old Testament, by adding the books of *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Esther*, the *Chronicles*, and *Malachi*, it being evident that some explanatory clauses were added to these books, after they were first written, and that some of the genealogies are carried down to *Alexander* the Great. *Simon* died in the ninth year of his pontificate, and left a son named *Onias*; but he being an infant, *Eleazar* the brother of *Simon* was substituted in his stead. *Eleazar* executed this office 15 years; but with this difference, that whereas all the high priests before him had sat as presidents of the synagogue or grand council of the *Jews*, *Simon* was succeeded in this dignity by one *Antigonus* of *Socho*, a person of great learning and piety. This man, the *Jews* tell us, was the master of *Saddoc*, the chief of the *Sadducean* sect, and taught that our serving God ought to be free either from slavish fear of punishment, or from selfish hope of reward, and flow from the pure love and reverence of that supreme being. *Saddoc*, they say, being unable to relish such a spiritual doctrine, took it into his head, that his master meant no more by it than that there were neither rewards nor punishments, nor even life after this; which notion became in time so general among the richer sort of *Jews*, that all the great places in church and state were filled by persons of that sect.

Antigonus Socho succeeds *Simon*.

Ptolemy Philadelphus a great friend to the *Jews*.

Ptolemy Philadelphus having succeeded his father *Ptolemy Soter* in *Egypt*, the *Jews* found him also their great protector. As he was a great lover of learning, and was forming a noble library in *Alexandria*, he strove to oblige them with greater favours than they had received even from his father, in order to obtain from them a copy of the sacred books to be translated into *Greek*, and deposited among the immense number of volumes which he had procured from all parts of the world. The learned *Usher* supposes this version, which is commonly known by the name of the *Septuagint*, to have been made in the seventh year of that monarch's reign. The name of the *Septuagint* was given to it because, according to the *Jews*, there were 72 persons concerned in the translation, and that the versions made by each of them separately, miraculously agreed without the difference of a single word. This story, with several other fabulous circumstances mentioned by antient writers,

An account of the *Septuagint* version.

is now confuted by modern critics; but for the arguments on this ſubject, we refer our readers to the learned *Prideaux* and the authors cited by him in his Connection of the hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament. We ſhall only obſerve here, that there was near this time a verſion of the *Hebrew* books made into *Greek*, with which the helleniſt *Jews* were ſo delighted, that they inſtituted an annual feaſt in memory of it, when they made a ſolemn proceſſion to the iſland of *Pharos*, the place where the 72 *Iſraelitiſh* elders are ſuppoſed to have been ſhut up when they were employed in the tranſlation: whereas the more zealous hebraizing *Jews*, who looked upon it as a vile profanation of their holy religion, conceived ſuch horror againſt it, that they inſtituted a faſt in memory of it.

Whether all the books of the Old Teſtament were tranſlated at once by the ſame ſet of men, or, as ſome allege, only the five books of *Moſes*, we have no ſufficient ground, to affirm. But whatever wonders and fables the *Jews* may have invented, and the Chriſtians ſwallowed, concerning this verſion, yet it was not without the conduct of divine providence that theſe ſacred books were tranſlated into a tongue ſo univerſally known and ſpoken ſo many centuries before the completion of thoſe prophecies which they contained, and which were in due time to be fulfilled in the promiſed Meſſiah. Had thoſe divine oracles been kept in the hands of the *Jews*, and in their original *Hebrew*, till the preaching of the goſpel, they muſt have loſt a very conſiderable part of their evidence, which by their being promulgated in ſo known a language, and diſperſed ſo far and wide, is now rendered unqueſtionable and irrefragable.

Antiochus Socho ſucceeded by *Joazer.*

The *Jews* enjoying all the tranquility they could wiſh under the protection of *Ptolemy*, made uſe of that interval to ſtudy and explain the ſacred books. They kept open ſchools, at the head of which was *Antigonus* of *Socho*. He died in the 22d year of *Ptolemy*'s reign, in the great eſteem of his nation, and was ſucceeded by *Joſeph* the ſon of *Joazer*, who took the title of *Naſſi* or prince, and by *Joſeph* the ſon of *John*, who took that of *Abbeth-din*, or father or preſident of the Sanhedrim; and theſe jointly read their public lectures at *Jeruſalem*.

The *Jews*, about this time, were not only favoured by *Ptolemy*, but by *Antiochus Theos*, the grandſon of *Seleucus*, and king of *Syria*, who granted to thoſe of *Jonia* the ſame privileges and franchiſes with the *Greeks*. This prince was engaged in a long and bloody war with *Antiochus* againſt *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, which was at length terminated by a treaty of marriage, *Antiochus* agreeing to marry *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolemy*, and to repudiate his firſt wife *Laodicea*.

Onias the ſon of *Simon* the Juſt made high prieſt.

The year before the concluſion of this peace died *Manaſſeh* the high prieſt of the *Jews*, who had ſucceeded *Eleazar*. Upon his death *Onias* the unworthy ſon of *Simon* the Juſt ſucceeded to the pontifical office in the 32d year of his age. He was of a baſe, ſordid ſpirit, neglected every thing but hoarding up of treaſure, and was like to have ruined the *Jewiſh* ſtate by his avarice,

avarice, had not a near relation of his found out a notable expedient to ſave it.

Mean while *Antiochus* having broke the contract made with the king of *Egypt* by a ſeries of enormous murders, became ſo odious to all his ſubjects, that *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who had ſucceeded his father in *Egypt*, eaſily diſpoſſeſſed him of the provinces of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, beſides ſeveral other cities in *Aſia*, all which readily opened their gates to him upon his appearing. *Euergetes*, in his return from all theſe conqueſts, paſſed thro' *Judea*, and coming to *Jeruſalem*, offered a great number of ſacrifices at the temple there, as an acknowledgement for his late ſucceſſes.

He draws upon himſelf the reſentment of *Ptolemy*.

Onias, the high prieſt of the *Jews*, growing more covetous as he grew older, inſtead of ſending the annual tribute of twenty talents of ſilver to the treaſury of the king of *Egypt*, ſunk that money for ſeveral years into his own coffers. How many years he had neglected the payment of the tribute, *Joſephus* does not mention; but the arrears had grown to ſuch an height, that *Ptolemy Euergetes* thought fit to ſend *Athenion*, one of his favourites, to demand them of that pontiff, threatning if they were not paid, to drive all the *Jews* out of their country. This unexpected demand and threatning threw the whole city into the utmoſt conſternation. *Onias*, however, remaining inſenſible of the danger, and ſeeming reſolved to ſacrifice his nation to the reſentment of the *Egyptian* king rather than refund any part of his ſtolen pelf, his nephew *Joſeph*, who was the ſon of his ſiſter by *Tobias*, came immediately from the country and expoſtulated with him. *Joſeph* was then but young, but was highly eſteemed for his piety, juſtice, and prudence. After having upbraided his uncle for his ſordid diſpoſition, he obtained from him his conſent to go to make his apology at the *Egyptian* court. Having publiſhed his deſign to the people, and thereby diſſipated their fears, he invited *Athenion* to his houſe, and entertained him in a kind and ſumptuous manner all the reſt of the time he ſtayed at *Jeruſalem*, and upon his departure, made him ſeveral conſiderable preſents. The friendſhip of *Athenion* being thus ſecured, *Joſeph* ſoon after borrowed of the bankers of *Samaria* 20,000 drachms, or about 700 pounds ſterling, and ſet out for *Alexandria* with a handſome equipage. He was received by *Ptolemy* with great kindneſs; and by his addreſs having learned the value of the taxes of *Cœleſyria*, *Phœnicia*, *Judæa*, and *Samaria*, he obtained the farming of thoſe provinces, and ſet out from *Egypt* with an eſcort of 2000 men to aſſiſt him in collecting the royal tribute. Having ſeverely puniſhed the authors of a tumult at *Aſcalon* and *Scythopolis*, he ſo overawed the other cities, that they willingly paid their taxes, which he remitted ſo punctually to court, that he was continued in his office 22 years, during which time he gained an immenſe treaſure.

His nephew *Joſeph* appeaſes the king.

Mean while *Ptolemy*, ſurnamed *Philopator*, ſucceeded his father *Euergetes* in *Egypt*. *Onias* the high prieſt dying ſoon after

ter the acceſſion of *Philopator* to the throne, was ſucceeded by his ſon *Simon* II. a man of great piety and zeal, of ſingular conduct and courage, all which were put to a ſevere proof before he had paſſed the firſt year of his pontificate. The *Jews*, during the whole time of the cowardly *Onias*, had ſuffered a conſtant ſeries of evils from the *Samaritans*, there being ſcarce a year in which they did not make ſome incurſion, ravage the country, and carry away captives. *Simon* II. ſucceeds *Onias*.

Antiochus the Great taking the advantage of the weak government of *Philopator*, who was ſunk in vice and profligacy, reſolved to attempt the recovery of *Cœleſyria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Judæa*, which had been in poſſeſſion of his predeceſſors; but in his firſt attempt he was repulſed by *Theodotus* an *Ætolian* governor of *Phœnicia*. The *Egyptian* court, however, diſobliging *Theodotus*, he entered into a correſpondence with *Antiochus*, and promiſed to deliver up to him the provinces above-mentioned. The following ſpring he accordingly declared for him, and *Antiochus* having defeated the troops of *Ptolemy*, advanced to the borders of *Egypt*; but finding it then impracticable to invade that kingdom on account of the riſing of the *Nile*, he enlarged his conqueſts in *Syria*. The year after *Antiochus* invaded *Galilee*, and took a great many cities on both ſides of the *Jordan*; but the following ſummer he was entirely defeated by *Ptolemy* at *Raphia* on the borders of *Egypt*, and forced to abandon all his conqueſts in thoſe provinces. *Antiochus* the Great invades *Galilee*.

After this victory all the cities made their ſubmiſſion to *Ptolemy*, and the *Jews* were ſome of the moſt forward to come and congratulate him upon his late ſucceſs. He received them kindly, and coming to *Jeruſalem*, offered a great many ſacrifices to the true God, and made ſome conſiderable preſents to the temple. The beauty of the temple, and the ſplendid order and decency of its worſhip, unhappily raiſed in the king a curioſity of ſeeing the inſide. *Simon* the high prieſt failed not to repreſent to him the ſacredneſs of the place, from which not only ſtrangers, but even the *Jews* themſelves who were not of the ſacerdotal order, were excluded. The people, in the mean time, aſſembled in great conſternation from all quarters, and the prieſts ſurrounding the king, endeavoured to diſſuade him from his deſign; but he being only rendered thereby more obſtinate, forced his way thro' the outward courts, and was going to enter into the holy place itſelf, when God ſmote him with ſuch a dread and terror, that he was carried out of the place in a manner half dead. He ſoon after departed from *Jeruſalem*, filled with great wrath againſt the whole nation of the *Jews*, and on his return to *Alexandria*, carried on a moſt cruel perſecution againſt them; an account of which, and of the miraculous deliverance of the *Jews*, our readers will find in the hiſtory of the *Ptolemies* of *Egypt*. *Ptolemy Philopator* entirely defeats him. The temple profaned by him. His miraculous puniſhment. He perſecutes the *Jews*.

Ptolemy Philopator dying ſoon after, left his dominions to his ſon *Epiphanes*, an infant between four and five years old. *Antiochus* the Great, and *Philip* of *Macedon*, taking the advantage of

of the minority of the king of *Egypt*, entered into an alliance to diveſt him of his whole kingdom. *Philip* was to invade *Egypt*, and *Antiochus* the provinces of *Paleſtine* and *Phænicia*, and each was to keep all he conquered. The *Jews*, on this occaſion, contrary to their wonted loyalty, took part with *Antiochus*, who made a quick progreſs in that province. He was again as quickly deprived of it by *Scopas* the *Egyptian* general, who reduced the *Jews* to their former obedience. The *Syrian* king, in a ſecond expedition, again reduced a great part of the provinces; and the *Jews* did him ſuch ſignal ſervices, that he reſolved to ſpare no favour to fix them to his intereſt, and by their aſſiſtance he drove *Scopas* from the citadel of *Jeruſalem*. *Antiochus*, willing to gratify the *Jewiſh* nation for their ſo freely engaging in his intereſt, ſent a decree to his general, who was named *Ptolemy*, in which he acquainted him, that he deſigned to reſtore their metropolis to its antient ſplendor, liberty and privileges, and to recall all thoſe *Jews* who had been driven out of it, from his ſingular reſpect to the temple of their God. By another decree he granted unto them 20,000 pieces of ſilver, towards the charges of victims, frankincenſe, wine and oil; 1400 meaſures of fine wheat, and 373 meaſures of ſalt, towards their uſual oblations: that the temple ſhould be thoroughly repaired at his own coſt: that they ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion: that no ſtranger or *Jew* that was unpurified, ſhould enter within the rail of the temple: and that no fleſh of unclean beaſts ſhould be brought into *Jeruſalem*, not even their ſkins, and all theſe under the penalty of paying 3000 pieces of ſilver into the treaſury of the temple. He further granted an exemption from all taxes for three years to all the diſperſed *Jews* that ſhould come within a limited time to repeople that metropolis, and thoſe that had been ſold for ſlaves within his metropolis, ſhould be immediately ſet free.

The *Jews* declare for *Antiochus* the Great againſt *Ptolemy Epiphanes*.

Onias III. Ref. Chr. 195.

About three years after, *Simon* II. the high prieſt, died, and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon *Onias* III. a perſon of great piety and clemency, and worthy to have lived in better times than thoſe of his pontificate. This is the pontiff to whom our learned *Uſher* ſuppoſes *Anæus*, king of *Lacedemon*, to have ſent a letter; but from many circumſtances we are rather inclined to think that it was *Anæus* the firſt of that name. In the eighth year of *Onias* III. the *Jews* loſt their great friend and protector *Antiochus*, but found as kind a governor, for ſome time, in his ſon and ſucceſſor *Seleucus*. The *Jews*, at this period, were in ſuch high eſteem, that ſovereign princes courted their friendſhip, and made magnificent preſents to the temple, the ordinary expences of which *Seleucus* furniſhed out of his own treaſury. *Judæa* enjoyed a profound peace, and the laws were obſerved with great ſtrictneſs under the worthy high prieſt, until a miſunderſtanding which happened between him and *Simon*, a *Benjamite*, brought a ſeries of evils on the *Jewiſh* ſtate.

Seleucus ſucceeds *Antiochus*, and is kind to the *Jews*.

This

This *Simon*, who is ſuppoſed to have been one of the ſons of *Joſeph*, the generous ſon of *Tobias* lately mentioned, being made governor of the temple, quickly had ſome differences with *Onias*, and finding that he could not get the better of the high prieſt, fled with his brothers to *Apollonius*, governor of *Cœleſyria* and *Paleſtine* for *Seleucus*, and acquainted him that there were immenſe treaſures laid up in the temple of *Jeruſalem*. *Seleucus* being informed of this by the governor, immediately diſpatched *Heliodorus* to *Jeruſalem* to fetch away the treaſures to *Antioch*. *Heliodorus*, on his arrival at *Jeruſalem*, acquainted *Onias* with the orders he had received from the king; but the high prieſt abſolutely refuſing to give his conſent that the treaſure ſhould be removed, *Heliodorus*, with the *Syrians* that accompanied him, marched directly to the temple, and cauſing the gates to be broke down, were juſt going to enter it, when God ſmote them with ſuch a pannic terror, that they fell down half dead. *Heliodorus*, upon his recovery and return to *Antioch*, informed the king of what had happened to him; but *Seleucus* not much regarding his relation, and being ſtill eager to get poſſeſſion of the *Jewiſh* treaſures, aſked him if he knew any man that was fit to be ſent upon that expedition. *Heliodorus* anſwered, that if the king had any enemy that he would be glad to get rid of, he need but ſend him to rifle that ſacred place.

A fatal breach between *Onias* and *Simon*.

Heliodorus the *Syrian* endeavours to force the temple, but is miraculouſly puniſhed.

When the traitor *Simon* found that he had miſſed his aim, he endeavoured to perſuade the *Jews*, that it was the high prieſt who had invited *Heliodorus* to *Jeruſalem*, and drew ſuch a party againſt him, that ſeveral perſons were killed on both ſides. *Onias* ſeeing his rival in high favour with *Apollonius* the governor, and fearing the conſequences of ſuch an inteſtine faction, went to *Antioch*, and making complaints to the king, *Simon* was thereupon baniſhed. *Seleucus* dying ſoon after, and his ſon *Antiochus Epiphanes* ſucceeding him, the *Jews* were not long before they felt the dreadful effects of his fury; their calamities, however, were more owing to the factions and feuds that reigned among themſelves, than to the cruel temper of this new monarch.

Antiochus was ſcarce ſettled on his throne, before *Jaſon*, the brother of *Onias* the high prieſt, knowing that the treaſury of the king was greatly exhauſted, went to *Antioch*, and procured from him the high prieſthood at the price of 360 talents, obtaining alſo an order that his brother ſhould be ſent to that metropolis, and confined to dwell there. *Jaſon* having little regard to the laws and religion of his country, offered the king 150 talents more, and in conſideration of that ſum, obtained from him the liberty of erecting at *Jeruſalem* a gymnaſium or place of public exerciſes, ſuch as were practiſed in *Greece*; of eſtabliſhing an academy for training up the youth after the *Grecian* manner; and likewiſe a power of making ſuch *Jews* as he thought fit free of the city of *Antioch*. Upon his return to *Judæa* with theſe powers, he formed a ſtrong party, being joined by the malecontent ſons of *Joſeph* lately mentioned,

Onias ſupplanted by his brother *Jaſon*, Bef. Ch. 175.

who introduces the *Grecian* cuſtoms.

mentioned, and a number of others, who, thro' a wanton inconſtancy, were become exceſſively fond of the *Grecian* cuſtoms, and as weary of their own. From this time a general apoſtacy from the *Jewiſh* religion overſpread the greateſt part of the nation, the prieſts as well as the laity neglecting the ſervice of the temple, to aſſiſt at theſe new heatheniſh exerciſes.

He ſends preſents to ſacrifice to *Hercules*.

As *Jaſon* ſtuck at nothing that could ingratiate himſelf with *Antiochus*, he ſent, the year following, a number of his partizans, on whom he had beſtowed the freedom of *Antioch*, to aſſiſt at the *Olympic* games at *Tyre*, with a conſiderable ſum to be ſpent in ſacrifices to the *Tyrian Hercules*, in whoſe honour thoſe games were celebrated: but theſe men, whether out of conſcience or fear, choſe rather to make a preſent of it to the *Tyrians* towards the repairing of their fleet.

Is ſupplanted by his brother *Menelaus*,

In the third year of *Jaſon*'s pontificate, his brother *Menelaus*, whom he had ſent to *Antiochus* with the uſual tribute, inſinuated himſelf into the king's favour by the moſt baſe flatteries; and by offering the ſum of 300 talents more than *Jaſon* had paid for the high prieſthood, he eaſily obtained it. On his return to *Jeruſalem*, he ſoon formed a ſtrong party, at the head of which were the ſons of *Tobias*, who were then very powerful in *Judæa*. *Jaſon's* party, however, remaining the ſtrongeſt, forced *Menelaus* and his partizans to retire to *Antioch*, where, to gain the favour of *Antiochus*, they declared to him, that they were fully reſolved to forſake their old religion, and wholly to conform to that of his country. *Antiochus* was ſo pleaſed with this declaration, that he ſent them back with a force ſufficient to drive *Jaſon* out of *Judæa* into the land of the *Ammonites*.

who endeavours to cauſe a general apoſtacy.

Menelaus being thus ſeated in his new dignity, applied himſelf wholly to outdo his brother in his apoſtacy. He neglected, however, the payment of the money he had promiſed to the king; on which account he was ſent for to *Antioch*. Finding that nothing but the payment of the king's money could recover his favour, *Menelaus* ſent private inſtructions to his brother *Lyſimachus*, whom he had left as his vicegerent at *Jeruſalem*, to

Bef. Ch. 172.

He rifles the temple.

convey to him as many of the golden veſſels as he could conveniently ſtrip the temple of. His brother *Onias*, having intelligence of this ſacrilege, made ſuch bitter complaints againſt *Menelaus*, as were like to have raiſed all the *Antiochian Jews* againſt him. *Antiochus* being at this time abſent, *Andronicus*, one of his nobles, was at the head of the adminiſtration, and, upon receiving a conſiderable ſum of money from *Menelaus*, cauſed his brother *Onias* to be baſely murdered, in the 24th year of his pontificate. *Onias*, during his reſidence at *Antioch*, had gained the eſteem both of the *Jews* and *Greeks*, who, upon the return of *Antiochus*, accuſed *Andronicus* of the murder. The king having examined into the affair, cauſed *Andronicus* to be put to death on the ſpot where *Onias* had been murdered. *Menelaus*, tho' the moſt guilty of the two, found means to avoid the preſent ſtorm, and to maintain his credit ſome time longer.

Mean-

Meanwhile the *Jews* getting intelligence of the ſacrilege committed by *Lyſimachus*, immediately had recourſe to arms, and fell upon him and the 3000 men whom he had for a guard with ſuch deſperate fury, that they put them to flight; and purſuing *Lyſimachus* to the treaſury of the temple, there put him to death. The *Jewiſh* ſanhedrim, ſoon after, ſent three deputies to *Antiochus* at *Tyre*, to accuſe *Menelaus*, who, alarmed at the danger which threatened him, had recourſe to bribery, and, by promiſing a large ſum to *Ptolomy Macron* the king's favourite, got himſelf abſolved, and the three deputies condemned to death. This unjuſt ſentence, which was forthwith put in execution, gave the traitor *Menelaus* ſuch a complete victory, that from thenceforward he gave himſelf up to all manner of tyranny and wickedneſs, none of the members of the ſanhedrim now daring to oppoſe him, tho' they ſaw that every ſtep he took was with deſign to enſlave the nation ſtill more, and to deſtroy the ſmall remains of their religion and liberties.

Menelaus is accuſed by deputies from the *Jewiſh* ſanhedrim.

The tyranny and impiety of *Menelaus*.

Antiochus leaving *Tyre* marched into *Egypt*, and made conſiderable conqueſts in that kingdom; but a falſe rumour prevailing in *Paleſtine* that he was killed before *Alexandria*, *Jaſon*, who had hitherto been a refugee among the *Ammonites*, thought he had now a fair opportunity for recovering his dignity, and aſſembling a body of 1000 men, appeared before *Jeruſalem*, which, by the aſſiſtance of his party within the walls, he quickly made himſelf maſter of. Having forced *Menelaus* to retire into the citadel, he then indulged his reſentment, and committed the moſt horrid butcheries againſt ſuch of the *Jews* as he ſuſpected to have been of the contrary party. *Antiochus* receiving intelligence that the *Jews* had made rejoicings on the news of his death, and hearing alſo of the tranſactions of *Jaſon*, returned with his army againſt *Jeruſalem*; and having taken the place by force, he ſlew of the inhabitants, within three days, 40,000 perſons, and having taken as many more captives, he ſold them for ſlaves to the neighbouring nations (A). His fury did not ſtop here. He impiouſly forced himſelf into the temple, and entered into the inner and moſt ſacred receſſes of it, the wicked traitor *Menelaus* being his conductor, and ſhewing him the way into both. To offer the greater indignity to the ſacred place, he ſacrificed a ſow upon the altar of burnt offerings, cauſing broth, which had been made of ſome part of the fleſh of it, to be ſprinkled all over the temple. He cauſed the golden altar of incenſe, the golden table of ſhew-bread, the golden candleſtick, the cenſers, bowls, and other utenſils belonging to that holy place, to be ſeized, together with all the ſacrifices

Jaſon forces into *Jeruſalem*; which city *Antiochus* takes by ſtorm. Bef. Chr. 170.

He profanes the temple.

(A) *Jaſon*, upon his approach, fled into the land of *Ammon*, whence he was ſoon after obliged to withdraw, being deteſted by all that knew him. After ſhifting from place to place for ſome time, he at laſt went among the *Lacedemonians*, where he periſhed miſerably, his carcaſe being left to rot above ground.

been dedicated to it. He cauſed alſo the gold plating that covered the gates and other architecture of the temple, the veil which divided the holy from the moſt holy place, and in a word, all that was valuable, to be carried off, beſides 1800 talents of gold and ſilver, which he forced out of the treaſury. As a further mark of his reſentment againſt this unhappy nation, he appointed one *Philip*, a moſt barbarous *Phrygian*, governor of *Judæa*, and *Andronicus*, a perſon of the ſame brutiſh diſpoſition, governor of *Samaria*, leaving the apoſtate *Menelaus* in poſſeſſion of the high prieſthood.

The *Jews* grievouſly oppreſſed.

Antiochus, not ſatisfied with the cruelties committed by theſe governors, two years after ſent *Apollonius*, at the head of 22,000 men, with orders to plunder all the cities of *Judæa*, to murder all the men, and to ſave only the women and children for ſale. *Apollonius* having entered *Jeruſalem*, kept himſelf quiet till the next ſabbath, when aſſembling his troops, he ſent ſome of them to cut in pieces the *Jews* who were aſſembled in the temple and in the ſynagogues, while others maſſacred all whom they found in the ſtreets, the *Jews* ſuffering themſelves to be ſlaughtered rather than break their ſabbath by ſtanding on their defence. He next ordered the city to be plundered and ſet on fire, pulled down all the ſtately fabrics, cauſed the walls to be demoliſhed, and carried away captive about 10,000 perſons. The ſervice of the temple was now quite abandoned; and a large fortreſs being built out of the ruins of the city, a ſtrong garriſon was left in it, which ſo moleſted the few remaining inhabitants, that they abandoned the place (B).

A cruel perſecution in *Judæa*.

While *Apollonius* was thus employed, *Antiochus* was on his march from *Egypt*, having been ordered to evacuate that country by the peremptory command of the *Romans*. Upon his return to *Antioch*, he iſſued out a decree, that all nations within his dominions ſhould forſake their old religion and gods, and worſhip thoſe of the king. Tho' the decree was couched in general terms, yet it was chiefly levelled againſt the *Jews*, many of whom, either to avoid the effects of the king's rage, or to ingratiate themſelves with him, baſely apoſtatized, and became the bittereſt enemies of thoſe who ſtood firm to the true religion. The *Samaritans*, who, when the *Jews* were in proſperity, uſed to challenge kindred with them, now addreſſed themſelves to the king by a petition, and ſetting forth that tho' they had hitherto conformed to many of the *Jewiſh* ſuperſtitions, in imitation of their forefathers, who were not *Jews*, but originally *Sidonians*, yet they were now ready to embrace the king's religion, and begged that their temple on mount *Gerizzim*, which was dedicated to a god without a name, might thenceforth be dedicated to the *Grecian Jupiter*. Their requeſt was

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(B) In the time of this perſecution, *Jeſus* the ſon of *Sirach*, author of the apocryphal book of *Eccleſiaſticus*, is generally ſuppoſed to have lived.

complied

complied with; and while they peaceably enjoyed the fruits of their treacherous complaiſance, the *Jews* ſuffered the moſt ſevere perſecution for their zeal and firmneſs to their law. *Athenæus*, who was ſent by the king to ſee his decree put in execution in *Judæa* and *Samaria*, came to *Jeruſalem*, and having dedicated the temple to *Jupiter Olympius*, he cauſed his ſtatue to be erected on the altar of burnt offerings, with another leſs altar before it, whereon they offered ſacrifices to that falſe deity. At the ſame time there were altars, groves, and idols, ſet up in every city and town of *Judæa*; and all who refuſed to comply with the new religion, or were diſcovered practiſing any of the ordinances of the *Moſaical* law, were put to death; inſomuch that the whole land was a ſcene either of the moſt abominable idolatries and debaucheries, or of the moſt horrid butcheries.

The ſtatue of *Jupiter* ſet up in the temple.

The unheard-of barbarities committed by the *Syrian* ſoldiers, who were the miſſionaries in this converſion, having obliged the *Jews* to go and hide themſelves in holes and caverns among the rugged rocks, where wild roots and herbs were their only ſubſiſtence, ſome of them ventured to aſſemble themſelves in a cavern near *Jeruſalem*, to celebrate the ſabbath. *Philip*, their barbarous governor, being informed of this, came againſt them with a ſufficient force; and after having in vain offered them a general amneſty, if they would forſake their religion and conform to that of the king, forbore hoſtilities till next ſabbath, when he entered the cave without reſiſtance, and cauſed them all, men, women, and children, to be maſſacred, to the number of 1000. *Antiochus* hearing that ſuch numbers remained inflexible, came to *Jeruſalem* in perſon, either to ſee his orders more punctually obeyed, or the recuſants puniſhed with the moſt exquiſite cruelties. One of the firſt who fell a victim to his fury was the venerable *Eleazar*, a man of 90 years of age, reſpected by all for his great learning, probity, and zeal for his religion, and whoſe example had preſerved a great number of *Jews* from falling into apoſtacy. Having in vain endeavoured to force him to eat ſwine's fleſh, they dragged him to the place of execution, and put him to a moſt cruel death. After him the ſeven brethren, whoſe martyrdom is related in the ſame book of *Macabees*, ſuffered, one after another, the moſt exquiſite torments with invincible courage and conſtancy, whilſt their heroic mother ſtood by, encouraging and ſtrengthening them, in the *Hebrew* tongue, with the aſſurance of a glorious recompence in the next life; for which ſhe was laſt of all ſacrificed to the tyrant's fury, dying with the ſame chearfulneſs and intrepidity which ſhe had inſpired into her ſeven ſons.

The *Jews* who refuſe to apoſtatize are maſſacred.

It was about this time that *Mattathias*, an eminent prieſt of the family of *Joarib*, began to ſignalize himſelf, by his undaunted zeal for his religion. He was the great-grandſon of *Aſmonæus*, from whom the family had the name of *Aſmonæans*, and had, ſome time before, retired to *Modin*, his native place, with his five ſons, *Johanan*, ſurnamed *Kaddis*; *Simon*, ſurnamed *Thaſſi*; *Judas*,

The eminent zeal of *Mattathias*.

Judas, called *Maccabæus*; *Eleazar*, ſurnamed *Avarani*; and *Jonathan*, whoſe ſurname was *Apphus*. During his receſs there, *Apelles*, one of the king's officers, came to oblige the inhabitants of the place to comply with the edict. Having aſſembled the people, he addreſſed himſelf to *Mattathias*, on account of his dignity, hoping that if he could perſuade him to comply, his example would ſoon draw all the reſt. He made him the ampleſt promiſes, that the king's favour and protection, both to him and his ſons, would be the immediate reward of his compliance. *Mattathias* anſwered him, with a voice loud enough to be heard by all the aſſembly, that tho' the whole *Jewiſh* nation and the whole world were to conform to the king's edict, yet both he and his ſons would continue faithful to their God to the laſt minute of their lives.

He heads the *Jews* againſt the *Syrians*.

Some cowardly *Jews*, in the mean time, having been prevailed with to comply with the edict, *Mattathias* ſeeing one of them worſhiping an idol, immediately fell upon him, and killed him on the ſpot. His ſons, at the ſame time, being filled with the like zeal, killed the king's officer and his men, overthrew the altar and idol, and running about the city, cried out, that thoſe who were zealous for the law of their God ſhould follow them. By this means they quickly ſaw themſelves at the head of a numerous troop; and retiring into the deſerts of *Judæa*, they were ſoon joined by great numbers of others. *Mattathias*, and thoſe who were with him, reflecting that many of their brethren had periſhed from a ſcrupulous notion of not making reſiſtance on the ſabbath, after deliberately weighing the matter, came to a reſolution, that it was lawful, nay obligatory, to take up arms in their own defence, whenever they were attacked on the ſabbath, as well as on any other day. This decree having been privately communicated to the *Jews* in and out of *Paleſtine*, together with the reaſons for paſſing it, all of them received it; and from that time they made no difficulty to defend their lives and properties, at all times and upon all occaſions.

He reſtores the worſhip of God, and puniſhes the apoſtates.

Mattathias having got ſuch a company together as made the appearance of a ſmall army, began to come down with them into the plains, and to try his force, not only againſt their perſecutors, but alſo againſt his apoſtate brethren. Going round the cities of *Judah*, he pulled down the heathen altars, cauſed all male children whom he found uncircumciſed to be circumciſed, cut off all apoſtates that fell into his hands, and deſtroyed all the perſecutors wherever he came. He opened the *Jewiſh* ſynagogues, cauſed the divine worſhip in them to be reſumed, and was bleſſed with ſuch ſucceſs, that he had extended the reformation thro' a conſiderable part of *Judæa* within the ſhort ſpace of one year; and had, in all likelihood, gone thro' with it even to *Jeruſalem*, where the ſtrongeſt *Syrian* garriſon was kept, had he not been prevented by death. Finding himſelf quite worn out with age and ſickneſs, he called his five ſons together, and having exhorted them to ſtand up valiantly for the law of God, he appointed *Judas* to be their captain in his ſtead,

and

and *Simon* to be their counſellor; and then giving up the ghoſt, was buried at *Modin*, in the ſepulchre of his forefathers, and great lamentation was made for him by all the faithful in *Iſrael*.

Judas, ſurnamed *Maccabæus* (c), from whom the heroes of this period had the name of *Maccabees*, did not ſuffer his troops to continue longer idle than till they had ended the days of his father's mourning. His little army amounted to no more than 6000 men; but what he wanted in number was made up by the zeal and bravery of his troops: and God gave him ſuch ſucceſs, that he quickly got into ſome of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of *Judæa*; and having driven the *Syrians* out of their cities, villages, and advantageous poſts, he placed garriſons in them. His name ſoon became terrible to the *Syrians*, *Samaritans*, and apoſtate *Jews*, whilſt thoſe who had forſaken their own country to avoid perſecution, were encouraged to reſort daily to him from their retreats. *Apollonius*, who was governor of *Judæa* and *Samaria*, thinking to put a ſtop to his future progreſs, got an army together, and marched againſt him. *Judas* noways terrified at the ſuperior numbers of the enemy, ventured an engagement, and totally defeated them with great ſlaughter, *Apollonius* himſelf being among the number of the ſlain. Among the reſt of the ſpoil *Judas* found the ſlain governor's ſword, and uſed it ever after in thoſe wars which he waged againſt the enemies of the *Jewiſh* nation. *Seron*, who was deputy-governor of *Cœleſyria* under *Ptolemy Macron*, hearing of the defeat of *Apollonius*, got all the forces together that were under his command, and advanced as far as *Bethhoron*, where *Judas* met him with a handful of his men: theſe, ſeeing the vaſt ſuperiority of the enemy, expreſſed a great backwardneſs to engage, being then fatigued with marching and faſting; but *Judas* ſoon diſpelled their fears, by reminding them that they fought the cauſe of God, who was not wont to ſave by ſtrength or number. Having thus put new life into them, they fell upon the *Syrians* with ſuch vigour, that *Seron* was overthrown and killed, with 800 of his men, on the ſpot.

His ſon *Judas Maccabæus* ſucceeds him.

He defeats the *Syrians* with great ſlaughter.

When *Antiochus* heard of theſe two defeats, he was moved with great fury and indignation; but was nevertheleſs obliged to ſuſpend his reſentment till he could raiſe a ſufficient ſupply of

Antiochus's rage againſt the *Jews*.

(c) There are various conjectures concerning the etymology of the word *Maccabees*. The moſt general opinion is, that it was taken from the four initial letters of the 11th verſe of the xvth chapter of *Exodus*, *Mi, Camoca, Baelim, Jehovah*; that is, *Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods?* Theſe four letters are ſuppoſed to have been embroidered upon their ſtandards and ſhields, in the manner of the *Roman* S. P. Q. R. *Judas* ſeems to have borne this name by way of eminence; and from him it paſſed to his brethren and ſucceſſors, and thence to all who took up arms or died for the *Jewiſh* cauſe. *Prid. Connect.*

money to pay his army. Having marched in perſon, with part of his troops, againſt the *Armenians* and *Perſians*, he left the reſt with *Lyſias* to be employed againſt the *Jews*, whom he was ordered utterly to extirpate. *Lyſias* ſent to *Ptolemy Macron*, governor of *Cæleſyria* and *Phœnicia*, and to *Nicanor* and *Gorgias*, two experienced officers, 40,000 foot, with orders to ſee the king's commands punctually obeyed againſt the *Jewiſh* nation. This army came and encamped on the plains of *Emmaus*, not far from *Jeruſalem*, and was ſoon after reinforced with 7000 horſe, great numbers of merchants likewiſe reſorting thither for the buying of the captives which they reckoned would be taken in the war. *Judas* having by a ſpeech animated his ſmall army, which conſiſted only of 6000 men, led them all to *Mizpeh*, there to offer up their prayers to God for his merciful aſſiſtance. In this place, which was uſed by the *Jews* for their religious aſſemblies before the temple was built, they faſted in ſackcloth and aſhes, whilſt ſome portions of the ſcriptures were read and expounded to them. They then marched forth to fight the enemy: but when proclamation was made, according to the law, that all ſuch as had that year built houſes, betrothed wives, or planted vineyards, or were fearful, ſhould depart, the 6000 men were reduced to 3000. That valiant captain, however, committing the event to God, marched againſt the enemy; and being informed that *Gorgias* was advancing towards him with 5000 choſen men and 1000 horſe, with the deſign of ſurprizing him in his camp, he immediately decamped, and attacked the main army of the *Syrians*, of whom he killed 3000 men, the reſt flying in the utmoſt confuſion. *Gorgias*, who had been led thro' by-roads by ſome apoſtate *Jews* was ſurprized to find the camp of *Judas* deſerted; and conjecturing that he had fled to the mountains, returned to join the main army. His troops, however, ſeeing their camp on fire, immediately threw down their arms and fled; but the ſmall army of *Judas* continuing the purſuit, ſlew 6000 more of the *Syrians*, beſides a great number who were maimed and wounded. In the *Syrian* camp the *Jews*, among other rich ſpoils, found that money which the merchants had brought for the purchaſe of captives. The day after the victory being the ſabbath, it was celebrated by the *Jews* with ſuitable returns to the Divine Providence for their miraculous deliverance.

Judas gains a complete victory over a numerous army of *Syrians*.

Many *Jews*, from the fame of this great victory, now reſorting to *Judas*, he ſoon after totally defeated *Timotheus* and *Bacchides*, two of the king's generals, killing 20,000 of their men, and enriching his army with the ſpoil, part of which he, with great generoſity, diſtributed among his indigent brethren. *Nicanor* fled in diſguiſe to *Antioch*, and there excuſed his late diſgrace, by owning that the *Jews*, when under the protection of their God, were invincible.

He defeats *Timotheus* and *Bacchides*.

Lyſias hearing of the total defeat of the army he had ſent into *Judæa*, made all the haſte he could to put himſelf at the head of 60,000 foot and 5000 horſe; and entering *Judea* with them,

Lyſias totally defeated by *Judas*,

was met at *Bethzura*, near the confines of *Idumea*, by *Judas*, at the head of only 10,000 men, by whom he was totally defeated, and 8000 of his men ſlain. The *Syrian* governor perceiving the determined bravery of the *Jews*, thought proper to return to *Antioch*, without riſking a ſecond engagement.

All this while the ſanctuary continued polluted with abominable idols, the temple garriſoned by idolaters, and the city a ruined heap. As ſoon, therefore, as *Lyſias* was gone out of the city and province, *Judas* marched with his army to *Jeruſalem*, where he found all things in a very lamentable ſtate. When the firſt emotions of their grief were a little aſſwaged, he poſted ſome of his braveſt troops to guard all the avenues of the city from ſurprize, and then appointed ſuch of the prieſtly order as had ſignalized themſelves for their ſanctity and zeal to enter into the temple and ſee it thoroughly cleanſed from its prophane lumber, whilſt the reſt of the people were employed in clearing the ſtreets and other places of the city of all their rubbiſh. They broke to pieces all the old materials that had undergone any defilement, and carrying them out of the city, buried them in ſome common place. The ſtones of the altar of burnt-offering, which had been ſo notoriouſly profaned, were depoſited in a cave of the mountain of the temple, and a new altar was raiſed of unhewn ſtones, according to the law. The altar of incenſe, the table of ſhew-bread, the candleſtick, cenſers, and other ſacred utenſils, all of the pureſt gold, having been carried off, as well as the rich veil which covered the holy of holies, the *Jewiſh* chief cauſed them all to be made anew out of the ſpoils of their enemies. All theſe being ſet up in their reſpective places, and the holy and moſt holy place repaired, they began the divine worſhip with the dedication of the new altar and other holy utenſils, on the 25th day of the month *Ciſlieu*, it having ceaſed three years before, on the very ſame day, by the profanation of the temple. From this time it was never diſcontinued till the deſtruction of the temple by the *Romans*.

Judas purifies the temple.

The dedication was performed with all imaginable ſolemnity, being celebrated eight days with great devotion and joy; and it was appointed to be ſolemnized every year by the whole nation. It appears that Chriſt, long afterwards, vouchſafed to honour it with his preſence, tho' appointed only by human authority; which ſufficiently proves the lawfulneſs of inſtituting feſtivals in memory of public bleſſings *.

The feſtival of the dedication.

Tho' the *Jews* had now recovered their temple, yet ſtill there remained one great thorn in their ſides; for the fortreſs called *Acra*, which commanded it, was ſtill in the hands of the enemy, and ſtrongly garriſoned by them. As *Judas* was not in a condition to attempt the ſiege of the place, he contented him-

Judas fortifies the temple.

* Prid. Connect. an. 164. Grot. in Johan. 10.

ſelf

ſelf with fortifying the mountain of the temple with a high wall and ſtrong towers, leaving a ſtout garriſon for its defence, and to hinder that of *Acra* from diſturbing thoſe who reſorted to *Jeruſalem*. At the ſame time *Judas* cauſed ſome additional fortifications to be made to *Bethzura*, it being an advantageous fortreſs to obſtruct the entrance of the *Syrians* from *Idumea*, the ſouthern parts of the inheritance of the tribes of *Simeon* and *Judah* being now ſo called, having been ſeized by ſome *Idumean Arabs* during the *Jewiſh* captivity.

The neighbouring nations aſſiſt the *Syrians*. The death of *Antiochus*.

When the neighbouring nations heard what had been done at *Jeruſalem*, they were much moved with envy and hatred againſt the *Jews*, and reſolved to join their forces to extirpate the whole nation. They began with murdering all thoſe that chanced to live among them, and waited only the coming of *Antiochus* into *Judæa*, to aſſiſt him in the utter deſtruction of the *Jews*. *Antiochus*'s death, however, broke all their meaſures, and freed the *Jews* from the bloody deſigns which he had ſworn againſt them. The minority of the young *Antiochus* procured ſome ſhort reſpite to the *Jews*. *Ptolemy Macron*, who had been their inveterate enemy, was now by ſome means become their friend; but being accuſed for it to the king, he was deprived of his government of *Cœleſyria*; and *Lyſias*, who ſucceeded him, came ſoon after with a powerful army into *Judæa*.

Judas defeats the *Idumeans*.

Meanwhile *Gorgias*, who commanded the *Syrian* forces in *Idumea*, being aſſiſted by the *Idumeans* and apoſtate *Jews*, haraſſed *Judæa* with frequent incurſions. *Judas* aſſembling his forces, marched into their country, and killed no leſs than 20,000 of them in that part of their territories which was called *Acrabatene*. From thence he led them againſt the children of *Bean*, another tribe of the *Idumeans*; and they having retired into two of their ſtrongeſt fortreſſes, he made himſelf maſter of both places, putting all he found in them to the ſword, who were about 20,000 more. Some few were ſaved from this carnage, by bribing ſome of the *Jewiſh* officers to let them eſcape; but *Judas* having convicted them of the treachery before the reſt of the army, cauſed them to be put to death.

He defeats *Timotheus*.

Judas next paſſed the *Jordan*, and entering the land of the *Ammonites*, defeated and killed great numbers of them, and putting a ſtrong garriſon into the city of *Jazar*, marched back into *Judæa*. Soon after *Timotheus*, whom *Judas* had defeated two years before, invaded *Judæa* with a very numerous army. *Judas* did not let him penetrate far before he met and totally defeated him, killed 20,500 of his foot and 600 horſe, and forced him to retreat into the city of *Gazara*, which was commanded by his brother *Cheras*. The place being taken by *Judas*, after a ſiege of five days, *Timotheus* with his brother, and another general named *Apollophanes*, were ſlain.

The *Jews* out of *Judæa* maſſacred.

This victory only ſerved to exaſperate the heathen nations againſt the *Jews*. In the land of *Tob*, to the eaſt of *Gilead*, 1000 *Jews* were ſlain, and their wives and children carried into captivity. The reſt of their brethren in thoſe parts, to avoid the

the like fate, fled into *Dathema*, a fortreſs in the land of *Gilead*; but being beſieged by *Timotheus*, perhaps the ſon of him that was lately killed at *Gazara*, they ſollicited the aſſiſtance of *Judas*, who had ſcarcely done reading their letters, when he received others from other diſtreſſed brethren in *Galilee*. A ſanhedrim being immediately convened, it was reſolved that *Judas* and his brother *Jonathan* ſhould march into *Gilead* with 8000 men; that *Simon*, another of his brothers, ſhould proceed to *Galilee*; and that *Joſeph* and *Azarias*, his other brothers, ſhould ſtay, with the reſidue of their troops, to defend *Jeruſalem*.

Judas, after he had paſſed the *Jordan*, was informed that the *Jews*, in many cities of *Gilead*, were cloſely ſhut up by their enemies, who intended, after the taking of *Dathema*, to deſtroy them all in one day. On this intelligence, he immediately fell on *Baſſora*, and having taken it, deſtroyed all the males, freed his captive brethren, and then ſet it on fire. He next attacked *Timotheus*, juſt as he was ſtorming *Dathema*; and the enemy, on the news of his arrival, throwing down their arms and flying in confuſion, he purſued them, and killed 8000 of them. *Judas* after this took *Maſpha*, *Caſpon Maked*, *Boſor*, and all the other cities of *Gilead* where the *Jews* were oppreſſed; and having treated all thoſe places as he had *Baſſora*, he returned with his delivered brethren to *Jeruſalem* loaded with plunder. *Judas* marches to the relief of the *Gileadites*.

Simon, in the mean time, who had but 3000 men, defeated his enemies in *Galilee* in ſeveral encounters, and purſued them as far as *Ptolemais*. But as the *Jews* in that diſtant part could not be ſo eaſily protected, he brought them, with their wives and children, to *Jeruſalem*, from whence they were ſent to new people the deſolated cities of *Judæa*. Whilſt things went on thus ſucceſsfully in *Gilead* and *Galilee*, the two brothers, who were left to guard *Jeruſalem*, endeavoured to ſignalize themſelves, and led their army againſt *Jamnia*, ſituate on the *Mediterranean*, between *Joppa* and *Aſhdod*; but they were defeated, with the loſs of 2000 men, and obliged to return with ſhame to *Jeruſalem*. *Judas*, in the mean time, had led his forces into the ſouth parts of *Idumea*, and took and demoliſhed *Hebron* their metropolis, with all the neighbouring towns. He then entered the territories of the *Philiſtines* and *Samaritans*, ſtriking terror wherever he paſſed, and deſtroying the fortreſſes of the *Philiſtines*, with all their altars, groves, and other inſtruments of idolatry. *Simon*'s ſucceſs in *Galilee*. *Joſeph*'s unlucky attempt on *Jamnia*.

Lyſias was ſo galled with theſe ſucceſſes, that he aſſembled an army of 80,000 foot, together with all the horſe and elephants he could get, and marched into *Judæa*, and began the war with the ſiege of *Bethſura*. *Judas*, who was then at *Jeruſalem*, having firſt implored the Divine bleſſing on his arms, ſet out with his little army to its relief; and falling unexpectedly on the *Syrian* camp, killed 11,000 of the enemy, and put the reſt to flight. *Lyſias* being at laſt convinced how impoſſible it would be to carry on the war againſt ſuch an enemy with ho- *Judæa* invaded by *Lyſias*; who is defeated, and ſues for peace.

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nour and advantage, came to terms of peace with the *Jews*, which conditions were ratified by *Antiochus*, the two *Roman* ambaſſadors then in *Syria* interpoſing their good offices in behalf of *Judas* and his people. By the terms of this peace, a general amneſty was agreed to for whatever had been already done, the late edict againſt the *Jews* was wholly repealed, and liberty was granted them every where of living according to their own laws. It appears from the book of *Maccabees*, that *Menelaus*, the apoſtate high-prieſt, who in all likelihood was then at the *Syrian* court, had alſo laboured to promote this peace, and was deſirous to be included in it; ſince he was ſent back to *Jeruſalem* by *Antiochus*, to comfort or confirm the *Jews*, as his letter terms it.

The *Syrian* generals renew their hoſtilities.

This peace, however, could not be brooked by the greateſt part of the *Syrian* generals; ſo that as ſoon as *Lyſias* was retired to *Antioch*, *Timotheus*, *Apollonius* the ſon of *Genneus*, *Hieronymus*, *Demophon*, and *Nicanor* governor of *Cyprus*, began to renew their hoſtilities againſt the *Jews*. The neighbouring nations were equally forward to infeſt them; and they were cruelly uſed both at *Joppa* and *Jamnia*. *Judas* revenged himſelf on ſome of the inhabitants of thoſe two cities; but hearing that *Timotheus* had invaded *Gilead*, he marched againſt him, and on his way defeated a band of wandering *Arabs*, in number about 5000 foot and 500 horſe. Having granted a peace to the *Arabs*, and entered into an alliance with them, he croſſed the *Jordan*, and taking *Caſphin*, the inhabitants of which he put to the ſword, he proceeded to the land of *Tob*, in ſearch of *Timotheus*, who, before his arrival, had gone from thence.

The *Syrians* fly from *Judas*.

Part of *Judas*'s army forced a *Syrian* garriſon of 10,000 men, whom they put to the ſword; and ſoon after *Judas* attacked *Timotheus* near the river *Jabbok*. The *Syrians*, inſtead of making reſiſtance, fled with ſuch precipitation, that in the flight they wounded one another; and being purſued by the *Jews*, loſt 30,000 men. Thoſe who eſcaped the ſlaughter fled into *Carnion*, and a great number of them went and took refuge in the temple of *Atargatis*. *Judas*, who came cloſe after them, burnt the temple, and them in it, and then ſet fire to the city, where all the others periſhed, either by the flames or by his ſword, to the number of 25,000. He then gathered together all of the race of *Iſrael* in the land of *Gilead* or the parts adjoining, and ſettled them in the deſolated places of the land of *Judæa*. The garriſon of *Lyſias* in *Ephron* refuſing him a paſſage thro' the city in his return, tho' he demanded it of them in a peaceable manner, he took the place by ſtorm, put all the males, to the number of 25,000, to the ſword, and carried off their wives and daughters, with the richeſt of the plunder. Having burnt and razed *Ephron*, they returned to *Jeruſalem*, and went up to the temple to return thanks to God for their wonderful ſucceſs, they not having loſt one man, notwithſtanding the many dangerous enterprizes they had been engaged in.

He puniſhes the *Ephronites*.

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They returned to *Jeruſalem* about the time of Pentecoſt, and immediately after that feſtival, 3000 of them, with 400 horſe, marched againſt *Gorgias* and the *Idumeans*. *Judas* engaged the *Idumeans*, and after loſing ſeveral of his troops, at length obtained the victory, *Gorgias* with difficulty eſcaping to *Mariſa*, a fortreſs near *Elutheropolis*. After the ſabbath was paſſed, they buried ſuch of their brethren as were ſlain in the battle, and found about every one of them ſome things that had been dedicated to idols, which, tho' taken by them among the ſpoils of that war, were forbidden by the law to be kept by them. *Judas* having ſent ſome money to *Jeruſalem* to provide ſin offerings, marched into the ſouthern parts of *Idumea*, where he took *Hebron* and other fortreſſes; after which he took *Azotus* from the *Philiſtines*, pulled down all the images and altars wherever he paſſed, and returned to *Jeruſalem* with the ſpoils of his enemies.

His other remarkable ſucceſſes.

The fortreſs of *Acra* being ſtill in poſſeſſion of the *Syrians*, *Judas* aſſembled all his troops, and having provided many engines of war, laid ſiege to the place. During the ſiege, ſome apoſtate *Jews* eſcaping from thence to *Antioch*, made known to the king the diſtreſs of the garriſon at *Jeruſalem*; and repreſented the deſigns of *Judas* in ſuch a light, that forthwith an army was drawn together of 100,000 foot, 20,000 horſe, and 32 elephants, with 300 armed chariots. Theſe having the young king and his uncle *Lyſias* at their head, marched to the borders of *Idumea*, where they laid ſiege to the fortreſs of *Bethſura*. While they were employed in the ſiege, *Judas*, with a ſmall number of reſolute men, fell upon them in the night; and having killed 4000 of them, and thrown the whole camp into confuſion, retired by break of day, without the loſs of one ſingle man. Next morning both ſides prepared for a battle; and *Judas* and his men, with great fierceneſs, began the onſet; but after having ſlain about 600 *Syrians*, finding they muſt be overpowered at length by ſo great a number, they withdrew from the fight, and made a ſafe retreat to *Jeruſalem*.

He beſieges *Acra*.

Judas overpowered by the *Syrians*,

The garriſon of *Bethſura*, after ſuſtaining a long ſiege, ſurrendered upon honourable terms to the king, who from thence marched to *Jeruſalem*, and beſieged the temple. *Judas* and the garriſon made a long and vigorous defence; but were at length almoſt reduced to the neceſſity of ſurrendering for want of proviſions, when Providence was pleaſed to relieve them by an unforeſeen accident. *Philip*, whom *Antiochus Epiphanes* had appointed guardian of his ſon, having at this time aſſembled an army and ſeized *Antioch*, the king found himſelf under a neceſſity of granting a peace to the *Jews*, that he might be at leiſure to oppoſe him. After the peace was ratified, *Antiochus* was admitted within the fortifications of the temple; but when he ſaw how ſtrong they were, he cauſed them, contrary to the articles he had ſworn to, to be all pulled down and demoliſhed, and then returned to *Syria*.

who make themſelves maſters of *Bethſura*, and beſiege *Jeruſalem*.

A peace concluded.

Menelaus the high prieſt, in hopes of not only recovering his ſtation at *Jeruſalem*, but alſo of being made governor there, accompanied

Menelaus put to the death.

the king in this expedition. *Lyſias*, however, vexed with the ill conſequences that had attended this war, was now much exaſperated againſt this wretch, and accuſed him to the king as the original author of all this miſchief; on which accuſation he was condemned to death, and being carried to *Beræa*, he was there caſt headlong into a tower of aſhes.

Alcimus made high prieſt.

On his death, the king, by the perſuaſion of *Lyſias*, conferred the office of high prieſt on *Alcimus*, or *Jacimus*, of the houſe of *Aaron*, a perſon no leſs wicked than his predeceſſor. *Onias*, the ſon of that worthy high prieſt who had been murdered at *Antioch*, finding his right given to one who had neither title nor merit, fled from *Antioch* into *Egypt*; and having inſinuated himſelf into the favour of *Ptolemy Philometer*, obtained liberty, ſome time after, to build a temple at *Alexandria* like that of *Jeruſalem*.

Demetrius recovers *Syria*. Bef. Ch. 163.

A few months after the raiſing of the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, *Demetrius*, the lawful heir to the *Syrian* crown, eſcaping from *Rome*, where he had been ſeveral years an hoſtage, arrived at *Syria*; and being acknowleged as king by the *Syrians*, *Antiochus* and *Lyſias* were both put to death. The *Jews*, in the mean time, having refuſed to admit *Alcimus* to the prieſthood, becauſe he had polluted himſelf, by conforming to the ways of the *Greeks*, he aſſembled great numbers of the apoſtate *Jews* at *Antioch*, and went at their head to the new king, to pray his relief againſt *Judas* and his brethren, accuſing them of ſlaying many of the king's friends, and driving others out of the country.

He ſends an army to ſupport *Alcimus* againſt *Judas*.

Demetrius, on this complaint, was ſo exaſperated againſt the *Jews*, that he ordered *Bacchides*, governor of *Meſopotamia*, to march into *Judæa*, joining *Alcimus*, whom he confirmed in the office of high prieſt, in the ſame commiſſion with him. On their firſt coming into *Judæa*, they thought to have circumvented *Judas* and his brethren, and offered them a ſafe conduct, if they would agree to a conference. Their offer was rejected by *Judas*; but ſome doctors and ſcribes of the *Aſſideans*, who were a very ſtrict ſect among the *Jews*, truſting to the oath of *Alcimus*, were treacherouſly ſeized and put to death by him, to the number of ſixty.

Alcimus is joined by the apoſtate *Jews*; but is forced to return to *Antioch*.

Bacchides finding he could not prevail againſt *Judas*, left a body of forces with *Alcimus*, and returned to *Syria*. *Alcimus*, favouring the apoſtate *Jews*, was joined by great numbers of them, and made continual incurſions into ſome part or other of the country, plundering and deſtroying all that refuſed to acknowlege him. *Judas*, on his ſide, was no leſs watchful of all opportunities to oppoſe and depreſs him. He took ſuch a ſevere vengeance on as many of the revolted *Jews* that fell into his hands, that *Alcimus* and his party were at length not able to ſtand againſt him. *Alcimus* thereupon returned to the *Syrian* court, and having preſented *Demetrius* with a crown of gold and other valuable preſents, renewed his complaints againſt *Judas* and his brethren, and obtained a freſh army, the com-

mand

mand of which was given to *Nicanor*. This general, however, being convinced of the bravery of *Judas* and his troops, resolved, if possible, to bring the *Jewish* chief to accept of a peace, rather than hazard any more battles with him. Articles of peace were accordingly agreed on between them; after which *Judas* and *Nicanor* conversed in a friendly manner together.

Judas and *Nicanor* conclude a peace.

Alcimus, however, not liking this peace, as thinking his interest not sufficiently provided for by it, went a third time to *Antioch*, and complained against *Nicanor*, as a betrayer of the king's interest; so that *Demetrius* refused to ratify the articles, and sent positive orders to *Nicanor* to go on with the war, and not to sheath the sword till he had killed *Judas*, or taken him prisoner, and wholly suppressed his party. *Nicanor*, upon receiving this unexpected order, was forced, much against his inclination, to renew hostilities against the *Jews*; but hoping to surprize *Judas*, and thereby to put an end to the war, he invited him to a conference at *Jerusalem*, in which city he had for some time lived in perfect friendship with the *Jews*. *Judas* had observed some change in his behaviour to him of late; but nevertheless came to the place appointed for the interview; from whence, however, he quickly withdrew, having discovered the treacherous design of *Nicanor*.

Nicanor is forced to renew hostilities.

A battle was soon after fought between the *Jews* and *Syrians*, at *Caphar salama*, not far from *Jerusalem*, where *Nicanor* lost 5000 men; but the *Jews* finding themselves unable to make head against the enemy's superior forces, retired, some to the city of *David*, and some into the temple. *Nicanor* being exasperated against the *Jews* on account of this defeat, returned towards *Jerusalem*, and getting upon an eminence of the mountain of the temple, cast many insolent and blasphemous reflections on the *Jewish* religion, and swore the utter destruction of them and their temple, unless *Judas* was immediately delivered up to him. *Judas*, however, had retired with a few of his friends to *Samaria*, and soon after found himself at the head of 3000 men, with whom he marched against *Nicanor*, who had taken the field with 35,000 men. *Nicanor*, contrary to the persuasions of the *Jews* in his army, pitched upon the sabbath for engaging *Judas*, who, having encouraged his little army with proper texts out of the sacred books, began the attack, and routed the enemy at the very first onset. *Nicanor* being among the first who were slain, his men were seized with a panic, threw down their arms, and fled. The *Jews* of the neighbouring cities, however, stopping their flight, and *Judas* pursuing them, they were all killed to a man, not a single person being left to carry the news to *Antioch*.

He is defeated and slain by *Judas*.

This victory gave the *Jewish* nation some peaceful intermission; The *Jews* during which, *Judas* observing how powerful the *Romans* were make an grown, and how faithfully they then protected and assisted their alliance friends, resolved to procure an alliance with them. The proposals with *Rome*. made by his ambassadors were readily accepted by the *Roman* senate;

ſenate; and a decree was made, that the *Jews* ſhould be acknowleged as friends and allies of the *Romans*, and a league of mutual defence thenceforth ſhould be eſtabliſhed between them. A letter was alſo written by the *Romans* to *Demetrius*, requiring him to deſiſt from vexing the *Jews*, and threatning him with war if he ſhould not comply with their requeſt.

Demetrius, in the mean time, having received an account of the death of *Nicanor*, ſent *Bacchides* and *Alcimus*, with the flower of his troops, into *Judæa*. This army conſiſted of 20,000 foot and 2000 horſe: but *Judas* had only 3000 men to oppoſe them; and when the enemy entered *Judæa*, all his troops deſerted him, except 800 men. *Judas*, however, truſting in that ſuperior aſſiſtance which had hitherto accompanied him, ventured an engagement; but being overborne by the numbers of the enemy, was ſlain in the conflict; for which all *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* made great lamentation. *Jonathan* and *Simon*, his brothers, taking up his dead body, buried him honourably at *Modin* in the ſepulchre of his forefathers.

Judas defeated and ſlain by *Alcimus* and *Bacchides*.

The apoſtates and others, who were ill affected to the true intereſt and peace of their country, now reſumed their ſpirits, and began to create diſturbances in different parts of the land. The *Jews*, for want of a chief, and partly thro' a grievous famine, were forced to acknowlege *Bacchides* their governor, who no ſooner got the whole country in his power, than he ordered diligent ſearch to be made after the principal friends and adherents of the *Maccabees*, whom he cauſed to be put to the moſt torturing deaths. This perſecution ſeemed to exceed any that the *Jews* had ſuffered ſince their return from *Babylon*, and cauſed a general defection; but many flying to *Jonathan* the brother of *Judas*, he at length ſet himſelf to oppoſe the *Syrians*. *Bacchides* endeavouring to ſurprize him, he fled with his followers to the deſerts of *Tekoah*, and encamped between the lake *Aſphar* and the river *Jordan*.

The *Jews* grievouſly perſecuted.

Not long after, *Bacchides* having made himſelf maſter of the paſs that led to their camp, attacked the *Jews* on the ſabbath; but they defended themſelves with great vigour, and ſlew of the enemy about 1000 men. Finding, however, that they muſt at length be overpowered by their numbers, they caſt themſelves into the *Jordan*, and ſwam over to the other ſide. *Bacchides* did not think fit to purſue them, but returned with his army to *Jeruſalem*, and there gave orders for the fortifying and garriſoning ſuch places as were moſt likely to keep the *Jews* in awe. Among thoſe were *Bethoron*, *Jericho*, *Emmaus*, *Timnatha*, *Bethſura*, and ſome others, eſpecially the fortreſs of *Acra*; which laſt having furniſhed with men and proviſions, he ſent thither the children of ſome of the principal *Jews*, to be kept as hoſtages for the fidelity of their fathers and friends.

Jonathan defeated by *Bacchides*.

Alcimus dies. Bef. Ch. 160.

The apoſtate *Alcimus*, the following year, finding himſelf maſter of *Jeruſalem*, gave orders for demoliſhing a wall that had been built round the temple by the direction of the prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, to ſeparate the holy part of the mountain from the unholy.

unholy. The workmen had ſcarce begun to demoliſh the wall, before *Alcimus* was ſtruck with a dead paiſy, of which he ſuddenly died. After his death *Bacchides* returned to *Antioch*, and left the *Jews* and heathens to live in peace, which they did for two years. In all probability he was privately recalled by *Demetrius*, in conſequence of the letter written to him by the *Romans*.

Bacchides again invades *Judæa.*

About two years after the defeat of *Jonathan*, the adverſe faction filled with envy againſt his party, who now began to reeſtabliſh their affairs, ſollicited the king to ſend *Bacchides* into *Judæa* with an army, aſſuring him that *Jonathan* and his friends might be all cut off in one night. *Demetrius* having in the mean time got himſelf acknowleged king by the *Romans*, eaſily hearkned to the apoſtate *Jews*, and ſent an army under *Bacchides* into *Judæa*. *Jonathan*, having notice of the plot, ſurprized fifty of the conſpirators, and put them to death. Upon the approach of *Bacchides*, he afterwards retired to *Bethbaſi*, or, as *Joſephus* calls it, *Bethlagan*, a place ſtrongly ſituated in the deſert of *Jericho*, which he and his brother *Simon* fortified and filled with all neceſſary proviſions for a ſiege. *Bacchides* came and laid cloſe ſiege to the place, the command of which *Jonathan* left to his brother *Simon*, and taking the field with a ſmall body of men, ſo harraſſed the beſiegers, that *Bacchides* began to think of returning to *Antioch*, and cauſed many of thoſe who had invited him into *Judæa* to be put to death. *Jonathan* hearing that he propoſed to raiſe the ſiege, ſent ſome meſſengers with propoſals of peace, which were accordingly agreed to. By the terms of this peace, all priſoners were releaſed on both ſides; and *Bacchides* having ſworn never more to act offenſively againſt the *Jews*, departed into *Syria*, and punctually kept his oath. As ſoon as *Bacchides* was gone, *Jonathan* ſettled in peace at *Michmaſh*, a town nine miles north from *Jeruſalem*, and there governed the *Jews* according to the law, cut off all that apoſtatized, and reformed, as far as he could, all that was amiſs either in church or ſtate.

A peace concluded betwixt him and *Jonathan.*

Jonathan courted by *Demetrius.*

About five years after the departure of *Bacchides*, *Demetrius* was obliged to take the field to defend himſelf againſt an impoſtor named *Alexander Balas*, who, pretending to be the ſon of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, claimed the crown. *Demetrius*, to ſecure the *Jews* to his intereſt, wrote a letter to *Jonathan*, conſtituting him the king's general in *Judæa*, and authoriſing him to raiſe forces for his aſſiſtance; commanding alſo that the hoſtages which were in the fortreſs at *Jeruſalem* ſhould be delivered to him. *Jonathan*, as ſoon as he received this letter, went up to *Jeruſalem*, and having cauſed it to be read before the garriſon, demanded the hoſtages, which they accordingly delivered to him. There being now no danger in joining him, *Jonathan* ſoon found his army increaſe exceedingly; ſo that thoſe forces which *Bacchides* had left in garriſons all over the country, finding themſelves not ſtrong enough to hold out againſt him, left their fortreſſes, and fled away. *Jonathan* now ſettling at

Jeruſalem, began to repair the city and new fortify it on every ſide.

Alexander the impoſtor, in hopes of drawing *Jonathan* to his ſide, reſolved to out-bid *Demetrius*, and accordingly ſent him a moſt obliging letter, in which he beſtowed the high prieſthood on him, and accompanied his letter with rich preſents, and among them a purple robe and a golden crown. *Jonathan* readily accepted of them, putting on the prieſtly veſtments on the feaſt of tabernacles, in the eighth year of his government, the office having been vacant ever ſince the death of *Alcimus*. *Jonathan* got himſelf choſen to the office alſo by the ſuffrages of the *Jewiſh* nation, and not without a ſpecious right to it; for being of the family of *Joarib*, and conſequently of the firſt claſs of the *Aaronic* race, that was ſufficient to entitle him to it upon the failure of the line of *Joſedek*, which had enjoyed it ever ſince their return from *Babylon*. *Jonathan*, about the ſame time, received a ſecond meſſage from *Demetrius*, who offered him the ſame things that had been granted him by *Alexander*, adding beſides many conceſſions and privileges both to him and all his people in caſe he would declare for him. However, *Jonathan*, whether thro' reſentment or diffidence, choſe rather to enter into an alliance with his competitor.

Jonathan made high prieſt.

He declares for *Alexander*,

Alexander, a few months after he had obtained poſſeſſion of the crown, married *Cleopatra*, the daughter of the king of *Egypt*, at *Ptolemais*, whither he invited *Jonathan*. Many diſaffected *Jews* went thither to exhibit ſome accuſations againſt him; but *Alexander* cauſed a proclamation to be made thro' the city, forbidding any ſuch complaints to be brought before him. To mortify his enemies the more, he cauſed him to ſit by him in purple, confirmed all his former grants to him, made him generaliſſimo of *Judea*, and gave him ſome other titles and government in his kingdom. From this time the *Jewiſh* nation became more and more conſiderable, not only in *Judæa*, where they fully enjoyed both religious and civil liberty, but in other countries alſo, particularly in *Egypt*, where *Onias*, the ſon of the high prieſt of that name, and *Doſitheus*, another *Jew*, had wholly engroſſed the favour of the king and queen.

who confers great honours upon him.

Alexander, before he had enjoyed the crown of *Syria* two years, wholly diſguſted the *Syrians* by his debaucheries, ſo that *Demetrius*, the ſon of the late king, ſeized on *Cilicia*, and aſſembled forces to recover the throne of his father. *Apollonius*, governor of *Cœleſyria* and *Paleſtine*, declared for the young *Demetrius*, whilſt *Jonathan*, remembring his alliance and obligations, ſtuck cloſe to *Alexander*'s intereſt. The governor having advanced with an army as far as *Jamnia*, challenged *Jonathan* to fight him in the plain country. *Jonathan* marched from *Jeruſalem* at the head of 10,000 men, and took *Joppa* in ſight of *Apollonius* and his army. Soon after he gained a compleat victory over *Apollonius*, and having taken *Azotus*, whither the remains of the enemy had fled, he ſet the town on fire and burnt it down to the ground, with the temple of *Dagon* that was in it. The

Jonathan defeats *Apollonius*.

number

number of the ſlain, whether by the ſword or by the flames, amounted to 8000. *Jonathan* having plundered ſome other neighbouring towns in the intereſt of *Demetrius*, returned with their ſpoils to *Jeruſalem*.

Ptolemy Philometor being called in by *Alexander*, his ſon-in-law, to his aſſiſtance, arrived in *Paleſtine* about two years after with a powerful army; and received *Jonathan* with great kindneſs, paying no regard to the complaints that were made againſt him for the devaſtations he had lately committed in thoſe parts. A few months after *Ptolemy* abandoned the intereſt of his ſon-in-law, upon a ſuſpicion that he had formed a deſign to murder him, and declaring for *Demetrius*, cauſed the *Antiochians* to declare him king. *Alexander*, however, riſking a battle, was entirely defeated, and ſoon after ſlain in *Arabia*, whither he had fled.

While the young king was taking meaſures to ſecure the poſſeſſion of the throne, and *Egypt* was engaged in a civil war about the ſucceſſion, *Ptolemy* having been killed in the late battle, *Jonathan* laid ſiege to the fortreſs of *Acra*, which was ſtill in poſſeſſion of the *Syrians*. During the ſiege complaints being made againſt him to *Demetrius*, he was obliged to appear before him at *Ptolemais*, where he pleaded his cauſe ſo well, and backed it with ſuch rich preſents, that he was received into the king's favour. He confirmed him in his pontifical dignity, and releaſed *Judea* and the three toparchies of *Lydda*, *Apharema*, and *Ramatha* from all taxes, for the annual payment of 300 talents. *Jonathan*, upon his return to *Jeruſalem*, finding that it would be a long time before he could reduce the fortreſs, ſent an embaſſy to *Demetrius*, begging that he would withdraw the gariſon. *Demetrius* being then greatly diſturbed with the inſurrections of the *Antiochians*, promiſed to comply with the requeſt of *Jonathan*, if he would ſend him ſome forces to quell the mutineers. *Jonathan* immediately ſent him 3000 men, who joining his other forces, ſlew of the *Antiochians* about 100,000 perſons, and obliged the reſt to ſubmit. The king, however, not only forgot his promiſe, but inſiſted, that the *Jews* ſhould pay the taxes he had formerly remitted to them.

Jonathan beſieges *Acra*.

Demetrius, the following year, being driven out of his kingdom by *Antiochus* the ſon of the impoſtor *Alexander*, the new king was no ſooner ſettled at *Antioch*, than he ſent an embaſſy to *Jonathan*, confirming to him all the former grants, and adding to them ſome others; particularly appointing his brother *Simon* general of all his forces, governor of all the ſea coaſts from the *Ladder* of *Tyre*, a mountain near that city, to the frontiers of *Egypt*, upon condition that theſe two brothers ſhould declare for him. *Jonathan* was eaſily prevailed upon to forſake his old treacherous ally, and having accepted of the offers of *Antiochus*, raiſed a conſiderable army, and marched as far as *Damaſcus*, forcing all places betwixt that city and *Gaza* to acknowlege the new king. The forces of *Demetrius*, in the

Jonathan favoured by *Antiochus*.

Bef. Chr. 144.

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The alliance with *Rome* renewed.

Jonathan, on his return to *Jeruſalem*, finding all things there in quiet, ſent ambaſſadors to the *Romans* to renew his alliance with the ſenate; which was done with great readineſs on their part. In their return, the *Jewiſh* ambaſſadors alſo, according to their inſtructions, renewed the alliances with the *Lacedemonians* and other *Greek* ſtates with whom the *Jews* were in friendſhip.

Mean while the *Demetrian* generals whom *Jonathan* had lately defeated in *Galilee*, having again drawn together a body of troops, he marched out againſt them, and met them on the borders of *Syria*. They being diſappointed in a deſign to ſtorm his camp, retired with great precipitation; and *Jonathan*, to make himſelf ſome amends for his diſappointment, fell upon ſome *Demetrian Arabs* whom he defeated. He then marched towards *Damaſcus*, and paſſing over the country thereabout, ſuppreſſed all the adverſaries to the intereſt of *Antiochus*. *Simon*, in the mean time, marching into the land of the *Philiſtines*, made them all ſubmit to him; and placing a ſtrong garriſon in *Joppa*, returned to *Jeruſalem*, where a great council of the nation was aſſembled to conſult about fortifying the country. In this aſſembly it was reſolved to repair all the forts, and to erect new ones where they were wanted. It was alſo agreed, that the wall of *Jeruſalem* ſhould be repaired, and a new wall built between mount *Sion* and the reſt of the city. All theſe wholeſome reſolutions were executed with the utmoſt diſpatch, *Jonathan* overſeeing the work at *Jeruſalem*, and *Simon* that in *Judæa*.

Jeruſalem new fortified.

In the end of this year, which was the 17th of the government of *Jonathan*, *Tryphon*, one of the generals of *Antiochus*, who had been very inſtrumental in fixing him upon the throne, reſolved to ſeize it for himſelf; but judging that *Jonathan* would zealouſly defend the king's right, he came with a powerful army into *Judæa*, and by pretending great friendſhip to *Jonathan*, who met him with 40,000 men, perſuaded him to diſband almoſt all his troops, and to accompany him to *Ptolemais*, the poſſeſſion of which city he promiſed to deliver to him. *Jonathan* accordingly went thither with 1000 men; but he had no ſooner entered within the walls than the gates were ſhut, all his guards were ſlain, and himſelf made a priſoner.

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Simon being inſtalled in his new dignity, finiſhed the fortifications of the city with the utmoſt diſpatch, and marched out with an army to oppoſe *Tryphon*, who perceiving the *Jews* ready to oppoſe him, ſent a deceitful meſſage to *Simon*, declaring that he had ſeized his brother for a debt of 100 talents which he owed him, and that if he would pay the money, and ſend the two ſons of *Jonathan* as hoſtages, their father ſhould be immediately releaſed. *Simon* eaſily ſaw through this treacherous pretence; but that he might not be blamed for any thing that ſhould happen to his brother, he ſent the money and the young men. The traitor, as *Simon* foreſaw, ſtill detained *Jonathan* in chains, and having reinforced his troops, made an attempt to relieve the garriſon of *Acra*, but was prevented by a deep ſnow, and forced to withdraw into winter quarters. He ſoon after put *Jonathan* and his two ſons to death, and ſecretly murdering *Antiochus*, declared himſelf king of *Syria* in his ſtead. *Simon* carried off the bones of *Jonathan* and his ſons, and buried them in the ſepulchre of his fathers at *Modin*, where he cauſed a ſtately monument of white marble to be raiſed, which remained ſeveral ages after.

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Simon created prince of the *Jews* by *Demetrius*.

Simon, upon obtaining the independant ſovereignty of the land, made a progreſs thro' it, repairing the fortifications in thoſe cities and places where they were decayed, and making new ones in thoſe where they were wanting. He particularly fortified *Bethſura* and *Joppa*, which laſt he made the ſea-port of *Judea* and *Jeruſalem*, tho' at forty miles diſtance from the capital. He alſo reduced the city of *Gazara*, or *Gezer*, near *Azotus*,

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Azotus, and having planted it wholly with *Jews*, built an houſe there for himſelf.

Acra ſurrendered, and demoliſhed.

The following year, which was the ſecond of *Simon*'s pontificate, the garriſon of *Acra* offering to capitulate, *Simon* allowed them to march out peaceably; and after their departure, propoſed to the grand council to demoliſh not only the fortreſs, but part of the hill on which it ſtood. This propoſal being generally approved of, the work was immediately ſet about, and carried on with indefatigable aſſiduity during the ſpace of three years, every man taking his turn in it till the mountain was brought down to the level of that of the temple, that it might never more be in a condition to annoy it. *Simon*, in the mean time, employed great numbers of men in fortifying the mountain of the temple, where he built a palace for himſelf. About the ſame time he declared his ſon *John*, afterwards called *Hyrcanus*, who had given great proofs of his valour, general of all his forces, and ſent him to live at *Gazara*.

The year after the ſurrender of *Acra*, the affairs of the *Jews* being in a very flouriſhing ſtate, their territories enlarged, their religion and liberties ſecured, their towns and other fortreſſes well garriſoned, their army under good diſcipline, the ſanhedrin and great aſſembly of the people, in gratitude to *Simon* and his family, confirmed to him all his dignities, as we have mentioned above, and entailed them on his poſterity.

Antiochus courts the favour of *Simon*.

Demetrius king of *Syria* was at this time in *Hyrcania*, where he had been a priſoner upwards of a year, ſo that his queen *Cleopatra* deſpairing of ever ſeeing him again, offered herſelf with her kingdom of *Syria* to his brother *Antiochus*, who was then in *Greece*. *Antiochus* accepting of her offer, immediately wrote a letter to *Simon*, in which he confirmed to him and to his nation all the grants that they had obtained from his predeceſſors, promiſing him many other favours when he ſhould be fully ſettled on the throne, and in the mean time granting the *Jews* a power of coining their own money; which grant *Simon* immediately made uſe of. *Antiochus*, in the beginning of the following year, landing with an army in *Syria*, eaſily drove out the uſurper *Tryphon*, and obtained the quiet poſſeſſion of his father's throne.

Simon, in the mean time, had ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, to get his new dignities acknowledged by the ſenate. His ambaſſadors carried with them a preſent of a golden ſhield of the value of about 50,000 *l.* ſterling. The *Romans* not only renewed their alliance with *Simon* and the *Jews* in the manner he deſired, but wrote letters to the kings of *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Pergamus*, and *Cappadocia*, and to all the ſtates of *Greece*, *Aſia Minor*, and the iſles then in alliance with them, to threaten them with an immediate war if they ſhould commit any hoſtilities againſt the *Jews*, or protect any traitors or fugitives of that nation againſt them.

The letter to the king of *Syria* was addreſſed to *Demetrius*, the enterpriſes of *Antiochus* not being then known at *Rome*. If

the

the letter had been addreſſed to *Antiochus*, it is probable he would have paid little regard to it; for he had already ſought an opportunity to quarrel with *Simon*. When he was beſieging *Tryphon* in *Dora*, he refuſed the aſſiſtance of 2000 men ſent to him by *Simon*, and required him to ſurrender *Joppa*, *Gazara*, and the citadel of *Jeruſalem*, or elſe to pay him 500 talents for each, and 500 more for the ravages which the *Jews* had committed in his dominions. *Simon* anſwered, that he was willing to pay the 100 talents for *Joppa* and *Gazara*, but as to all the reſt which the *Jews* poſſeſſed, he affirmed it was the inheritance of their forefathers.

The ingratitude of *Antiochus* to *Simon*.

Antiochus diſſatisfied with this anſwer, and at the ſame time fired with jealouſy at the account of the ſplendor in which *Simon* lived at *Jeruſalem*, ordered *Cendebeus*, one of his nobles whom he had made governor of *Phœnicia* and *Paleſtine*, to invade *Judæa* with a powerful army. *Cendebeus* accordingly made ſeveral inroads into the territories of the *Jews* towards *Jamnia* and *Joppa*; which *Simon* being informed of by his ſon *John*, who brought the intelligence to *Jeruſalem*, raiſed an army of 20,000 foot and a proportionable number of horſe; and being himſelf broken with age, he gave the command of the troops to his two ſons *John* and *Judas*, charging them on his bleſſing to imitate the valour of their brave uncles. On the ſecond day after they took the field, the two brothers engaged *Cendebeus*, and defeated him, with the loſs of 2000 of his men. *Judas* being wounded in the fight was forced to ſtay behind; but *John* purſued after the enemy, deſtroyed 2000 of them in ſome ſtrong holds near *Azotus*, which he burnt, and haraſſed the reſt, who fled with *Cendebeus* to *Kedron*, not far from the field of battle. After this victory, the *Syrians* being driven out of theſe parts, the two brothers returned in triumph to *Jeruſalem*.

Cendebeus invades *Judea*.

He is totally defeated.

About three years after, *Simon* making a progreſs thro' the cities of *Judah*, came to *Jericho*, having in company with him two of his ſons, *Judas* and *Mattathias*. *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Æbubus*, who had married one of his daughters, being governor of the place under him, invited him to the caſtle which he had built in the neighbourhood. The perfidious wretch having formed a deſign of uſurping the government of *Judea*, and concerted the matter with *Antiochus*, moſt inhumanly murdered his three gueſts, and immediately diſpatched a party to ſurpriſe *John*, who was then at *Gazara*. *John*, however, being informed of what paſſed by one of his father's retinue who had eſcaped the ſlaughter, cut off the party ſent by *Ptolemy*, and then haſtening to *Jeruſalem*, ſecured that city and the mountain of the temple againſt the traitor, who was refuſed admittance into the city. The *Jews* immediately declaring him prince and high prieſt in his father's ſtead, he put himſelf at the head of his army, and provided every way for his own ſafety and the ſecurity of the city and country. *Ptolemy* finding his deſigns fruſtrated, wrote to *Antiochus* for his aſſiſtance, promiſing to reduce all *Judea* under him, provided he made him

Simon treacherouſly murdered by his ſon-in-law. Bef. Ch. 135.

Hyrcan ſucceeds *Simon*.

governor of it. *Antiochus* made haſte to take advantage of the commotions in *Judæa*, and immediately gave orders for aſſembling his army. *Ptolemy*, however, whether thro' fear, or for what other reaſon, did not think fit to ſtay till his arrival, but fled to *Zeno*, tyrant of the city of *Philadelphia*. What became of him afterwards, is no where mentioned.

Antiochus beſieges *Jeruſalem.*

John, ſirnamed *Hyrcan*, not being able to keep the field againſt the numerous forces of *Antiochus*, retired into *Jeruſalem*, where he was quickly beſieged by the king, who divided his army into ſeven camps, and drew two large and deep ditches round the city, which he fortified with 100, or, according to the 4th book of the *Maccabees*, 130 towers. After the beſieged had for ſome time defended themſelves with great vigour, *Hyrcan*, upon the approach of the feaſt of tabernacles, ſent to deſire a truce of ſeven days, that they might quietly celebrate that feſtival. *Antiochus* not only readily granted his requeſt, but being ſtirred up thereby to ſome ſenſe of religion, ſent the *Jews* a conſiderable number of victims with their horns guilt, together with ſeveral rich veſſels of gold and ſilver filled with precious perfumes, and ſome money and other neceſſaries. This unexpected inſtance of the king's piety and liberality, encouraged *Hyrcan* to propoſe terms of peace, which he accordingly obtained from the king, whoſe heart ſeems to have been mollified towards the *Jews*; for as the beſieged were then in great diſtreſs for want of proviſions, he was preſſed by his army utterly to extirpate the whole nation.

The *Jews* forced to agree to a diſhonourable peace.

It was agreed, that the *Jews* ſhould deliver up their arms, that *Jeruſalem* ſhould be diſmantled, and that tribute ſhould be paid to the king for *Joppa* and the other places held by the *Jews* out of *Judæa*. To prevent the king from inſiſting on leaving a garriſon in *Jeruſalem*, and rebuilding the fortreſs of *Acra*, *Hyrcan* agreed to give his brother and ſome others as hoſtages, and to pay 500 talents, 300 of which were to be paid immediately. To raiſe this ſum, *Joſephus* ſays that *John* was forced to open the tomb of *David*, from whence he took out 3000 talents; a thing which had never been attempted before by any of his predeceſſors, nor was after him by any, except by *Herod*. This ſtory, however, ſeems juſtly exploded by the learned *Prideaux*; it being both improbable that any wealth ſhould have been buried in that ſepulchre, or if there had been any treaſure depoſited there, that it ſhould have remained for ſo many ages when *Jeruſalem* had been ſo often plundered, and the pious *Hezekiah* had been forced to ſtrip the gold from the temple to ſupply the exigencies of the ſtate.

Hyrcan, after the concluſion of this peace, feaſted *Antiochus* in a ſumptuous manner in *Jeruſalem*, and was punctual in fulfilling his promiſes till the death of the king, which happened five years after in *Parthia*. *John* had accompanied him in that expedition; but inſtead of wintering in the enemy's country, which proved the ruin of the king, he returned in the end of the campaign, when he took *Aleppo*, and laid it under a tribute.

Upon

Upon the death of *Antiochus*, finding that the kingdom of *Syria* was rent with inteſtine diſturbances, he enlarged his territories by ſeizing *Madeba*, *Samega*, and ſeveral other places in *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Arabia*.

From this time we may date the total deliverance of the *Jews* from the *Syrian* yoke; for afterwards neither he nor any of his deſcendants paid either homage or obedience to thoſe monarchs. *Hyrcan*, in the ſame year, turned his arms againſt the *Samaritans*, and took *Shechem* and *Garizim*, where he demoliſhed the temple built by *Sanballat*, after it had ſtood 200 years, together with all the edifices that had been built there by *Jezebel*. The year following he conquered *Idumæa*, and cauſed proclamation to be made throughout that province, obliging all thoſe that would not be circumciſed to depart out of the land. The *Idumæans*, however, chuſing rather to forſake their old idolatry than their country, ſubmitted to his conditions, and were from that time incorporated into the *Jewiſh* commonwealth.

Hyrcan ſhakes off the *Syrian* yoke.

A few months after *Hyrcan* ſent an embaſſy to the *Romans* to renew the alliance they had lately made with *Simon* his father; which was readily conſented to by the ſenate, who alſo declared null and void all that *Antiochus* or his ſucceſſors had done, or ſhould do, contrary to the late league, granted the *Jews* the poſſeſſion of *Joppa*, *Gazara*, and ſome other places which *Antiochus* had taken from them, and ordered the ambaſſadors a ſum out of the public treaſury to defray their charges homewards.

The *Romans* conclude an alliance with him. Bef. Chr. 129.

This embaſſy having ſo well ſucceeded, *Hyrcan* the following year ſent other ambaſſadors to *Rome* with freſh preſents, to thank the ſenate for their laſt favour, and to obtain a ratification of all their former decrees in their behalf; all which was readily granted. By theſe alliances *Hyrcan* ſaw himſelf more and more ſtrengthened in his dominions, whilſt the kingdoms of *Syria* and *Egypt* were troubled with continual wars. *Alexander Zebina*, an impoſtor, having expelled *Demetrius*, who upon the death of *Antiochus* had recovered the kingdom of *Syria*, the uſurper was glad to make *Hyrcan* his friend; but being killed four years after, and ſucceeded by *Antiochus Gryphus*, this laſt ſo reſented it, that he was preparing to invade *Judæa*, but was prevented by a domeſtic war, raiſed againſt him in the ſixth year of his reign, by *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, his half brother.

Hyrcan did not intereſt himſelf in their quarrel; but while they were haraſſing each other, he heaped up immenſe treaſures by the tributes which he received both from his own now flouriſhing land, and from thoſe countries which he had lately ſubjected to his dominions. The *Samaritans* at length committing hoſtilities againſt a city in alliance with the *Jews*, *Hyrcan* went with his two ſons, *Ariſtobulus* and *Antigonus*, at the head of a powerful army, and laid ſiege to *Samaria*. Having ſurrounded the city with a wall and ditch 4000 paces in circuit, the beſieged were ſoon reduced to ſuch diſtreſs as to eat

Hyrcan takes and deſtroys *Samaria*.

cats,

cats, dogs, and other carrion. *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, at the requeſt of the beſieged, marched with a great army to their relief; but was defeated by *Ariſtobulus*, and purſued as far as *Scythopolis*. After this defeat the ſiege was renewed with ſuch vigour, that *Antiochus* was again applied to; but he not caring to hazard a ſecond battle, contented himſelf with ſending 6000 men to make a diverſion in *Judæa*. One of the generals who commanded a part of theſe forces being routed and ſlain, the other betrayed the intereſt of his maſter, and ſold *Scythopolis* and ſome other places in that neighbourhood to *Hyrcan*. *Samaria* ſoon after ſurrendering, was entirely demoliſhed by *Hyrcan*, who now reigned with great proſperity and ſplendor: but the year following he met with ſuch troubles at home from the proud and hot-headed *Phariſees*, as quite imbittered the latter end of his reign.

A rupture betwixt him and the *Phariſees*.

He had always ſhewn himſelf a zealous favourer of the *Phariſees*, on whom he had beſtowed the moſt conſiderable poſts: but an untimely piece of condeſcenſion towards them, gave one of the heads of that imperious ſect, named *Eleazar*, an opportunity of throwing out a reflection againſt him. Having at an entertainment requeſted them to tell him if he failed in any part of his duty, *Eleazar* deſired him to quit the high prieſthood, as he was unqualified for that office, his mother, as he alleged, having been a captive, and himſelf conſequently unclean. The allegation of *Eleazar*, *Joſephus* aſſures us, was a moſt notorious calumny, and the *Phariſees* puniſhing him but very ſlightly for defaming the high prieſt, *Hyrcan* became a bitter enemy to their whole ſect, and gave himſelf up wholly to that of the *Sadducees*. A moſt bitter enmity, therefore, from this time, roſe betwixt him and that revengeful ſect, who ceaſed not to raiſe troubles and ſeditions againſt him during the ſhort time he lived, and againſt his ſons after him.

The death of *Hyrcan*. Bef. Chr. 107.

The year following *Hyrcan* died, greatly lamented by all except the *Phariſees*, having enjoyed the high prieſthood 29 years.

Ariſtobulus ſucceeds *Hyrcan*.

Hyrcan left three ſons, according to the 4th book of *Maccabees*, or five, according to *Joſephus*, who gives us however the names but of four of them. *Ariſtobulus*, the eldeſt, who was alſo called *Judas*, and ſurnamed *Philellen*, by reaſon of his fondneſs for the *Greeks*. 2. *Antigonus*. 3. *Alexander*. And, 4. *Abſalom*, who was the youngeſt. *Ariſtobulus* ſucceeded his father in all his dignities, and having a great affection for his brother *Antigonus*, he admitted him to ſhare the government with him for ſome ſhort ſpace; after which, upon ſome ſuſpicion or diſlike, he cauſed him to be put to death. The other three he kept cloſe priſoners during his ſhort reign; and

His inhumanity.

becauſe his mother claimed the ſovereignty in virtue of *Hyrcan*'s will, he not only ſhut her up in a priſon, but there barbarouſly ſtarved her to death. Soon after this he aſſumed the title of king, and began to wear the royal diadem, which, if we may believe *Joſephus*, had never been done by any of his predeceſſors. Having ſettled his affairs at home, he made war

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on the *Itureans*, who were quickly reduced, and forced to become proſelytes to the *Jewiſh* religion. Not long after he died of a vomiting of blood, filled with remorſe and deſpair for the murder of his mother and brother. His death.

Ariſtobulus being dead, after reigning only one year, *Salome* his wife diſcharged the three brothers out of priſon, and *Alexander*, ſurnamed *Jannæus*, who was the eldeſt of them, mounted the throne. His next brother having made ſome attempts to ſupplant him, he cauſed him to be put to death; but the other, named *Abſalom*, being contented to lead a private life under him, retained his favour and protection. *Alexander* being a ſubtle and warlike prince, and *Syria* being then torn with civil wars between the contending brothers *Antiochus Cyzicenus* and *Antiochus Grypus*, he led an army in the firſt year of his reign againſt *Ptolemais*, and while he beſieged that city, ſent part of his forces to waſte the territories belonging to *Dora* and *Gaza*. *Alexander Jannæus* crowned.

Ptolemy Lathyrus king of *Cyprus*, landing with a powerful army in *Phœnicia*, *Alexander* was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and march to the defence of his own territories. *Lathyrus*, the year following, took *Aſochis* in *Galilee*, and in it 10,000 captives, with much plunder, and ſoon after defeated *Alexander*, who loſt 30,000 men ſlain, beſides many priſoners. His unſucceſsful attempt upon *Ptolemais*.

Cleopatra, who held the crown of *Egypt* from her ſon *Lathyrus*, fearing that he would now turn his arms againſt her, thought proper to enter into an alliance with *Alexander*, and the year after marched with an army to his aſſiſtance. *Alexander*, after having an interview with her at *Ptolemais*, returned to *Jeruſalem*, and recruiting his broken army, croſſed the *Jordan* and beſieged *Gadara*, which he took after a ſiege of ten months. *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, in the mean time, having ſailed back to *Cyprus*, his mother *Cleopatra* returned to *Egypt*. *Alexander* from *Gadara* marched to *Amathus*, another ſtrong fortreſs on that ſide the river, into which *Theodotus*, the ſon of *Zeno*, tyrant of *Philadelphia*, had laid up an immenſe treaſure. He ſoon made himſelf maſter of the place and of the treaſure; but *Theodotus*, not long after, fell ſuddenly upon him as he was returning from the ſiege, killed 10,000 of his men, routed the reſt, recovered all his wealth, ſeized on *Alexander*'s baggage, and carried off a conſiderable plunder from his men. He is defeated by *Theodotus*.

This defeat afforded great triumph to the *Phariſees*, who took occaſion from thence to vilify *Alexander* to the people. The king, however, was not, either by their calumnies or his late loſs, diſcouraged from purſuing his warlike views, but marched immediately after againſt the *Gazeans*, who had aſſiſted *Lathyrus*. Having made himſelf maſter of *Raphia* and *Anthedon*, both within a few miles of *Gaza*, he thereby kept that city blocked up, and after a ſiege of more than a year, at laſt forced it to ſurrender, and afterwards razed it to the ground. He razes *Gaza*.

While he had been abſent with the army, the *Phariſees*, who bore a mortal hatred to him and his whole family, had taken ſuch meaſures to exaſperate the people againſt him by

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The *Phariſees* cabal againſt him.

evil ſurmiſes and ſlanders, that they at length openly reviled and affronted him in the groſſeſt manner. They choſe the feaſt of tabernacles, on which ſolemnity, while he was performing the prieſtly office at the great altar, they pelted him with citrons, calling him ſlave, and adding other opprobrious language, which implied his unworthineſs of being either high prieſt or king. *Alexander* was ſo exaſperated, that he fell upon them with his ſoldiers, and killing 6000 of them, diſperſed the reſt.

His ſoldiers fall upon the *Jews.*

Soon after he took into his pay 6000 mercenaries out of *Cilicia* and *Piſidia*, and having by the terrors of his executions in ſome meaſure laid the ſtorm that was raiſed againſt him at home, he marched over the *Jordan* and deſtroyed the city of *Amathus*, *Theodotus* contenting himſelf with eſcaping with his treaſure. *Alexander* next ſubdued the *Arabians* in thoſe parts, after which he laid the *Moabites* and the mountaineers of the land of *Gilead* under tribute. About two years after *Alexander* making war againſt *Obedas*, an *Arabian* king, was drawn by him into an ambuſh, whereon he loſt moſt of his army, and hardly eſcaped himſelf. On his return to *Jeruſalem*, the *Jews*, who had long waited for an opportunity to ſhew their diſaffection, roſe in a rebellion againſt him. He was, however, too wiſe and brave to be either ſurpriſed or terrified by it, but quickly gathered a number of forces to make head againſt them. A civil war immediately enſued, which laſted ſix whole years, during which above 50,000 of the rebels were ſlain, beſides thoſe *Jews* he loſt on his own ſide.

He marches againſt *Theodotus.*

The *Phariſees* raiſe a rebellion againſt him.

In the third year of the war, the *Jews*, not being ſatisfied with any offers made to them by *Alexander*, invited *Demetrius Eucæres*, king of *Syria*, to their aſſiſtance. He accordingly entered *Judæa* with an army of 40,000 foot and 3000 horſe, partly *Syrians* and partly *Jews*; and *Alexander* venturing an engagement with him, was defeated with the loſs of [illegible] *Greek* mercenaries and a great number of *Jews*, and forced to fly to the mountains. The *Jews* in the army of *Demetrius* now took ſuch compaſſion on *Alexander*, that 6000 of them came over to him; ſo that *Demetrius* fearing leſt the defection ſhould encreaſe, left *Judæa*, and marched againſt his brother *Philip*. After his departure, *Alexander*, the following year, again took the field, and beat the rebels in ſeveral engagements, tho' without being able to bring them to ſubmiſſion. The year after, however, in a deciſive battle, having cut off the greater part of their army, he beſieged the reſt in the city *Bethome*, which the next year was forced to ſurrender to him. Having now put an end to the war, he let looſe the reins of his fury againſt his priſoners in a moſt barbarous manner. He cauſed 800 of them to be crucified at *Jeruſalem* in one day, and their wives and children to be butchered before their faces, while they hung dying on the croſſes. Whether *Joſephus*, who was a zealous *Phariſee*, may not have exaggerated the account of *Alexander*'s barbarity, is uncertain. After this horrid execu-

His cruelty to the rebels.

Bef Chr. 86.

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tion the rebels quite diſperſed themſelves, and during the reſt of his reign the *Phariſaic* faction never dared to lift up their heads againſt him.

Many places on the borders of *Arabia* having revolted from *Alexander*, while he was engaged in his wars with his rebel ſubjects, the following year he marched over *Jordan* to reduce them, and after taking *Pella* and *Dia*, ſat down before *Geraſa*, in which place was depoſited the treaſure of *Theodotus*. *Alexander* taking the city by ſtorm, carried off all the rich plunder, and obliged the inhabitants of *Pella* to leave the country becauſe they refuſed to be circumciſed. During the two following years *Alexander* enlarged his conqueſts beyond *Jordan*, and took *Gaulana*, *Seleucia*, the valley of *Antiochus* and *Gamala*, ſtripping one *Demetrius* who commanded in theſe two laſt places of his principality, on account of many grievous miſdemeanours which were laid to his charge. Upon his return to *Jeruſalem*, where on account of his conqueſts he was received with great acclamations, he gave himſelf to drinking and other debaucheries, whereby he contracted a quartan argue that ſtuck to him till his death, which happened about three years after. All this while, neither his diſtemper nor his pleaſures, which he ſtill purſued, could alleviate his thirſt after conqueſts. While he was beſieging *Ragaba*, a fortreſs beyond *Jordan* in the territories of the *Geraſens*, his diſtemper carried him off in the camp, in the 27th year of his reign. He left two ſons at his death, but bequeathed the government of the kingdom to *Alexandra* his wife during her life, and afterwards to which of her two ſons ſhe ſhould think fit to ſucceed her.

He enlarges his conqueſts.

His death. Bef. Chr. 79.

Alexandra, by his advice upon his death-bed, concealed his death till the fortreſs had ſurrendered, when ſhe led back the army to *Jeruſalem*, and as he had counſelled her, applied herſelf to the *Phariſees*, declaring that ſhe intended to govern wholly by their advice and conſent, deſiring them to treat her huſband's body as they pleaſed for the injuries he had done them. This policy had the deſired effect. The *Phariſees*, glad to ſee themſelves again at the head of affairs, were beyond meaſure laviſh in their praiſes of the deceaſed king, and extolling him for a great conqueror and patriot, beſtowed a moſt magnificent funeral on him, applauding above all his wiſdom in bequeathing his government to the queen.

Alexandra his queen ſucceeds him.

Alexandra conferred the high prieſthood on her eldeſt ſon *Hyrcanus*, who was then about 33 years of age, and put the chief adminiſtration of her affairs into the hands of the *Phariſees*. The firſt thing they obtained of her was a total revocation of all the edicts which *Hyrcan* the firſt and the late king had made againſt their conſtitutions and traditional doctrines; the next was an amneſty for all their faction, together with the releaſe of ſuch of their brethren as had been confined ſince the civil war; and the third was the recalling of all thoſe who had been either baniſhed or forced to fly the country on

She is reconciled to the *Phariſees*, who become very inſolent.

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that account, and their being reſtored to the poſſeſſion of their eſtates.

The *Sadducees* perſecuted.

Having by theſe three decrees greatly ſtrengthened their party, the following year, they proceeded to demand juſtice againſt all thoſe who had counſelled the king to crucify the 800 rebels lately mentioned, which was in effect againſt all thoſe who had ſupported him in that war. Theſe perſecutions were continued ſeveral years, tho' much againſt the queen's mind; becauſe they having ſeduced all the people to their ſide, ſhe could, no otherwiſe than by ſubmitting to them, keep peace at home, tho' ſhe had two powerful armies on foot on the borders of her kingdom, which made her a terror to all her neighbours. At length, in the ſeventh year of her reign, ſome of the moſt conſiderable perſons of the perſecuted party having got the prince *Ariſtobulus* at their head, came in a body to the royal palace, and beſought the queen that ſhe would put an end to their miſery. After reminding her of their faithful ſervices, they begged that if ſhe could not ſtop the rage of their enemies, they might have leave to depart the land, and ſeek for ſafety elſewhere; or elſe that they might be ſent into the ſeveral garriſons of the kingdom; to which laſt demand the queen conſented.

The *Jews* afraid of being invaded by *Tigranes*. Bef. Ch. 70.

The following year *Tigranes*, king of *Armenia* and *Syria*, having beſieged *Selene*, a pretender to the *Syrian* crown, in *Ptolemais*, with an army of 500,000 men, *Alexandra*, who was under no ſmall apprehenſions that he would invade her dominions, ſent ambaſſadors to him with large preſents, to court his favour and deſire his friendſhip. *Tigranes* received the ambaſſadors with all ſeeming kindneſs, and granted the friendſhip that was deſired; but not ſo much out of regard to the queen as to his own affairs, the *Romans* having then routed *Mithridates*, and threatened to invade his dominions.

The queen's ſickneſs.

Her youngeſt ſon attempts to ſecure the kingdom.

Her death.

The queen was ſcarcely rid of this danger before ſhe fell into others. A fit of ſickneſs which ſeized her about this time, made *Ariſtobulus* believe that her death was near at hand, and that it was high time for him to think of ſecuring the kingdom for himſelf. Having left *Jeruſalem* in the night, he privately viſited all the garriſons where his father's friends had lately been allowed to reſide, and in 15 days time ſecured to his intereſt 22 of thoſe fortreſſes. The *Phariſees*, in the mean time, being greatly alarmed, prevailed with the queen to declare *Hyrcan* her ſucceſſor; immediately after which ſhe died in the 73d year of her age, and the 9th of her reign, to the inexpreſſible grief of the *Phariſaic* faction.

The *Phariſees*, by their oppreſſive adminiſtration, having rendered themſelves odious to the people and army, great numbers now flocked to *Ariſtobulus*, who took the field againſt his brother. As the two armies were going to engage in the plains of *Jericho*, *Hyrcanus* was deſerted by the greateſt part of his forces, ſo that he was obliged to come to a treaty with his brother, in which it was agreed, that he ſhould make a reſigna-

tion of the crown and high prieſthood to *Ariſtobulus*, and ſubmit to live quietly upon his own private fortune. *Hyrcan*, who was a dull, indolent man, without ambition, made no difficulty to yield to theſe conditions.

Hyrcan obliged to ſubmit to his younger brother.

Antipater, a noble *Idumæan* of an enterpriſing diſpoſition, who had been brought up in the court of *Alexander*, was greatly diſguſted with this treaty. He had obtained the government of *Idumæa* from *Alexandra*, and in hopes of ſtill raiſing his fortunes, he had adhered to the intereſt of *Hyrcan* as preſumptive heir of the crown. As he deſpaired of an accommodation with *Ariſtobulus*, his reſtleſs ambition prompted him to raiſe new troubles in *Judæa*, in hopes of ſcreening himſelf from the reſentment of the king. He filled the diſcontented *Phariſees*, and many of their followers, with fears and jealouſies of the king, whom they looked upon as an uſurper, and by privately treating with *Aretas*, king of *Arabia Petræa*, engaged him to help *Hyrcanus* with an army. But his greateſt difficulty was to excite *Hyrcanus* himſelf to the undertaking. Having at length, however, perſuaded him that he had no choice but either to reign or die, and that if he continued in *Judæa* his life was in danger, he perſuaded him to accompany him to *Aretas*.

Antipater cabals with the *Phariſees*.

This prince having obtained a promiſe from *Hyrcanus* that he would reſtore the places which his father *Alexander* had taken from him, brought him back into *Judæa* with an army of 500,000 men, who being joined with the *Jews* of *Hyrcan*'s party, gave battle to *Ariſtobulus*, and entirely defeating him, purſued him to *Jeruſalem*. *Aretas* entering that metropolis without oppoſition, drove him and his few men, moſt of them prieſts, into the precincts of the temple, and there cloſely beſieged him, committing ſome very outrageous acts. As the feaſt of the paſſover happened during the ſiege, they ſtipulated to allow *Ariſtobulus* lambs for the feſtival, on condition of receiving 1000 drachmas of ſilver for each; but when they had received the money, they refuſed to ſend the victims. One *Onias*, celebrated for his holy life, was brought by them from the deſert, whither he had retired, and ordered with threats to curſe the beſieged; but becauſe he prayed, *that the curſes of neither party might be heard againſt the other*, they immediately ſtoned him to death. They were not long, however, from feeling the effects of the divine vengeance. All their fruit and grain was ſoon after deſtroyed; and about the ſame time they fell under the yoke of the *Romans*, which while they remained a nation they could never more ſhake off.

He perſuades *Aretas* to aſſiſt *Hyrcan*.

Scaurus, one of the lieutenants of *Pompey*, who had conquered *Syria*, coming with an army as far as *Damaſcus*, *Ariſtobulus*, by the promiſe of 400 talents, ſecured him to his ſide; ſo that *Aretas* being threatned by him, thought proper rather than draw upon himſelf the reſentment of the *Romans*, to raiſe the ſiege and retire. *Ariſtobulus* purſued him, and killed 7000 of his men, and among them *Cephalion*, the brother of *Antipater*. Much about the ſame time *Pompey* being come to *Damaſcus*, received

The two brothers have recourſe to the *Romans*.

received ambaſſadors from all the neighbouring ſtates, and among the reſt *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus* ſent their deputies, deſiring both his protection and the determination of the controverſy depending between them. *Pompey* being obliged to return to *Pontus*, decided nothing in the affair till the following year, when the two brothers appeared before him in perſon at *Damaſcus*, accompanied with a great number of *Jews*, many of whom declared againſt both the brothers. The *Roman* general heard all parties with ſeeming partiality; but the ambaſſador of *Ariſtobulus* having the year before imprudently made ſome complaints againſt *Gabinius* and *Scaurus*, *Pompey* was influenced by them to favour *Hyrcan*, tho' he did not yet diſcover his inclination. He diſmiſſed the brothers with fair words, promiſing, that as ſoon as he had ſubdued *Aretas*, he would come himſelf into *Judæa*, and there determine the controverſy.

They wait upon *Pompey*.

Ariſtobulus doubtleſs perceiving the partiality of *Pompey*, left *Damaſcus* without taking leave of him, and returning to *Judæa*, there armed the country in his defence. *Pompey* having ſoon reduced *Aretas*, returned to *Damaſcus*, and hearing that *Ariſtobulus* was making warlike preparations, he entered *Judæa* with his army, and ſummoned *Ariſtobulus* to come to him. *Ariſtobulus* was then in a ſtrong caſtle named *Alexandrion*, on the frontiers of *Judæa* towards *Samaria*, and by the perſuaſions of his friends went down two or three times and conferred with *Pompey*, ſparing neither compliments, promiſes, nor preſents, to engage him on his ſide. *Pompey*, however, on his laſt coming down to him, forced him to ſign orders for the delivery of all his caſtles to the *Romans*. *Ariſtobulus* highly reſented the force that was put upon him, and no ſooner got out of *Pompey*'s hands, than he fled to *Jeruſalem*, and there prepared for war.

Pompey's hard treatment of *Ariſtobulus*.

Pompey ſoon after drawing near the city, *Ariſtobulus* repented of what he had done, and went and threw himſelf at his feet, begging him to forbear any hoſtilities againſt the *Jewiſh* nation, and promiſing him a conſiderable ſum of money on that conſideration. The garriſon, however, ſhutting the gates againſt the *Roman* troops that were ſent to receive the money, and telling them that they would ſtand to no ſuch agreement, *Pompey* ordered *Ariſtobulus*, whom he had kept with him, to be put in chains, and marched directly with his whole army againſt the city. The party of *Hyrcanus*, which was the moſt powerful, admitted *Pompey* within the walls, while the other faction retiring to the mount of the temple, broke down the bridges over the deep ditches and valleys that ſurrounded it, and ſo reſolved to defend the place. *Pompey*, however, being aſſiſted by *Hyrcanus* and his party, who ſupplied him with the neceſſaries for a ſiege, and the beſieged thinking it unlawful to obſtruct the enemy's works on the ſabbath, or to uſe their arms unleſs they were aſſaulted, he made himſelf maſter of the place ſword in hand after three months, when 12,000 of the beſieged were killed by the *Romans*, beſides many more who

Pompey marches to *Jeruſalem*.

He makes himſelf maſter of the city and temple.

who died by their own hands. In this action the *Jews* of the contrary faction acted with greater fury and cruelty againſt them than the heathen.

The city was taken on the very day on which the *Jews* were keeping a ſolemn faſt in memory of its having been formerly taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*; and what is moſt ſurpriſing, during the whole time of the aſſaults, the prieſts never intermitted one moment the divine ſervice of the temple, but continued to offer up their uſual prayers, praiſes and ſacrifices, and with the utmoſt conſtancy ſuffered their own blood to be mingled with the blood of the ſacrifices which they were offering.

Pompey, tho' ſurprized at their conſtancy, cauſed all the priſoners that were found to have been moſt zealous againſt him to be put to death. He likewiſe, being accompanied with ſeveral of his chief commanders, not only entered into the holy place, but alſo into the holy of holies; which profanation the *Jews* were exceedingly grieved at, and moſt highly reſented, aſcribing all the misfortunes that afterwards befel him to his impiety on this occaſion. Tho' he found in the treaſuries of the temple 2000 talents in money, beſides its utenſils and other things of a great value, he not only forbore to touch any of them, but ordered the temple to be purified next day, and the divine ſervice to be performed as uſual.

He profanes the temple. Bef. Ch. 63.

Having demoliſhed the walls of *Jeruſalem*, he reſtored *Hyrcan* to the pontifical dignity with the ſpecious title of prince, but made him thenceforth tributary to *Rome*, and prohibited him to aſſume the diadem or royal ſtyle, or to extend his territory beyond the old borders of *Judæa*. All the cities which had been gained by his predeceſſors in *Cæleſyria* and *Phœnicia* were taken from him and reſtored to *Syria*, of which province *Scaurus* was left governor at the head of two legions. *Pompey* ſoon after ſet out for *Rome*, and took with him *Ariſtobulus* and his two ſons *Alexander* and *Antigonus*, with his two daughters fit to adorn his triumph. *Alexander*, while on the journey, found means to make his eſcape and return to *Judæa*, where he raiſed new troubles.

Hyrcan declared prince.

As ſoon as *Hyrcan* found himſelf rid of his rival brother, he relapſed into his former indolence, leaving the care of his affairs to *Antipater*, who like a true politician failed not to turn the opportunity to his advantage and to the aggrandizing of his family. As he foreſaw that he could not eaſily compaſs his ends unleſs he endeared himſelf to the *Romans*, he therefore ſpared neither pains nor coſt to gain their favour. He furniſhed proviſions to *Scaurus*, who had engaged in a war with *Aretas*, and likewiſe prevailed on *Aretas* to purchaſe a peace from the *Roman* general for 300 talents of ſilver.

Alexander the ſon of *Ariſtobulus* ſoon after having gathered together an army of 10,000 foot and 1500 horſe, ſeized and fortified *Alexandrium*, *Machærus*, and ſeveral other ſtrong caſtles, and began in the ſeventh year of *Hyrcan* to make frequent incurſions into *Judæa*. *Gabinius* the *Roman* preſident of *Syria* being called in by

Alexander waſtes *Judæa*.

by *Hyrcan* to oppoſe him, defeated him near *Jeruſalem*. Soon after, by the interceſſion of *Alexander*'s mother, a peace was concluded, upon which *Alexander* delivered up all his fortreſſes, being allowed to depart with pardon and impunity for all that was paſſed. *Gabinius* having demoliſhed the fortreſſes returned to *Jeruſalem*, and confirmed *Hyrcan* in the prieſthood; but made a very conſiderable alteration in the civil government, which had hitherto been managed under the prince by two ſorts of councils or courts of juſtice, one conſiſting of 23 perſons called the leſſer ſanhedrim, and the other of 72 perſons called the great ſanhedrim. Of the firſt, there were two in *Jeruſalem* and one in every other city; and of the ſecond, there was one only always ſitting in the temple of *Jeruſalem*. Theſe courts *Gabinius* aboliſhed, and then dividing the whole province into five ſeparate diſtricts, in each of them he erected an independant court of juſtice, and the nobles being appointed judges, got the ſovereign power into their own hands.

Gabinius makes an alteration in the *Jewiſh* government.

Towards the end of this year, *Ariſtobulus* having with his ſon *Antigonus* made his eſcape from the *Romans* and returned to *Judæa*, there raiſed new troubles. He quickly aſſembled an army of 8000 men; but being defeated by *Cæſenna*, *Mark Anthony*, and *Servilius*, ſent againſt him by *Gabinius*, and ſoon after taken priſoner by them, he and his ſon were ſent back to *Rome*, where he remained a priſoner, tho' his children were afterwards ſet at liberty. *Gabinius*, during the two following years, being engaged in an expedition into *Egypt* in favour of *Auletes* who had been driven from the throne, *Hyrcan*, or rather *Antipater*, not only furniſhed him with ſtores, arms and money, but wrote to the *Jews* of *Onion* near *Peluſium* to favour the *Romans*, which contributed not a little to the ſucceſs of the expedition.

Ariſtobulus eſcapes into *Judæa*.

In the mean time great diſturbances had ariſen in *Syria*, which was filled with free-booters, who ravaged without controul. *Alexander* the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, at the head of a body of men, alſo ravaged *Judæa*; but upon the return of *Gabinius* from *Egypt*, he was defeated by the *Romans* near mount *Tabor* with the loſs of 10,000 men, and the reſt were totally diſperſed. *Gabinius* returning to *Jeruſalem*, ſettled the *Jewiſh* affairs according to *Antipater*'s mind, and was then recalled to *Rome*.

The following year *Craſſus* arrived in *Syria* as his ſucceſſor, with the deſign of making war on the *Parthians*, in hopes thereby of acquiring immenſe wealth. He came with part of his army to *Jeruſalem* to ſeize the treaſures of the temple. *Eleazar* a prieſt, who was then treaſurer, offered to deliver to him a rich bar of gold which weighed about 750 pounds, and was concealed in a hollow beam of wood, if he would ſpare the other treaſures of the temple. *Craſſus* ſolemnly promiſed with an oath, that on receiving this bar of gold he would meddle with nothing elſe; but it was no ſooner given to him than he plundered the temple of every thing valuable, not ſparing even the ſacred utenſils. The whole of his ſacrilegious plunder amounted

Craſſus's treachery and ſacrilege.

amounted to the value of 10,000 talents, which is above two millions of our money. *Craſſus*, the year after, being ſlain by the *Parthians*, *C. Caſſius* brought back the remains of the *Roman* army to *Syria*, and entering *Judæa*, beſieged *Tarichæa*, a city on the ſouth ſhore of the lake *Genneſareth*, where *Pitolaus* had ſhut himſelf up with the few remains of *Ariſtobulus*'s faction. *Caſſius* having taken the place, carried away 30,000 priſoners; but, by the advice of *Antipater*, put *Pitolaus* to death.

Ariſtobulus poiſoned.

Three years after, *Julius Cæſar* having made himſelf maſter of *Rome*, ſet *Ariſtobulus* at liberty; and thinking that he might be of ſervice to him againſt *Pompey*'s party in *Syria*, propoſed to ſend him thither with two legions; but the king, before he could get out of *Rome*, was poiſoned by ſome of *Pompey*'s party. His ſon *Alexander* was ſoon after put to death at *Antioch* by *Q. Metellus Scipio*, the ſon-in-law of *Pompey*, and preſident of *Syria*.

Antipater aſſiſts *Cæſar* in *Egypt*.

The *Jews* remembering the indignity that *Pompey* had offered to their temple, were now zealouſly attached to *Cæſar*; and when he was engaged in the war of *Alexandria*, whither he had purſued *Pompey*, *Antipater* with 3000 *Jews* joined the forces that marched to his aſſiſtance, and greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in *Egypt*. *Cæſar*, as a reward for his ſervices, gave him ſome conſiderable poſts in his army, made him procurator or lieutenant of *Judæa*, and citizen of *Rome*; which places he held with great credit all the time of the war. The *Roman* general alſo confirmed *Hyrcan* in his prieſthood, added to it the principality of *Judæa*, to be entailed on his poſterity for ever; reſtoring likewiſe to the *Jewiſh* nation their antient rights and privileges, and ordering a pillar to be erected whereon his decree ſhould be engraved.

Cæſar's gratitude to the *Jews*.

Being ſoon after obliged to march againſt *Pharnaces*, in his paſſage thro' *Syria* he was met by *Antigonus*, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, who, having complained of the hard fate his father and brother had met with, he prayed to be reſtored to his father's principality; but *Antipater* being then with *Cæſar*, juſtified *Hyrcan* and himſelf ſo well, that *Antigonus* was repulſed as a factious and turbulent perſon, and they were both acquitted. *Cæſar* beſides confirmed his former decree in favour of them and of the *Jewiſh* nation, and cauſed it to be engraved on brazen tables in *Latin* and *Greek*, and to be hung up in the temples of *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Aſcalon*, as well as in the capitol at *Rome*. *Hyrcan* ſoon after ſent ambaſſadors thither, who renewed the alliance betwixt the *Romans* and *Jews*, the treaty being publiſhed in all the principal cities of the empire. The ambaſſadors likewiſe obtained a decree allowing the walls of *Jeruſalem* to be rebuilt, and the city to be fortified.

Antipater having taken leave of *Cæſar* on the borders of *Syria*, returned to *Jeruſalem*, and ſet himſelf about putting *Cæſar*'s decree in force, and ſettling the *Jewiſh* government, according to its antient model, before the alteration made by *Ga-*

binius. Having now four ſons grown up to maturity and a daughter, he appointed his eldeſt ſon, named *Phaſael*, governor of *Jeruſalem*, and *Herod* his ſecond ſon governor of *Galilee*, whilſt he and the high prieſt took a progreſs about *Judæa*.

Herod made governor of *Galilee.*

Herod, who at this time was about 25 years of age, ſoon ſignalized himſelf by the ſuppreſſion of a band of robbers, whoſe chief, named *Hezekiah*, with ſome others of his companions, he cauſed to be immediately put to death, and thereby reſtored quiet and ſecurity to that part of the country. The *Jews*, however, who now began to envy the proſperity of *Antipater* and his family, laid hold of this opportunity of accuſing *Herod*; and repreſented to *Hyrcan* how dangerous it was for him to ſuffer the ſon of a proſelyte, who had already engroſſed the chief honours of the ſtate, to arrogate to himſelf ſuch an unlimited authority as to put a number of men to death without trial. *Hyrcan* excuſed his proceeding; but they renewing their repreſentations, at length obtained a citation from him to ſummon *Herod* to anſwer for it before the ſanhedrim. *Herod* accordingly came; but as he made his appearance in a purple robe, and ſurrounded with his guards, he ſo overawed that great council, that they all ſat ſilent, without ſaying a word againſt him, till *Sameas*, a man of great wiſdom and integrity, roſe up, and complained of his unjuſtifiable boldneſs, in appearing not as a criminal, but as if he meant to make the adminiſtration of juſtice more dangerous to the judges than the malefactor. But this, ſays he, turning to the high prieſt, is not ſo much to be imputed to his inſolence as to your weak partiality; yet know that this perſon whom you ſcreen from the juſtice of the laws, will be a ſcourge to you all. Accordingly it ſo afterwards happened; for when *Herod* came to be king of *Judæa*, he put every one of them to death, except this *Sameas* and *Pollio* his maſter.

He is accuſed before the ſanhedrim; but protected by *Hyrcan.*

He is obliged to fly into *Cœleſyria.*

The court being rouſed by the ſpeech of *Sameas*, and inclined to condemn *Herod*, *Hyrcan* adjourned them till next day, and in the mean time *Herod*, by his advice, fled from *Jeruſalem*, and took refuge at *Damaſcus* with *Sextus Cæſar*, the præfect of *Syria*, who received him with great kindneſs, and, in conſideration of a ſum of money, beſtowed upon him the government of *Cœleſyria*. *Herod* ſoon raiſed an army in his new province, and marched with it into *Judæa*, with an intent to have depoſed *Hyrcanus*, and cut off the whole ſanhedrim; but his father *Antipater*, and his brother *Phaſael*, met him, and diſſuaded him from it; ſo that, for the preſent, he dropped his reſentment.

New privileges granted to the *Jews.*

Two years after, *Hyrcan* obtaining a freſh decree from *Julius Cæſar* for the fortifying of *Jeruſalem*, *Antipater* cauſed the walls to be rebuilt with the utmoſt diſpatch; and that metropolis was ſoon after raiſed to its former ſplendor and ſtrength. *Cæſar* granted ſeveral other privileges to the *Jews*, mentioned at length in *Joſephus*; but that emperor being this year murdered at *Rome*, great confuſions immediately happened all over

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the *Roman* empire, and particularly in *Judæa*. *Sextus Cæsar*, the year before the death of the emperor, was murdered in *Syria*; which province was immediately seized upon by *Bassus*, who, having no authority from *Rome*, was afterwards besieged in *Apamea*.

Cassius, one of the murderers of *Cæsar*, came and took the command of this army; but soon entered into an accommodation with *Bassus*, and made himself master of all *Syria*. Having assembled an army of twelve legions, he was forced to require large sums from the *Syrians* and *Jews*, and taxed *Judæa* at 700 talents. *Antipater* required his sons *Phasael* and *Herod* to levy one half of the sum, and ordered the rest to be raised by one *Malichus* and his associates. *Herod* being the first that brought in his quota, thereby very much recommended himself to the favour of *Cassius*. *Phasael* brought his money soon after; but *Gophna*, *Emmaus*, *Lydda*, *Thamna*, and some other cities of *Judæa*, being found tardy herein, *Cassius* caused all the inhabitants to be sold by auction; and would have put *Malichus* to death, if *Hyrcan* had not redeemed him at the expence of 100 talents. *Cassius* soon after marching against *Dolabella*, left the government of *Cœlesyria* to *Herod*, as an earnest of his future friendship.

Cassius seizes upon *Syria*. Bef. Ch. 43.

During his absence, *Malichus*, who was a *Jew*, and next in authority to *Antipater*, being filled with envy that an *Idumean* should be preferred to himself, raised a powerful faction of the heads of the *Jews* against *Antipater*; but finding that he could not take him off by force, he feigned a reconciliation, which was of great service to himself; for *Antipater* interceded in his behalf with the governor of *Syria*, who intended to have put him to death. *Malichus* still basely retaining his enmity, soon after caused *Antipater* to be poisoned at an entertainment with the high priest, whose butler he had bribed, and then immediately seized the government of *Jerusalem* with an armed force. The traitor solemnly protested his innocence to *Herod* and *Phasael*, who dissembled their resentment; but only waited for an opportunity of revenge. Soon after, *Cassius* having taken *Laodicea*, all the chief lords of *Syria* and *Palestine* hastened thither with their presents and congratulations. *Herod* pretended to accompany *Hyrcan* and *Malichus* thither; but took an opportunity to cut the latter off by the way.

Malichus conspires against *Antipater*, and causes him to be poisoned.

Cassius, the following year, being obliged to march to *Smyrna* to join *Brutus*, the faction of *Malichus* at *Jerusalem*, headed by his brother, rose in arms to revenge his death; and having gained *Hyrcan* on their side, and *Felix* the commander of the *Roman* forces, put *Judæa* again into a flame. While *Felix* attacked *Phasael* in *Jerusalem*, the brother of *Malichus* reduced *Massada* and some other fortresses of *Judæa*. *Phasael* drove *Felix* out of *Jerusalem*; and *Herod* being recovered from an illness which had detained him some time at *Damascus*, forced the brother of *Malichus* to surrender *Massada*, and capitulate for his life. The two brothers having thus suppressed the faction,

New troubles in *Judæa*.

Herod and *Phasael* establish their power.

tion, reproved *Hyrcan* for his baſeneſs in the ſevereſt terms; but were ſoon after reconciled to him, by the marriage of *Herod* with *Mariamne*, the beautiful grand-daughter of that pontiff.

The faction, however, ſoon revived under another head; for they called to them *Antigonus* the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, and, under pretence of reſtoring him to his father's throne, raiſed new diſturbances. He was ſupported by *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Mennæus* prince of *Chalcis*, who had married his ſiſter, by *Mareon* prince of *Tyre*, and by *Fabius* governor of *Damaſcus*. But he had ſcarce entered *Judæa*, when he was totally defeated by *Herod*, who returned in triumph to *Jeruſalem*.

They are accuſed by the *Jews* before *M. Anthony*. Bef. Chr. 48.

Brutus and *Caſſius* being totally defeated, the following year, by *Octavius* and *Marc Anthony*, the latter came into *Aſia*, to ſettle the *Aſiatic* provinces. Upon his arrival in *Bithynia*, where he was attended by vaſt crowds of ambaſſadors from all the neighbouring ſtates, the *Jews* came to prefer a ſevere accuſation againſt *Herod* and *Phaſael*, as having ingroſſed all the power and adminiſtration of *Judæa*. But *Herod*, who then waited on *Anthony*, ſo far prevailed with him, partly by money and partly by intereſt, that he would not ſo much as hear his accuſers. *Anthony* ſoon after, at the requeſt of *Hyrcanus*, publiſhed an edict, ordering all thoſe *Jews* whom *Caſſius* had formerly ſold by auction to be reſtored to their liberty and lands. Upon his arrival at *Daphne* near *Antioch*, 100 of the moſt conſiderable among the *Jews* again waited upon him to prefer the old complaints againſt the two brothers. *Anthony* having given them a full hearing, aſked *Hyrcan* whether the two brothers or their accuſers were fitteſt to govern the ſtate under him; and being anſwered in favour of the two brothers, he declared for them, and, as a farther mark of his friendſhip, made them both tetrarchs, put *Judæa* under their care, and wrote a letter to the ſanhedrim in their favour. Fifteen of the moſt turbulent of the accuſers were ſent to priſon, and would have been put to death, if *Herod* had not interceded for them. All this only exaſperated that faction the more, and produced a third embaſſy of 1000 perſons, who went to *Tyre* to wait on *Anthony*, who, inſtead of hearing them, ordered the *Tyrians* and his ſoldiers to fall upon them, ſo that many of them were killed, wounded, and taken priſoners. The faction ſtill venting their reſentment againſt *Herod*, *Anthony* ordered the *Jewiſh* priſoners to be put to death.

They are favoured by *Anthony*.

The *Parthians* aſſiſt *Antigonus*.

Soon after, the inhabitants of *Syria* and *Paleſtine* being grievouſly oppreſſed by the taxes laid on them by *Anthony*, implored the aſſiſtance of the *Parthians*, who, while *Anthony* was waſting his time in *Egypt*, made themſelves maſters of *Syria* and *Phœnicia* as far as *Tyre*, and next year entered into a treaty with *Antigonus* to place him on the throne of *Judæa*, in conſideration of 1000 talents and 500 *Jewiſh* women to be given to the *Parthians*. *Antigonus* and the *Parthians* accordingly entered *Judæa*, and being joined by great numbers of *Jews*, defeated thoſe who were

were firſt ſent againſt them, and then advanced to *Jeruſalem*, where, having been admitted into the city, many ſkirmiſhes happened between the two parties, one being in poſſeſſion of the palace, and the other of the mountain of the temple.

The two parties being at length tired with ſhedding ſo much blood, came to an agreement, that *Pacorus*, who was encamped with the *Parthians* without the city, ſhould be invited, to mediate a peace between them. *Pacorus* accordingly entering the city, perſuaded *Phaſael* and *Hyrcan* to wait on *Barzanes*, whom the king of *Parthia* had appointed governor of *Syria*. They not ſuſpecting any treachery, followed his advice, and were both made priſoners. *Herod* being informed of this, privately left *Jeruſalem* in the night, taking with him all his family, the beſt of his effects, and as many ſoldiers as he could, for their guard, and made the beſt of his way towards *Idumea*, whither he arrived, after frequently repulſing the enemy, who endeavoured to ſtop his march. Having left his mother, his bride, and the reſt of his family, in the ſtrong fortreſs of *Maſſada*, under the care of his brother *Joſeph*, he proceeded towards *Petra* in hopes of obtaining aſſiſtance from *Malchus* king of *Arabia*, who had lately ſucceeded his father *Aretas*. This ungrateful prince, forgetting the ſervices *Herod* had performed to his father, now ordered him to quit his dominions; ſo that he was forced to diſmiſs ſome of his attendants, and make the beſt of his way for *Egypt*.

Herod obliged to fly from *Jeruſalem*.

After he left *Jeruſalem*, the *Parthians* plundered the city and the country round about, and then made *Antigonus* king of *Judæa*, and delivered to him *Hyrcan* and *Phaſael* in chains. *Phaſael* knowing his death to be determined, to prevent the executioner, beat out his brains againſt the walls of the priſon. *Hyrcan*'s life was ſpared; but to incapacitate him for the pontifical function, he cauſed him to be maimed, by cutting off his ears, and then delivered him to the *Parthians*, who, on their return, left him at *Seleucia*.

Phaſael being betrayed, kills himſelf.

Herod, upon arriving at *Rhinocorura*, hearing what had happened at *Jeruſalem*, proceeded to *Alexandria*, and from thence, by the way of *Rhodes* and *Brunduſium*, he went to *Rome*, and addreſſed himſelf firſt to *Anthony*, and then to *Octavianus*. Partly by his intreaties, and partly by the promiſe of a large ſum of money, he ſo worked upon them, that they performed more for him than he expected, or even deſired. The utmoſt of his aim was to have had *Ariſtobulus*, the grandſon both of *Hyrcan* and the late *Ariſtobulus*, and the brother of his beloved *Mariamne*, ſettled on the throne, and himſelf to have been at the head of the *Jewiſh* affairs under him; whereas the triumvirs actually reſolved to procure him the crown; and having introduced him to the ſenate, prevailed with them to declare him king, and king of vote *Antigonus* an enemy to the *Roman* people. *Herod* being then ſolemnly inaugurated in the capitol, left *Rome*, where he had tarried only ſeven days, and towards the end of ſummer landed

Herod's ſucceſs at *Rome*.

He is created king of *Judæa*.

Bef. Chr. 40.

landed at *Ptolemais*, having ſpent but three months in all this journey, both by ſea and land.

He reduces *Galilee*.

On his arrival, his firſt care was to relieve his mother, ſiſter, and other friends, who had been cloſely beſieged in *Maſſada* ever ſince his departure. He quickly aſſembled an army of foreigners and *Jews*, and being joined by ſome *Roman* auxiliaries, made himſelf maſter of almoſt all *Galilee*; after which he reduced *Joppa*, and then marched to the relief of *Maſſada*, where he totally routed the beſiegers, and purſued them afterwards to *Jeruſalem*, which city he beſieged. *Sillo*, who commanded the *Roman* auxiliaries in his ſervice, was not greatly in his intereſt, and encouraged his ſoldiers to mutiny, under pretence of wanting neceſſaries. He even allowed his troops to plunder *Jericho*, and then diſmiſſed them into winter quarters, which he made *Herod* provide for them in *Idumea*, *Samaria*, and *Galilee*.

Herod, however, ſtill kept the field; and having ſent his brother *Joſeph* into *Idumea* with 1000 foot and 400 horſe, marched himſelf to *Samaria*; and leaving his mother and family in that city, he proceeded to *Galilee*, where he reduced ſeveral fortreſſes, and afterwards defeated a numerous band of thieves. Early the following ſpring, he employed his troops in extirpating the remains of the banditti, who had taken ſhelter in the caves of the mountains. He cauſed iron cheſts to be made, and filling them with ſoldiers, let them down from the precipices by chains to the caves, where they attacked the robbers, and, by this means, he at length ſuppreſſed them for ſome time. Many of them, however, who had fled over the *Jordan*, returned to *Galilee* after his departure from thence; ſo that he was obliged to march back againſt them, and at length, with difficulty, quite rid that province of them.

Jeruſalem holds out againſt him.

Herod now reſolved to apply himſelf vigorouſly to reduce *Jeruſalem*; but *Machærus*, the commander of the *Roman* auxiliaries, which conſiſted of two cohorts and 1000 horſe, employing his troops only in plundering the *Jews* indiſcriminately, *Herod* went to *Anthony* at *Samoſata*, to complain of their behaviour, leaving the conduct of the war in *Judæa* to his brother *Joſeph*. He performed ſignal ſervices to *Anthony* during the ſiege of *Samoſata*; in requital of which, when the city was taken, *Anthony*, upon his departure from *Syria*, ordered *Soſius*, his lieutenant, to aſſiſt *Herod* with all his forces. *Herod*, on his return, found his affairs ſtrangely altered for the worſe. His brother *Joſeph* having, contrary to his inſtructions, ventured to act offenſively, was ſlain, with great part of his forces, before *Jericho*; which occaſioned the total revolt of *Galilee*, where the wealthieſt of *Herod*'s party were barbarouſly flung into the lake of *Tiberias*. *Idumea* was alſo on the point of revolting, when *Herod* appeared at the head of a freſh army, and in a little time reduced thoſe two provinces again.

The

The following year, having assembled a powerful army, he again marched to *Jerusalem*, and having ordered works to be thrown up against the place, he went to *Samaria*, and there consummated his marriage with *Mariamne*, whom he had betrothed four years before. She was a lady of extraordinary beauty and great virtue, and, in all laudable qualifications, accomplished beyond most others of her time. As the *Jews* had a zealous affection for the family of the *Asmonæans*, *Herod* thought that by marrying this lady out of it, he should the easier reconcile that people to him. On his return to his army before *Jerusalem*, he was joined by *Sosius*, with 11 legions and 6000 horse, besides some auxiliary troops hired from *Syria*. The besieged, who were very numerous, made a most desperate, tho' an unskilful defence; but the *Romans*, on the fortieth day after their arrival, found means to scale the outward wall. Ten days after, they got within the second, and made themselves masters of the lower city; when the besieged betook themselves to the higher and to the temple, where they suffered very much thro' famine, it being the sabbatic year. At length, after a five months close siege, *Herod* having ordered a general assault, the besieged were forced to submit.

His marriage with *Mariamne*.

He makes himself master of *Jerusalem*.

The *Romans* filled the whole city with blood and slaughter, plundering and ravaging wherever they came. *Herod* endeavoured, by threats and force, to restrain them, and made loud complaints to *Sosius*; but he, instead of checking the rapacity and barbarity of his troops, answered, that it was their privilege to plunder a city that was taken by assault; so that *Herod* found himself under a necessity of saving both temple and city from all further devastation by a large sum of money. *Antigonus*, upon seeing all lost, surrendered himself to *Sosius*, and cast himself in a very submissive and abject manner, at his feet, imploring mercy: but *Sosius*, insulting him for his meanness of spirit and want of courage, caused him to be put in chains, and soon after sent him to *Anthony* at *Antioch*. *Anthony* at first intended to have reserved him for his triumph; but *Herod* not thinking himself safe in his kingdom while he was alive, prevailed with the *Roman* general, by continual sollicitations and a large sum of money, to put him to an ignominious death by the hands of the lictor. The city being taken, put an end to the reign of the *Asmonæans*, after it had lasted, from the beginning of the government of *Judas Maccabæus* to this time, 129 years.

Antigonus put to death. Bef. Chr. 37.

As soon as *Herod* had got full possession of the kingdom of *Judæa*, he bent all his thoughts on the replenishing of his exhausted coffers, and the suppressing of the opposite faction; which two schemes filled his reign with oppression and bloodshed. He immediately caused all the gold, silver, and other valuable things in *Jerusalem*, to be brought to his palace; but as this treasure was diminished by the large sums he was forced to give to the *Romans*, he reimbursed himself by the forfeiture of the estates of the *Antigonian* faction, causing the wealthiest

Herod begins his reign in a tyrannical manner.

of

of them to be ſeized and put to death. He cut off all the counſellors of the great ſanhedrim, except *Pollio* and *Sameas*, who, during the ſiege, were for receiving him as king; telling the people, that on account of their great ſins, they had nothing elſe to expect but to be delivered to him.

His jealouſy of *Hyrcan.*

As the high prieſthood was ſtill vacant, *Herod* reſolved to confer that office on a perſon of obſcurity, and accordingly ſent for one *Ananel* from *Babylon*, who was of the pontifical family, and of his acquaintance, and conferred that dignity upon him. *Hyrcan*, in the mean time, lived happily at *Babylon*, where he was greatly reſpected by the *Jews*; but he no ſooner heard that *Herod* was king, than he earneſtly deſired to return to his native land, perſuading himſelf that he ſhould meet with grateful returns from the king, whoſe life he had formerly ſaved.

Hyrcan imprudently returns to *Jeruſalem.*

Herod was very earneſt to have him in his power, being apprehenſive leſt ſome opportunity ſhould offer for his recovering the crown; and having ſent him a kind invitation, *Hyrcan* left *Babylon*, contrary to the advice of all his friends, and returned to *Jeruſalem*, where the king at firſt received him with great ſhew of kindneſs and reſpect.

Herod's domeſtic jars.

Alexandra his daughter, who was the mother of *Ariſtobulus* and *Mariamne*, was not a little offended that an obſcure *Baby-loniſh* prieſt ſhould be preferred to the high prieſthood, to the prejudice of her ſon. As her ſollicitations had little effect upon *Herod*, ſhe wrote to *Cleopatra* queen of *Egypt*, who had gained an intire aſcendant over *Anthony*, to influence him in behalf of her ſon; ſo that the king found it neceſſary, for the ſecuring of his ſafety and quiet, to gratify her; and having depoſed *Ananel*, he conferred the high prieſthood on *Ariſtobulus*, then only ſeventeen years of age, and by this means reſtored peace to his family.

Ariſtobulus made high prieſt.

Alexandra having thus obtained the high prieſthood for her ſon, thought that, as it was his right, ſhe might, by the ſame means, procure him the crown, and therefore went on intriguing with *Cleopatra*; which *Herod* ſoon diſcovering, he confined her to her palace, and ſet ſpies upon her. This ſhe reſented with great indignation, and therefore formed a deſign to make her eſcape, and to carry her ſon with her into *Egypt*, whither they were invited by *Cleopatra*. *Herod* having diſcovered their deſign, ſeized them upon the road; but for fear of *Cleopatra*, not daring to reſent what was done, he pretended out of clemency to pardon them both, and was outwardly reconciled to them. From this moment, however, he reſolved to get rid of the young prince; and an accident happened, ſoon after, to haſten his death.

Herod jealous of his popularity.

At the following feaſt of tabernacles, the new high prieſt, who was a very beautiful perſon, tall, and in the 18th year of his age, appeared at the altar in his pontifical ornaments, and officiated with ſuch majeſty and grace, that the people thought they beheld all the merit and grandeur of his anceſtors revived in him. They could not forbear filling the temple and the city

with

with his praiſes; which raiſed the tyrant's jealouſy to ſuch a degree, that as ſoon as the feſtival was over, he went with him to *Jericho*, and there cauſed him to be drowned as he was bathing in a fiſh-pond. *Herod* was at great pains to make his death paſs for an unlucky accident, by putting himſelf into the deepeſt mourning for him, and expending large ſums on his funeral.

Cauſes him to be murdered.

But his hypocriſy was ſeen through, and deteſted by all, and particularly by *Alexandra*, who was inconſolable for the loſs of her ſon, and would not have ſurvived it, but for the hopes of having an opportunity of being revenged on the tyrant. She acquainted *Cleopatra* with his treachery; and that princeſs, moved rather by her ambition and avarice than by a ſenſe of pity or horror for the crime, ceaſed not to ſollicit *Anthony*, till ſhe prevailed with him to call *Herod* to an account for this wicked fact. *Anthony* accordingly ſummoned *Herod* to appear before him; but, upon receiving large preſents from the criminal, he moſt baſely abſolved him, and compenſated *Cleopatra*'s avarice with the province of *Cœleſyria*.

Herod ſummoned to appear before *Anthony*, who acquits him.

Herod, when he went to appear before *Anthony*, left his uncle *Joſeph* in the adminiſtration of the government, and gave him expreſs orders, that in caſe *Anthony* ſhould put him to death, he ſhould not ſuffer his beloved *Mariamne* to ſurvive the firſt news of it, that none, as he pretended, might enjoy ſo great a beauty but himſelf; but in reality to ſecure the ſucceſſion to his brother *Pheroras*. *Salome*, the ſiſter of *Herod* and wife to *Joſeph*, having been once upbraided by *Mariamne* with the meanneſs of her original, now reſolved to gratify her reſentment in the moſt bloody manner; and when *Herod* returned, accuſed *Mariamne* of a criminal intimacy with *Joſeph*, being content to ſacrifice her huſband, rather than not obtain her revenge on the other. *Joſeph*, during *Herod*'s abſence, had daily viſited *Mariamne*, either upon buſineſs, or to pay his reſpects to her as queen; in which viſits he would often take occaſion to extol the greatneſs of *Herod*'s paſſion for her; and, as a proof of what he alleged, at length indiſcreetly blabbed the ſecret orders he had received. The queen looking upon theſe orders as a proof of his jealouſy and inhumanity, conceived a great hatred againſt him. *Herod*, tho' filled with jealouſy on hearing the accuſation of *Salome*, yet at the firſt interview with *Mariamne*, was convinced of her innocence, and made great proteſtations of his ardent love for her. Yes, indeed, ſaid ſhe, it is a notable ſign of your love to order your innocent wife to be put to death, in caſe you ſhould die yourſelf. At theſe words, *Herod*'s rage and jealouſy returned; and concluding that nothing but an adulterous converſation could have induced *Joſeph* to betray the ſecret to her, he was on the point of ſtabbing her to the heart; but tho' his love for her interpoſed, he ordered his uncle immediately to be executed, without giving him leave to ſpeak for himſelf.

Fatal diſſenſions in his family.

Cleopatra comes to Jerusalem.

The king's domeſtic troubles were for a while diverted, by the coming of *Cleopatra* into *Judæa*, in her return from the *Euphrates*, whither ſhe had accompanied *Anthony*. As ſhe had favoured *Alexandra*, and had prevailed on *Anthony* to beſtow upon her the fertile territories of *Jericho*, *Herod*, who was thereby deprived of a conſiderable revenue, now conſulted upon means of putting her to death; but was diſſuaded by his friends from this deſign, and endeavoured to gratify her avarice by magnificent preſents. She, however, having in vain ſollicited him to an amour, departed full of reſentment.

Her reſentment againſt Herod.

Two years after, a civil war breaking out between *Octavianus* and *Anthony*, *Herod* raiſed a conſiderable body of forces to aſſiſt the latter; but was deſired by him to turn his arms againſt *Malchus* king of *Arabia*, who had neglected to pay the tribute of part of his territories to *Cleopatra*. The *Egyptian* queen endeavoured, by this means, to revenge herſelf on *Herod*, and hoped that if one of the kings ſhould be ſlain in the war, his territories would be conferred on her. *Herod* at firſt obtained a ſignal victory over *Malchus*; but in a ſecond engagement in *Cœleſyria*, *Athenion*, the lieutenant of *Cleopatra* in thoſe parts, joining with *Malchus*, the greateſt part of the *Jews* were cut in pieces, their camp plundered, and *Herod* himſelf with difficulty eſcaped.

Judæa greatly damaged by an earthquake. Bef. Chr. 31.

Not long after, another calamity happened to him, from a terrible earthquake, which deſtroyed about 30,000 of the inhabitants by the falling of the houſes. The great loſs which the kingdom ſuſtained by this calamity, obliged him to ſue to the *Arabians* for peace: but they having it rumoured among them that the deſtruction was much greater than it was, deſpiſed his offers, put his ambaſſadors to death, and immediately invaded *Judæa*, expecting to have found it deſtitute of all defence. It was with the greateſt difficulty that *Herod* kept his men from abandoning him; but having at length diſpelled their fears, and offered the uſual ſacrifices, he marched to the other ſide of the *Jordan*, and gave them two ſuch ſignal defeats, that he forced them in their turn to ſue for peace, and to accept it on his own conditions.

And invaded by the Arabians.

Anthony, in the mean time, being intirely defeated at *Actium* by *Octavianus*, *Herod*, who had always followed the party of the former, was now apprehenſive of the reſentment of the latter. As *Hyrcan* ſtill lived, and his daughter *Alexandra* had begun to try to gain ſome advantage from the late change of affairs, *Herod* thought he could not be ſafe while *Hyrcan* was alive; and having drawn him into a plot, cauſed him then to be beheaded, after he had paſſed the 80th year of his age. *Herod* next ſecured *Mariamne* and her mother in the caſtle of *Alexandria*, under the care of *Sohemus* and *Joſeph*, two of his chief confidents, ordering them to put the two princeſſes to death if he ſhould not return. He ſent his mother and ſiſter, with the reſt of his kindred, to *Maſſada*; and committing them and the government of his kingdom, to his brother *Pheroras*

Herod cauſes Hyrcan to be put to death.

ordered

ordered him, in case he should miscarry, to assume the crown to himself.

Having thus settled his affairs at home, he set out to meet *Octavianus*, in hopes of making his peace with him; and being admitted to an audience at *Rhodes*, when he came into his presence he laid aside his diadem, and in his address to him freely owned all that he had done for *Anthony*, and what he was farther ready to have done, had he accepted of it from him: "This (he said) he thought himself obliged to by the friend-"ship that was between them; and he would be pleased to think "the like friendship worthy of his acceptance, since *Anthony* "now was wholly lost, he should be ready with the same fide-"lity to serve him." *Octavianus*, pleased with the frank and generous manner in which *Herod* delivered himself, accepted the friendship which he offered; and ordering him again to resume the diadem, confirmed him in the kingdom. *Herod* in return made magnificent presents to *Octavianus* and all his friends, and from this time had more of his favour and friendship than any other tributary prince of the *Roman* empire. Goes to sollicit the favour of *Augustus*; who confirms him in his royalty.

Herod returned to *Judæa* much pleased at his success; but all his joy was soon embittered, by the ill reception he met with from his beloved *Mariamne* and her exasperated mother. *Mariamne* having drawn the fatal secret from *Sohemus*, received the caresses of *Herod* with sighs, tears, and all other marks of grief and disdain, and, concealing the true cause of her resentment, was continually upbraiding him with the murder of her nearest relations. By this provoking treatment his patience was almost quite worn out; but hearing that *Augustus* was arrived in *Syria*, he left *Jerusalem*, and went to meet him at *Ptolemais*, where he entertained him and his army with incredible magnificence. When *Augustus* returned from *Egypt*, *Herod* gave him the same magnificent reception as he passed thro' *Syria*; in recompence of which *Augustus* made him a present of the 4000 *Gauls* which had served as guards to *Cleopatra*, and restored to him the territories and revenues of *Jericho*, *Gadara*, *Hippon*, and *Samaria*, in the inlands, and those of *Joppa*, *Anthedo*, *Gaza*, and the tower of *Straton*, on the sea-side. His happiness disturbed by domestic jars. He receives *Augustus* in a magnificent manner.

Herod, when he returned, found nothing but trouble and vexation at home, all his caresses being rejected by *Mariamne* with the utmost aversion; which so provoked and enraged him, that he could hardly forbear laying violent hands upon her. When he was in the height of his rage, *Salome* having bribed his cup-bearer, sent him in to him to acquaint him that *Mariamne* had offered him money to poison him. *Herod* immediately ordered the favourite eunuch of *Mariamne* to be put to the torture; but all he confessed was, that something which *Sohemus* had told the queen had put her out of humour. He is hated by *Mariamne*.

The king's rage being heighten'd by this discovery, he caused *Sohemus* instantly to be put to death; and having packed a set of judges out of such as were his creatures, brought *Mariamne* before

Mariamne unjuſtly put to death.

before them, to be tried for her life. The judges finding by the vehemency with which *Herod* in perſon proſecuted the accuſation, that no other ſentence but that of death would be acceptable to him, accordingly paſſed it upon her. *Herod* propoſed to have impriſoned her in one of his caſtles; but *Salome* and his mother *Cyprus*, knowing how apt he was to relapſe into his former fondneſs, would not let him be quiet till he had ordered her to be put to death. *Mariamne* received the fatal ſummons with an heroic courage, and marched to the place of execution with incredible ſerenity, receiving the fatal ſtroke with great firmneſs and conſtancy.

Herod's remorſe.

Herod's rage being quenched with the blood of this amiable princeſs, his love to her again revived, and his mind was filled with the moſt bitter remorſe, which would not let him reſt either day or night. Wherever he went the thoughts of *Mariamne* purſued him, and cauſed bitter reflexions in his breaſt, which he endeavoured to ſtifle by wine, company, and other diverſions: but none of them relieving him, he at length fell into downright diſtraction, and would often call for *Mariamne*, and order his ſervants to bring her to him. A grievous peſtilence which happened ſoon after, and ſwept away multitudes of people, added a freſh load to his miſery. He withdrew himſelf, under pretence of hunting, to ſome of the neighbouring deſerts, and from thence to *Samaria*, where he was detained for ſome time by a violent ſickneſs. Upon his recovery, he returned to *Jeruſalem*, having ſome time before cauſed *Alexandra* to be murdered, becauſe ſhe, in expectation of his death, had made ſome attempts to get into her poſſeſſion two of the chief caſtles of the kingdom.

His cruelty.

He now began more and more to indulge his cruel and bloody diſpoſition, and, at the perſuaſion of *Salome*, put her ſecond huſband, named *Coſtobares*, an *Idumean*, to death, with ſeveral other principal perſons of the *Aſmonæan* faction, whom ſhe accuſed of having entered into treaſonable deſigns.

He introduces heatheniſh cuſtoms.

Herod having rid himſelf of the *Aſmonæan* race, and of their moſt conſiderable partizans, began to ſhow a diſregard to the *Jewiſh* religion, and made bold to bring in foreign rites and cuſtoms. He built at *Jeruſalem* a theatre and an amphitheatre in honour of *Auguſtus*, celebrated games and exhibited ſhews in them, which highly offended the *Jews*.

The *Jews* conſpire againſt him.

Ten of the boldeſt of them at laſt formed a conſpiracy againſt him, and entered the theatre with daggers under their clothes; but their plot being diſcovered, they were all put to death by tortures. The people, however, were ſo exaſperated againſt the informer, that they cut and tore him to pieces, and caſt his fleſh to the dogs. *Herod* having found out all who were concerned in this murder, put every one of them to death; which exaſperated the *Jews* ſtill more againſt him. *Herod* judging it prudent to have other places of ſtrength to depend upon beſides *Jeruſalem*, ſet about building ſeveral other cities and fortreſſes.

He rebuilds *Samaria*.

He cauſed *Samaria* to be rebuilt and fortified, and, in honour of *Auguſtus*, gave it the name of *Sebaſte*, which ſignifies the ſame in *Greek*

as

as *Auguſtus* in *Latin*. He alſo fortified and garriſoned the tower of *Straton*, which, in honour of the emperor, he called *Cæſarea*. *Gabala* in *Galilee*, *Eſthmonitis* in *Peræa*, and ſome other fortreſſes, were likewiſe built and garriſoned by him.

About the ſame time, which was the 13th year of his reign, *Judæa* was viſited by a grievous drought, which brought on a famine, and ended in a raging peſtilence, of which great multitudes daily died. *Herod* having exhauſted his treaſury by his buildings, melted down all his plate, and with it bought corn and wool in *Egypt*, which he diſtributed among his ſubjects, but to the *Jews* preferably to any of the reſt. This generoſity did for the preſent change their hatred into admiration, and his praiſes were for a while the main ſubject of their diſcourſe; but as he ſoon relapſed into his cruel and ſavage humour, their love was as ſoon turned into hatred again.

Judæa afflicted with famine and peſtilence.

The land having recovered itſelf from the late calamity, *Herod* proceeded with his buildings. He particularly erected a magnificent palace on mount *Sion*, the higheſt part of *Jeruſalem*, and continued to adorn and embelliſh *Cæſarea*. This year, which was the 14th of his reign, he married another *Mariamne*, a woman of extraordinary beauty, who was the daughter of a *Jewiſh* prieſt of *Alexandria*, on whom he conferred the high prieſthood, after having diſpoſſeſſed *Jeſus* the ſon of *Phabæus* of that dignity.

Herod erects a ſtately palace at *Jeruſalem*

Two years after, *Herod* ſent his two ſons by *Mariamne*, named *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, to *Rome* for their education. *Pollio*, his intimate friend, was ordered to provide a houſe for them; but the emperor took that care off his hands, and aſſigned them apartments in his own palace; and further to expreſs his friendſhip to *Herod*, he gave him full power to name which of them he pleaſed to be his ſucceſſor. At the ſame time he likewiſe added to his kingdom the diſtricts of *Trachonitis*, *Auranitis* or *Iturea*, and *Batanea*, which were ſituated between *Libanus* and *Peræa*. *Auguſtus* ſtopped not his kindneſs here; but two years after, having made a progreſs into the eaſt, added another diſtrict to the government of *Herod*, and appointed him his procurator in *Syria*, and forbad his governor there to undertake any thing without his knowlege and advice. He likewiſe, at the requeſt of *Herod*, conferred a tetrarchy on *Pheroras*.

He ſends his two ſons to *Rome*. Bef. Chr. 21.

In acknowlegement of all theſe favours, *Herod* built unto him, near the mountain *Paneas*, at the ſource of the *Jordan*, a ſumptuous temple, all of white marble; by which idolatrous flattery, and other like compliances with heathen uſages, he farther alienated from him all thoſe *Jews* that were zealous for their law and the religion of their forefathers. *Herod* alleged in his excuſe the neceſſity he was under of gratifying *Auguſtus* and the *Romans*; but the diſcontents among the people increaſing, he prohibited all meetings at feaſts and clubs, and all other aſſemblies of many together; and placed ſpies in all quarters to bring him conſtant intelligence how

Herod flatters the emperor.

all

all matters went, he himſelf frequently in diſguiſe concealing himſelf among his ſubjects. Finding that the diſcontents were very high, he endeavoured to exact an oath of fidelity from the people; but this new impoſition was ſo ſtrenuouſly refuſed by *Pollio* and *Sameas*, whom the *Jews* call *Hillel* and *Shamai*, and by all the *Phariſees* and *Eſſenians*, that he was forced to let it drop.

He propoſes the rebilding of the emple.

Herod, the year following, in hopes of reconciling the *Jews* to him, and of erecting a monument of laſting honour to his own name, propoſed to rebuild the temple of *Jeruſalem*. In a general aſſembly of the people, *Herod* offered to them what he intended; but finding them ſtartled at the propoſal, and under apprehenſions leſt when he had pulled down the old temple, he ſhould not be able to build them a new one, he told them, that he would not take down the old temple till he had prepared all the materials for the new edifice. As ſoon as he had gained their conſent, he ſet immediately 10,000 artificers to work, under the direction of 1000 prieſts, ſkilful in all the parts of architecture, all of whom he kept in his pay, employing alſo 1000 carts in fetching all the materials. Such expedition was uſed, that all things were got ready within the ſpace of two years; after which he ſet about pulling down the old building, and with the ſame diſpatch rearing the new one; ſo that the holy place, or temple, properly ſo called, was finiſhed in a year and a half's time; during which, *Joſephus* ſays, it never rained in the day time, but only in the night. After eight years more all the reſt was built which *Herod* propoſed; the building, however, ſtill retaining the name of the ſecond temple, the work of *Herod* being looked upon not as a reſtoration but a reparation, which was continued ſeveral years after, as is evident from the evangeliſt St. *John* and from *Joſephus*. The *Jews* ſaid to our Saviour, *forty and ſix years hath this temple been a building*; and *Joſephus* mentions, that after our Saviour's death, on the coming of *Geſſius Florus* to be governor of *Judæa*, 18,000 workmen were diſcharged at one time.

The hilding iniſhed vith great iſpatch nd magnificence.

Herod goes to *Rome*.

While the work of the temple was carrying on, *Herod* made a voyage to *Rome* to pay his reſpects to *Auguſtus*, and to ſee his ſons *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*. In his way thither he ſtopt in *Greece*, and was preſent at the olympic games, for the ſupport of which he afterwards ſettled a conſtant revenue. He was received at *Rome* with great honour and kindneſs by *Auguſtus*, and after a ſhort ſtay returned with his two ſons to *Judæa*, and a little after provided them with ſuitable matches, marrying *Alexander*, the eldeſt, to *Glaphyra* the daughter of *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*, and the other to *Berenice* the daughter of *Salome* his ſiſter. His two ſons, by the comlineſs of their perſons, the agreeableneſs of their behaviour, and other accompliſhments, drew to them the love and eſteem of all the *Jews*; but *Salome*, and ſuch others as had been her accomplices in procuring the death of *Mariamne* their mother, fearing their

Brings back his two ſons.

their revenge, did all that in them lay to work their deſtruction. They began with ſpreading reports abroad that the two young princes could not endure their father, not doubting but when the rumour reached the jealous monarch's ears, it would inevitably render them obnoxious to him.

He aſſiſts *Agrippa*.

Two years after his return from *Rome*, *Herod* ſailed to the *Boſphorus* with a fleet to the aſſiſtance of *Agrippa*, the ſon-in-law of *Auguſtus*, and ſo ingratiated himſelf with him, that he obtained ſeveral privileges for the *Jews* ſettled in *Aſia Minor* and the *Grecian* iſles. On his return to *Jeruſalem*, finding that the *Jews* were not a little diſcontented at ſome of his late proceedings, he remitted to them one fourth part of their taxes, which in ſome meaſure quieted their murmurings. The diſſenſions in his family, however, ſtill grew wider; for *Salome* and *Pheroras* having deſignedly exaſperated his two ſons, and provoked them to ſome indiſcreet expreſſions of reſentment, repeated their words to *Herod* with ſuch malicious gloſſes and comments, as made him believe they were hatching ill deſigns againſt his perſon.

He becomes jealous of the two ſons of *Mariamne*.

Herod, to ſuppreſs in ſome meaſure the preſumption of the two brothers, cauſed his ſon *Antipater*, whom he had by his firſt wife before his marriage with *Mariamne*, to be brought to court, where he heaped ſuch careſſes on him, as only rendered him more obnoxious to them, and them more indiſcreet in their ſpeeches againſt their father. *Antipater* being regarded as his father's ſucceſſor, was ſent by him to *Rome*; and from thence by his letters and agents he ſo exaſperated *Herod* againſt the two brothers, that the king at length carried them with him to *Italy*, and accuſed them before *Auguſtus* with a deſign of poiſoning him. The two princes eaſily proved their innocence, and being acquitted by the emperor, returned to *Jeruſalem* with *Herod*, who then aſſembling the people, named *Antipater* in the firſt place to ſucceed him in the kingdom, and next after him the ſons of *Mariamne*.

He accuſes them before *Auguſtus*.

Herod, the following year, which was the 28th of his reign, finiſhed and dedicated *Cæſarea*, which had been twelve years in building. He afterwards built ſeveral other cities, particularly *Antipatris* in honour of his father, *Cypron* in honour of his mother, and *Phaſaelis* in honour of his brother. *Herod* having greatly exhauſted his treaſury by his many buildings, now broke up the ſepulchres of *David* and *Solomon*, in hopes of drawing great wealth from thence; but his expectations, *Joſephus* ſays, were entirely diſappointed.

His jealouſy of his two ſons encreaſed.

Salome, *Pheroras*, and *Antipater*, in the mean time purſued their plot againſt the ſons of *Mariamne*, and by falſe ſtories and other malicious artifices, ſo filled the old king's head with jealouſies and ſuſpicions, that he could neither ſleep by night, nor enjoy any quiet by day. *Alexander* being accuſed of corrupting two of the king's favourite confidents, namely, his high-ſteward and cup-bearer, *Herod* ordered them to be put to the rack. At firſt they juſtified the prince; but being racked a ſecond

time, they let fall ſome expreſſions, upon which *Alexander* was immediately ſent to priſon and loaded with irons. *Alexander* being now made deſperate, ſent four papers to his father, containing a confeſſion of plots and conſpiracies that were never ſo much as thought of, naming *Pheroras* and *Salome*, the king's brother and ſiſter, and many of his chief confidents, as concerned in the treaſon.

Alexander's deſperate confeſſion.

This accuſation, which was calculated to ſet all on fire, had the deſired effect; and the jealous king not knowing whom to truſt, flew into the greateſt exceſſes of cruelty, condemning ſome to death, and tormenting others till they expired on the rack. He himſelf, in the mean time, was ſo terrified, that he often ſtarted out of his bed, as if purſued ſword in hand by his ſons and their accomplices. *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia* luckily arriving at this time at *Jeruſalem*, by his interpoſition ſettled a calm again at court, at leaſt for a time. *Pheroras* ſeeing the king reconciled to his ſon, came in a mourning dreſs, and at his feet confeſſed himſelf the author of all the ſlanders raiſed againſt the two princes.

Herod reconciled to his ſons.

Herod thus reconciled to his ſons, ſet out with them for *Rome*, being under an obligation of clearing *Alexander* at the *Roman* court, becauſe he had lately exhibited ſeveral grievous complaints againſt him. During his abſence from *Judæa*, the country was miſerably infeſted with bands of robbers, who having been driven from *Trachonitis*, had taken ſhelter in *Arabia*. *Herod*, upon his return, cauſed all their relations who remained at *Trachonitis*, to be put to death. The temple beeing ſoon after finiſhed, *Herod* cauſed the dedication of it to be performed with his uſual magnificence.

Bef. Ch. 8.

The following ſpring, having aſſembled ſome forces, he marched into *Arabia*, and deſtroyed the fortreſs which ſerved as a retreat to the banditti, killing as many of them as fell into his hands. *Syllæus*, the favourite of the king of *Arabia*, being then at *Rome*, complained to *Auguſtus*, and aggravated the wrongs done to the *Arabians* to ſuch a degree, that the emperor ſent a very ſharp reproof to *Herod*, and refuſed audience to two of his embaſſies. *Nicolas Damaſcen*, however, being ſent by *Herod* to *Rome*, found means to reconcile *Auguſtus* to the king, whoſe breaſt was again filled with ſuſpicions and jealouſies of his ſons fidelity. *Salome* and *Pheroras* had renewed their malicious accuſations; but tho' nothing could be proved againſt the two young princes but a deſign of retiring into ſome other country, *Herod* took all the reſt for granted, and wrote to *Auguſtus* deſiring leave to try his ſons. *Auguſtus* finding *Herod* deſperately bent upon the ruin of his unfortunate ſons, granted him leave to have them tried at *Berytus*, before the governors of *Syria* and the neighbouring provinces. *Herod* accuſed his ſons in perſon, and they not being allowed to appear in their own defence, the majority of the judges condemned them to death. They were accordingly ſoon after executed

He reduces the banditti.

He prefers new complaints againſt his ſons,

who are tried and put to death.

cuted at *Sebaſte*, and their bodies buried among their *Aſmonean* anceſtors.

Antipater having now got rid of his two rivals, entered into a conſpiracy with *Pheroras* and others to cut off *Herod* by poiſon. *Herod* having four grandchildren by the ſons of *Mariamne*, had cauſed them to be educated with great care, and finding himſelf upon the decline, was contriving how to have them advantageouſly matched; but *Antipater* found means to break all his meaſures, and to perſuade him to change the diſpoſition of his family contrary to his firſt deſign. While *Antipater* was concerting his inhuman plot with *Pheroras*, an edict was iſſued out commanding the whole *Jewiſh* nation to ſwear allegiance to *Auguſtus* and to the king. The *Phariſees*, to the number of 7000, refuſing the oath, *Herod* condemned them to a ſevere fine; which being paid for them by the wife of *Pheroras*, they in return, pretending to the gift of prophecy, aſſured her, that the kingdom would be transferred to her iſſue. This reaching the ears of *Herod*, widened the breach betwixt him and his brother, who thought proper to retire to his tetrarchy, where he ſoon after died, *Antipater* ſome time before having gone to *Rome* to avoid ſuſpicion of the plot that he was concerting. After his death, two of his freedmen made heavy complaints to *Herod* that he had been poiſoned by his wife. *Herod*, on theſe complaints, making ſtrict enquiry, and putting ſeveral perſons of *Pheroras*'s family to the torture, thereby diſcovered the conſpiracy againſt himſelf. It was found, that *Antipater*, by a friend of his, had procured poiſon from *Alexandria*, which was delivered to *Pheroras*, who was to have given it to the king; but that he relenting a few days before his death, had ordered his wife to throw it into the fire before his face; which ſhe had accordingly done, except a ſmall doſe which ſhe had reſerved for herſelf.

Antipater and *Pheroras* plot againſt *Herod*. Bef. Chriſt 5.

Their plot diſcovered.

A few months before theſe tranſactions, the angel *Gabriel* was ſent to *Zacharias*, a pious and upright prieſt of the courſe of *Abiah*, and appearing before him while he ſtood offering the ſacred incenſe in the temple according to the prieſtly office, foretold to him the birth of a ſon whom he ſhould ſhortly have by his virtuous wife *Elizabeth*, and who ſhould be a *Nazarite*, and the forerunner of the world's redeemer. Soon after the temple of *Janus* was ſhut up at *Rome*, it being uſual to open it in time of war, and to ſhut it in time of peace; and at this time there was a general peace all over the world, which was a proper prelude for uſhering in the prince of peace, *Chriſt our Lord*.

The angel *Gabriel* appears to *Zacharias*,

and to the Virgin *Mary*.

For in the ſixth month after the angel *Gabriel* had appeared to *Zacharias* in the temple, he was ſent to *Nazareth*, a city of *Galilee*, to *Mary* a virgin of the houſe of *David*, lately eſpouſed to *Joſeph* of the ſame lineage, to declare to her the good tidings, that of her was to be born the ſon of God. The holy Virgin humbly acquieſced in whatever God had determined to do with her; and the angel having acquainted her with the

pregnancy of her couſin *Elizabeth*, the wife of *Zacharias*, ſhe ſoon went up into the mountainous country to congratulate her and her huſband upon it. As ſoon as ſhe arrived at the houſe of *Zacharias*, *Elizabeth*, upon hearing her firſt ſalutation, felt her child leap in her womb, and being inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, cried out, *Bleſſed art thou above thy ſex! bleſſed is the fruit of thy body! and how vaſt is my felicity to be viſited by the mother of my Lord.* *Mary* was ſo tranſported at what ſhe heard, that ſhe broke out into a rapture of thankſgiving to God; and having continued three months with her couſin, returned to her poor habitation at *Nazareth*. *Elizabeth* ſoon after being delivered of the promiſed ſon, gave him the name of *John*, as his father had been commanded by the angel.

The holy Virgin being returned to *Nazareth*, ſtill concealed the myſtery which God had wrought in her from her eſpouſed huſband; but her pregnant ſymptoms ſoon diſcovering it, *Joſeph* thinking ſhe had diſhonoured herſelf, was contriving means to give her a private divorce, without expoſing her to the rigour of the law. An angel, however, appearing to him in a viſion, and informing him that her conception was altogether miraculous, and that ſhe ſhould bear a ſon whom God had appointed to be the Saviour of his people, *Joſeph* took the virgin home to him, but lived in perfect continence with her till ſhe was delivered of her firſt-born ſon, who by a lineal deſcent was true heir to the kingdom of *Iſrael* as ſpruing from the houſe of *David*.

The decree of *Auguſtus*.

Some time before this *Auguſtus Cæſar* had iſſued out a general edict, that all perſons in the *Roman* empire, with their eſtates and conditions, ſhould be regiſtred at certain appointed places, according to their reſpective provinces, cities and families. In conſequence of this edict, *Joſeph* and his wife *Mary*, being both of the tribe of *Judah* and family of *David*, were obliged to go as far as *Bethlehem*, which was the mother city of their tribe, there to have their names and eſtates enrolled. The great concourſe of people thither on this occaſion having already filled all the inns, *Joſeph* and his wife could find no better place for their lodging than a ſtable, where they had not been long before the bleſſed Virgin was delivered of a ſon, whom ſhe bound in ſwadling-clothes, and laid down to reſt in a manger. This obſcurity of our Saviour's birth was ſoon glorioufly illuſtrated, God being pleaſed, that very night, to ſend an angel at the head of a heavenly hoſt, who publiſhed it to the watching ſhepherds, and celebrated it with that noble hymn, *Glory be to God on high, peace on earth, and good-will towards men.*

Chriſt the Saviour of the world born.

The child's parents circumciſed him on the eighth day, and gave him the name of *Jeſus*, as they had been directed by the angel. As ſoon as he was forty days old, two other ceremonies were performed, namely, the purification of the mother, and the preſentation of her firſt-born. According to the law, the firſt-born were redeemed with the price of five ſhekels, or

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of a lamb, or a pair of doves or young pigeons; which laſt was the price appointed for the meaner ſort. So low was the family of *David* reduced by this time, and ſo poor were the parents of the world's ineſtimable redeemer, that they were fain to redeem him at the loweſt price.

After their return to *Bethlehem*, the whole city of *Jeruſalem* was put into a great commotion by the arrival of ſome wiſe men from the eaſt of the ſect of the magians, who had been conducted thither by following the courſe of a miraculous ſtar which proceeded before them on their journey. As the wiſe men concluded that this ſtar declared the birth of a king of the *Jews*, they came firſt to *Jeruſalem*, and there enquired very earneſtly after him; which greatly alarming the jealous *Herod*, he conſulted the ſanhedrim about the place where the prophecies declared that the Meſſiah ſhould be born. The *Jewiſh* doctors telling him that *Bethlehem* was the city of his birth, *Herod*, who had formed a bloody reſolution of cutting him off, cauſed the magi to be privately brought to him, and having carefully examined them concerning the time of the ſtar's appearance, he diſmiſſed them with theſe words, *Go and ſearch diligently for the child, and when you have found him, bring me word, that I may go likewiſe and worſhip him.* They ſet out accordingly, and were not a little overjoyed when they beheld the ſame ſtar ſtill going before them, till at length it ſtood over the houſe where the child was. Having approached the divine babe with ſuitable reverence, they laid open their treaſures, and offered preſents of gold, frankincenſe, and myrrh. Being warned by God not to return to *Jeruſalem*, they departed into their own country another way. When they were gone, an angel appeared to *Joſeph*, and informing him of *Herod*'s intended cruelty againſt the child, ordered him to retire into *Egypt* with him and his mother, and there to continue till further notice. *Joſeph* accordingly, with all poſſible ſpeed, ſet forward for *Egypt*.

The wiſe men from the eaſt quire after Chriſt.

Herod's fear and cruelty.

The wiſe men offer their gifts to Chriſt.

Herod, in the mean time, waited impatiently for the return of the eaſtern wiſe men; but at length finding himſelf deluded, and his moſt ſecret and ſubtle deſigns blaſted, he fell into a moſt violent rage and fury, and reſolved to effect by cruelty what he had failed of doing by craft. He accordingly cauſed all the children in *Bethlehem* and its neighbourhood that were two years of age and under, to be barbarouſly maſſacred, not doubting but that in this general ſlaughter he ſhould diſpatch the young prince whom he ſo much dreaded.

Herod, about the ſame time, put to death his eldeſt ſon *Antipater*, who being ignorant of what had paſſed in *Judæa*, had returned from *Rome*; but being made a priſoner upon his arrival, was ſoon after condemned and ſent to priſon. Mean while *Herod* being worn out with age, ſickneſs, and numberleſs cares and inquietudes, fell into a violent diſeaſe, which added to all his other misfortunes, made him ſo moroſe and choleric, that he became a burden to himſelf and all about him. Find-

Herod puts his ſon *Antipater* to death.

ing his end approaching, he ſet about making his will, by which he appointed his youngeſt ſon his heir and ſucceſſor. He bequeathed in legacies 1000 talents to *Auguſtus*, 500 to his empreſs, and left a conſiderable fortune to the unworthy *Salome*. The reſt of his eſtate, lands, revenues, and money, he ordered to be divided between his children and grandchildren.

A tumult in *Jeruſalem*.

It being reported in *Jeruſalem* that his life was deſpaired of, two *Jewiſh* doctors raiſed a great tumult in the city, by ſtirring up a great number of their diſciples, with many of the city youth, to go and pull down all the ſtructures which that monarch had built contrary to their laws. They began with beating down a golden eagle of extraordinary bigneſs and exquiſite workmanſhip, which *Herod* had cauſed to be placed over the temple gate. This image, which was the greateſt eye-ſore to the *Jews*, they inſtantly broke to pieces with axes and hammers. The king's commander in chief coming upon them with a body of troops, they all diſperſed except 40, who being ſeized and carried to the king, boldly declared to him, that they had long ſince reſolved upon what they had done, and that it was their only grief that they had deferred it ſo long. They added, that they neither feared his anger nor any puniſhment he could inflict upon them, ſince what they had done was in obedience to their law, and from a pure zeal to the glory of God. *Herod* having cauſed himſelf to be conveyed in a litter to *Jericho*, there aſſembled the heads of the *Jews*, and complained of the inſult that the young men had offered not to him but to God, having ſacrilegiouſly pulled down the golden ornament that was dedicated to him. The aſſembly being awed by his bloody diſpoſition, had not the courage to repreſent to him that he had violated their law by making an image that was the object of idolatry; but contented themſelves with diſclaiming the action of the young men, whom *Herod* ſoon after cauſed to be burnt alive, with one of the doctors who had promoted the tumult.

Herod miſerably tormented.

Herod, at this time, was afflicted with a lingering and waſting fever, and grievous ulcers in his entrails and bowels, a violent cholic, an inſatiable appetite, running ſwellings in his feet, convulſions in his nerves, a perpetual aſthma with a ſtinking breath, rottenneſs in his joints and privy members, accompanied with prodigious itchings and ſwarms of lice and worms. Finding no relief from the hot baths near the lake *Aſphaltites*, he returned to *Jericho*, and being well convinced of the hatred which the *Jews* bore him, he bethought himſelf of one of the moſt horrid expedients that ever entered into the mind of man to prevent the people from rejoicing at his death. He iſſued out his ſummons for the heads of all the *Jews* to repair to *Jericho* on a certain day under pain of death. Upon their arrival, he ordered them all to be ſhut up in the circus, and then ſending for *Salome* his ſiſter, and her huſband *Alexas*, he gave them ſtrict charge to put them all to the ſword as ſoon as his breath

was

was gone; by which means he said he should not only damp the people's joy, but secure a real morning at his death.

A false report having prevailed that he was dead, *Antipater* made large promises to his goaler, if he would give him his liberty; which being told to *Herod*, he immediately ordered him to be put to death. He outlived his son but five days, during which he altered his will afresh, left his kingdom to *Archelaus*, made *Antipas* tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Perea*, and left to *Philip* the regions of *Trachonitis*, *Gaulon*, *Batanea*, and *Paneas*, which were erected likewise into a tetrarchy. To *Salome*, besides 50,000 pieces in money, he gave the cities of *Jamnia*, *Azotus*, and *Phasaelis*, leaving also considerable legacies to his other relations. He died in the 70th year of his age, the 37th after his advancement to the *Jewish* crown, and the 34th after the expulsion and death of *Antigonus*. His death. Year of Christ 1. Before the vulgar æra 3.

Salome and *Alexas*, tho' very profligate, were so far from executing the last inhuman orders of the tyrant, tho' he had extorted an oath from them for their compliance, that they even chose to smother the shameful secret from the nation. To this end, as soon as he expired, they went to the circus, and declared to the heads of the *Jews*, that it was the king's orders that they should all depart to their respective homes; and they having accordingly departed, the news of the king's death was then published, and the chief officers and soldiery were assembled in the amphitheatre at *Jericho*. *Salome* read to them a letter from the deceased king, in which he thanked them for their fidelity to him, and desired them to shew it now to his son *Archelaus*, whom he had appointed his successor.

Archelaus being acknowledged as king, caused the funeral obsequies of his father to be performed with vast magnificence, his troops conducting the corps with great solemnity to the castle of *Herodion* near *Jerusalem*. From thence they proceeded to *Jerusalem*, where *Archelaus* having finished the seven days mourning for his father, according to the *Jewish* custom, gave the people a magnificent feast. He went next clothed in white to the temple in the midst of their loud acclamations, where at their desire he granted an alleviation of their tribute, an abolition of the customs, and a release of prisoners. *Archelaus* declared king.

His condescension, however, was far from soothing the people, a number of whom assembled that evening in a tumultuous manner, and demanded justice on those who had been concerned in condemning the young men for pulling down the golden eagle; and insisted that the high-priesthood should be taken from *Joazar*, to whom it had been given on that occasion. *Archelaus* sent his master of horse to appease the rioters, who however pelted him with stones, and several other officers that were sent to them; and in a rebellious manner seized on the temple. As the passover approached, *Archelaus* sent a party of his soldiers to drive them from thence; but the soldiers being routed and almost all slain, he sent his whole army against them, A new tumult raised.

them, who after an obſtinate diſpute, killed 3000 of them, and diſperſed the reſt.

Archelaus goes to *Rome.*

He ſoon after ſet out for *Rome*, accompanied with his mother, his brother *Antipas*, his aunt *Salome*, and many other attendants. *Salome* went to *Rome* with the ſecret deſign of oppoſing him, and ſetting up the claim of *Antipas*, whom *Herod* by his firſt will had appointed his ſucceſſor. Soon after her arrival at *Rome*, ſhe found means to draw over to her ſide the greateſt part of the relations and friends of *Archelaus*, and *Antipater* her ſon made a violent ſpeech againſt him to *Auguſtus*; but *Nicolas Damaſcen* anſwering the accuſations of *Antipater*, *Auguſtus* promiſed to do nothing contrary to the will of *Herod*, and diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

A new inſurrection at *Jeruſalem.*

In the mean time a new inſurrection had happened at *Jeruſalem*, which, however, was ſuppreſſed upon the arrival of *Varus* the *Roman* preſident from *Antioch*, who puniſhed the ringleaders of the tumult. *Sabinus*, whom he left in *Jeruſalem* with a *Roman* legion, made an attempt upon the fortreſſes of the city with a deſign to ſeize the treaſures of the *Herodian* family, and to convert them to his own uſe. The *Jews*, however, coming in great crowds to the feaſt of penticoſt, divided themſelves into three bodies, and encloſed him on every ſide. Some deſperate ſkirmiſhes enſued, in which the *Romans* having ſet fire to ſome galleries of the temple, cut off many of the *Jews*, and then broke into the treaſury, from whence they carried off 400 talents, beſides other rich plunder. This proceeding only the more exaſperated the *Jews*, who did their utmoſt to get poſſeſſion of the palace. New troubles, in the mean time, were raiſed in other parts of *Judæa*. Two thouſand veterans, who had been diſcharged from the ſervice, fell upon ſome forces of *Archelaus*, who were obliged to retire from them into the fortreſſes.

The treaſury of the temple plundered by the *Romans.*

A new ſedition raiſed by *Judas.*

About the ſame time *Judas* the ſon of *Ezekias*, who had headed ſome banditti in *Trachonitis*, and had been put to death by *Herod*, took this opportunity to revenge his father's death. Having got together a band of moſt deſperate free-booters at *Sephoris* in *Galilee*, he made ſeveral incurſions into *Judæa*; and forcing ſome of the royal armories and treaſuries of every place he came to, he at length became ſo powerful as to aim at the ſupreme authority. He is thought to be the ſame that is mentioned by St. *Luke* under the name of *Theudas*, which in the *Syriac* anſwers to the *Hebrew Jehudah*. There ſtarted up alſo another pretender to the crown, namely, *Simeon*, a perſon of a comely ſtature, robuſt, well eſteemed by the *Jews*, and ſufficiently conceited to think himſelf worthy of a throne. Having been employed by *Herod* in affairs of great credit, many of the *Jews* without difficulty ſaluted him king; but after having burnt ſeveral of the royal palaces, and plundered part of the country, he was taken and put to death.

Another pretender to the crown.

Other bands of robbers, in the mean time, were plundering other parts of the country; but the moſt deſperate and danger-

ous

boys of all thoſe ſeditious gangs was that of *Athronges*, hereto- Other
fore an obſcure ſhepherd. He was remarkable for his ſtrength banditti
and gigantic ſtature, and was aſſiſted in his enterpriſes by four infeſt the
brothers of the ſame monſtrous ſize, whom he appointed his country.
lieutenants over the troops that flocked to him. He aſſumed
the royal diadem, and declared himſelf an enemy both to the *Romans* and *Herodians*. After many bloody and deſperate exploits
he was at length ſeized, as were alſo two of his brothers, and
his whole gang were diſperſed.

Varus governor of *Syria*, in the mean time, hearing that *Sa-* The *Jews*
binus was beſieged by the *Jews*, marched at the head of ſome harraſſed
troops to *Jeruſalem*, whilſt his ſon took and burnt *Sephoris*. by the *Ro-*
Upon his approach to *Jeruſalem*, the *Jews*, who had inveſted *mans*.
Sabinus, diſperſed; but *Varus* ſending parties over the country
in ſearch of them, ſeized 2000 of them, whom he cauſed to
be crucified. This ſeverity, however, did not hinder another
body of 10,000 from taking up arms againſt him; but they
were ſoon diſperſed, and their chiefs ſent priſoners to *Auguſtus*.

Mean while a deputation of 50 of the heads of the *Jewiſh* The *Jews*
nation arrived at *Rome* to oppoſe the election of *Archelaus*; and complain
being ſeconded by 8000 *Jews*, then ſettled at *Rome*, who all to *Augu-*
deſired that their country might be made part of the province *ſtus* againſt
of *Syria*, *Auguſtus* referred the matter to the council of his *Archelaus*.
friends, before whom both parties were allowed to plead.
Nothing was decided in this aſſembly; but not long after *Auguſtus* himſelf decided the controverſy. He beſtowed the half
of the kingdom on *Archelaus*, under the title of Ethnarch or
governor of a nation. The ethnarchy contained *Judæa Propria*, A parti-
Idumæa, and *Samaria*. The remainder of *Herod*'s kingdoms tion of the
was divided between his other two ſons, *Philip* and *Antipas*; kingdom
the former of whom had the regions of *Batanea*, *Trachonitis*, of *Judæa*.
and *Auranitis*, with part of *Galilee*. The latter had the greateſt
part of *Galilee*, and the countries beyond *Jordan*, amounting
to 200 talents a year. *Salome* had for her ſhare, beſides half a
million of ſilver, the cities of *Jamnia*, *Azotus*, and *Phaſaelis*,
to which *Auguſtus* added that of *Aſcalon*. The reſt of *Herod*'s
legacies he generouſly diſtributed between his other relations,
and reſerved for himſelf only a few of his moveables, out of
regard to the memory of his deceaſed friend.

Soon after this diviſion of the *Jewiſh* kingdom, there ſtarted
up a new pretender, who quickly drew a numerous party after
him. He was a *Jew*, brought up at *Sidon*, and ſo like the late
Alexander the ſon of *Herod* by *Mariamne*, that when he gave
himſelf out to be the ſame, he eaſily deceived not only the
bulk of the *Jews*, but even thoſe who had been acquainted
with that unfortunate prince. Upon this ſuppoſition, the *Jews*
ſpared neither pains, coſt, nor acclamations to render his entry
into *Rome* as ſplendid as poſſible. *Auguſtus*, however, ſoon
diſcovered the cheat, and ſent the pretended prince to the gallies, ordering the perſon who accompanied him, and who had
been the contriver of the impoſture, to be hanged.

Archelaus,

The imprudent and cruel government of *Archelaus*, who is banished to *Dauphine*.

Archelaus, upon his return to *Judæa*, instead of governing with prudence or mildness, soon irritated the *Jews* against him by his arbitrary proceedings. They bore with him for some years; but being at length tired out, they joined in a remonstrance against him to *Augustus*, who immediately sent a messenger to fetch *Archelaus* to *Rome*. Upon his arrival there, *Augustus* heard both the charge against him and his defence; after which he condemned him to be banished to the city of *Vienne* in *Gaul* or *Dauphine*, and all his goods to be confiscated.

An. Ch. 6. *Judæa* made a *Roman* province.

Judæa, by this sentence, being reduced into a province of the empire, was ordered to be taxed, and *Cyrenius*, the then governor of *Syria*, went thither to see the sentence executed. *Cyrenius* having sold the palace of *Archelaus*, and seized upon all his treasure, returned to *Antioch*, leaving the *Jews* in no small ferment on account of the new tax.

The *Jews* were kept under restraint for some time by *Coponius* the *Roman* general of horse, who was appointed governor of *Judæa*: but *Judas* the *Gaulonite*, or *Galilæan*, as he is called by St. *Luke*, observing their seditious disposition, thought it a favourable circumstance for the gratifying of his ambition, and accordingly excited them to rebellion by his zealous discourses, in which he condemned the taxing as a slavish idolatrous imposition, inconsistent with their duty to God, the only sovereign who could claim any homage or allegiance from the children of *Abraham*. Being seconded by one *Saducus*, a turbulent *Pharisee*, he quickly found himself at the head of a powerful party, the *Jews* at this time being easily excited to take arms, as they were in full expectation of the Messiah or deliverer, who they concluded was to be a great temporal prince. Those who adhered to *Judas*, and were against paying the tax, got the name of *Gaulonites*; and having thus kindled a war which was followed by a pestilence, they brought great calamities upon their nation.

Judas the *Gaulonite* excites a revolt.

The temple polluted by the *Samaritans*.

When *Cyrenius* left *Judæa*, the *Samaritans* began to hatch new mischiefs against the *Jews*. On the eve of the passover, a number of them privately slipt into the temple, and strewed the galleries and other places of resort with dead mens bones; so that the priests on the next morning finding that sacred place polluted, were forced to put a stop to the solemnity. The ceremony, however, was soon resumed, and was honoured with the presence of Christ, who upon the death of *Herod*, had returned with his mother and *Joseph* from *Egypt*, and had lived for some years in the dominions of *Antipas* at *Nazareth* in *Galilee*. As he was now twelve years of age, his parents brought him with them to the passover. After the feast, *Joseph* and *Mary* set out towards *Galilee*, with great numbers of their neighbours and acquaintance; but *Jesus*, without their knowledge, staid behind in *Jerusalem*. At night they returned in great anxiety to search for him, and on the third day found him in the temple sitting among the *Jewish* doctors, and surprising them with the wisdom of his questions and answers. His pious mother, tho' ravished at so pleasant a sight, could

Christ comes to the temple in the 12th year of his age.

not

not forbear expreſſing ſome tender reſentment at the concern which his abſence had given her. He returned the following anſwer, *Wiſt ye not that I muſt be about my father's buſineſs*; words which tho' ſhe did not then fully underſtand, ſhe ever after carefully regiſtered in her mind. He returned with her and *Joſeph* to their mean habitation, where he continued in a dutiful ſubjection to them.

Coponius was ſoon after this feaſt ſucceeded by *Ambivius*, whoſe ſucceſſor was *Annius Rufus*. *Auguſtus*, in the 18th year of our Saviour's life, being ſucceeded in the empire by *Tiberius*, the new emperor recalled *Rufus*, and ſent *Valerius Gratus* into *Judæa*, who continued in that government eleven years. About five years after his arrival, he depoſed the high-prieſt *Ananus*, or *Annas*, and raiſed *Iſhmael* the ſon of *Fabus* to that dignity. Being ſoon after diſpleaſed with his choice, he took it from *Iſhmael* on the next year, and gave it to *Eleazar* the ſon of *Ananus* whom he had lately depoſed. *Eleazar*, in a year's time, was forced to reſign, and was ſucceeded by one *Simon*, who within the compaſs of another year was turned out, and *Joſeph* ſurnamed *Caiphas*, and ſon-in law to *Annas* above-mentioned, was put in his room. *Gratus* having continued in *Judæa* about eleven years, was ſucceeded by *Pontius Pilate*, a perſon who exceeded all his predeceſſors in cruelty, injuſtice, and extortion. This governor, by his fierce, obſtinate, and cruel temper, haſtened on thoſe ſeditions and revolts, which did not end but with the total extirpation of the *Jewiſh* ſtate. He gave orders to his troops, who were to winter in *Jeruſalem*, to carry their ſtandards with them into the city; which raiſed a general uproar among the *Jews*, many of whom waited upon him in *Cæſarea*, and begged that he would remove thoſe idolatrous objects. They lay proſtrate on the ground before his palace ſix whole days; but he, inſtead of granting their requeſt, cauſed his troops to fall upon them, and ſlay all thoſe that did not immediately depart. Their meek ſubmiſſion to this barbarity, however, at length moved him, and he complied with their requeſt.

Different governors of *Judæa*.

Pontius Pilate appointed governor.

His tyrannical government.

Not long after he reſumed his uſual malice, and cauſed a number of ſhields to be ſet up in the royal palace of *Jeruſalem* in honour of *Tiberius*. The *Jews* being offended with the inſcriptions which were upon them, as contrary to their law, remonſtrated with *Pilate* upon the infringement of their laws: but finding no redreſs from him, they wrote to *Tiberius*, who ordered the ſhields to be removed. *Pilate*'s next project to vex the *Jews*, was to find out ſome ſpecious pretence for drawing money out of the ſacred treaſury. The plauſible pretext he choſe for it, was the bringing of an aqueduct about 200 furlongs off into *Jeruſalem*, the expence of which he expected ſhould be ſupplied out of that ſacred fund; and accordingly he demanded of them that a tax ſhould be levied upon it. As he expected a mutiny, he cauſed his ſoldiers to mix themſelves with the people in diſguiſe, and when the *Jews*, who aſſembled round his tribunal, began to exclaim againſt him, the ſoldiers, upon a ſignal

signal given, fell upon them, and killed many of them before they diſperſed.

John the baptiſt begins his miniſtry.

In the firſt year of *Pilate*'s government, which was the 15th of *Tiberius*, *John* the baptiſt began to open his commiſſion for the preparation of our Saviour's way before him, by preaching *the baptiſm of repentance for the remiſſion of ſins*. He had hitherto chiefly lived in the wilderneſs, and ſupported himſelf by eating locuſts and wild honey; and for a covering, he contented himſelf with a coarſe coat of camels hair, which he faſtened with a leathern girdle. He is ſuppoſed by the learned *Uſher* to have begun his miniſtry on the grand faſt or expiation day, when every *Iſraelite* was enjoined to afflict his ſoul, under the penalty of being cut off from his people. On this ſolemnity, which happened about the 19th of our *October*, the jubilee was to be proclaimed thro' all the land; no time therefore could be more proper to begin the work of proclaiming the more ſpiritual and univerſal jubilee which was now at hand. The auſterity of *John*'s life, and his free and reſolute preaching, drew daily great numbers of *Jews* to be baptiſed by him in the *Jordan*, who conceived ſo great a veneration for him, that they began to look upon him as the now expected Meſſiah. But he quickly diſclaimed that glorious title, aſſuring them that he was only ſent as his forerunner, and to point him out as the perſon who was to baptize them with the Holy Ghoſt.

Jeſus baptized and manifeſted by *John*. Year of his life 30.

After *John* had continued in his miniſtry ſeveral months, *Jeſus* thought fit to remove from his retirement at *Nazareth*, and taking leave of his mother and his trade, came to *Bethabara* on the *Jordan*, where *John* was then baptizing. *John*, inſpired with a prophetic ſpirit, knew him, and thereupon endeavoured to decline the office; but being at length prevailed with to baptize him, *Jeſus*, after the ceremony, no ſooner came out of the water, than the Holy Ghoſt viſibly deſcended and lighted upon him, whilſt a voice was heard from Heaven ſaying, *This is my beloved ſon, in whom I am well pleaſed.*

Our bleſſed Lord being thus by baptiſm and the unction of the Holy Ghoſt prepared for his prophetic office, was by the impulſe of his divine ſpirit carried farther into the wilderneſs of *Judæa*, where after he had faſted forty days and forty nights, and was now very hungry, the devil aſſumed a bodily ſhape and tempted him; but in vain.

The ſanhedrim, in the mean time, ſending ſome of their members to enquire of *John* who he was, the prophet declared that he was neither the Meſſiah nor *Elias*; and the next day when *Jeſus* returned to *Bethabara*, he pointed him out to the multitude as the Lamb of God which taketh away the ſins of the world. The day following he again pointed him out to his diſciples under the ſame character; upon which two of them went and joined him, and one of them, named *Andrew*, went and brought his brother *Simon*, to whom *Jeſus* gave the name of *Cephas* or ſtone. The day after *Philip*, a native of *Bethſaida*, and *Nathaniel* of *Cana* in *Galilee*, and ſuppoſed by ſome to be the ſame with the apoſtle *Bartholomew*, became his diſciples.

He calls ſome diſciples.

Jeſus

Jesus went into *Galilee* with his five disciples, and was there invited to a marriage feast, together with his mother. As there was a scarcity of wine at this entertainment, *Jesus*, at the request of his mother, supplied the wants of the guests in a miraculous manner, by turning a large quantity of water into wine. This was the first miracle our Saviour did in any public manner, which proved both a manifestation of his own divinity, and a confirmation of the faith of his disciples. From *Cana* he went to *Capernaum*, a small city on the west shore of the lake *Gennezareth*, and from thence he proceeded to *Jerusalem*, to be present at the approaching feast of the passover. His first miracle at *Cana*.

Upon his arrival at *Jerusalem*, the first thing he did was to reform the public abuse and profanation of the temple, occasioned by the shops which the money-changers had set up, and the beasts which the dealers therein used to bring into the courts of the *Gentiles*. Having made a scourge of cords, he drove all the sellers and barterers from the sacred ground, overturned the tables of the money-changers, ordering all those who trafficked to remove, and not to make *his father's house a house of merchandise*. This extraordinary procedure incensed the *Jews* to such a degree, that they came and demanded of him by what authority he did these things: but to this he made no other reply than by foretelling his own resurrection expressed in the metaphor of the temple, which he said he would raise up in three days. He reforms the profanation of the temple.

Probably he thought them unworthy of a direct reply, since they took no notice of the great number of miracles which he performed during the feast of the passover, and which were sufficient to have awakened their attention, and dispelled their prejudices. Great numbers, indeed, looked upon him as the true Messiah; but notwithstanding the astonishing wonders which he wrought, he seems to have been regarded by the generality as an impostor and deceiver: so that *Nicodemus*, a member of the sanhedrim, who was persuaded by his miracles that he was a prophet sent from God, had not courage however to join him openly for fear of the censure of his brethren, but came to him privately by night. *Jesus*, who took a singular delight to encourage all sincere enquirers, immediately entertained him with the main and grand point of regeneration. Without this *new birth*, which was an expression used by the *Jews* regarding their proselytes, he assured him it was impossible for a man to enter into the kingdom of Heaven. Tho' this doctrine of regeneration seems to be intimated in many places of scripture, where *a new heart* and *a new spirit* are promised to God's people, yet the *Pharisees* were so taken up with their rites and ceremonies, that they gave small attention to such spiritual matters; and *Nicodemus*, who was of this sect, confessed his utter ignorance of the meaning of our Saviour's words. *Jesus*, therefore, having given him a farther explanation of that heavenly doctrine, desired him to embrace it upon his authority for the present, assuring him it was one *Nicodemus* comes to Christ by night,

main

main design of his coming down from heaven, to teach it to mankind. He added, that the miracles which he had seen him work, should not be the only proof he would give men of his divine mission, since they should see him shortly lay down his life in confirmation of it. *Nicodemus*, who felt the force of the divine truths uttered by our Saviour, became his disciple from that very night; but without daring to make open profession of it, for fear of the *Jews*. However, when their sanhedrim once was plotting to put him to death, he had the courage to oppose it; and when they at length crucified him, he and *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, another *Jewish* ruler, were the only two of that high rank who joined to give him an honourable burial.

and is converted by him.

Christ makes a progress through *Judæa*.

No sooner was the passover ended, but *Jesus*, accompanied by many disciples, whom his miracles had convinced of his divine mission, went about the province of *Judæa*, making proselytes wherever he came, and causing them to be baptized by the hands of his disciples. *John* being at this time baptizing a little higher on the *Jordan* at *Ænon*, a dispute happened betwixt his disciples and the *Jews*, with regard to the baptism of *Christ*; and his disciples having recourse to him, *John* repeated his former testimony in favour of *Jesus*, whom he declared to be the Messiah.

***John the Baptist* put to death by by *Herod*.**

Soon after this, *John*'s extreme sanctity having raised him to the esteem not only of all the *Jews*, but even of *Herod Antipas*, the tetrarch of *Galilee*, this last often took pleasure in hearing him, and advising with him. The tetrarch, however, having ventured to take *Herodias*, the wife of his brother *Philip*, to his bed, received so many severe reproofs, for his incest, from that holy person, that he caused him to be thrown into prison, and soon after, thro' the hellish intrigues of the incestuous *Herodias*, caused him to be beheaded, to all appearance much against his own inclination.

The *Samaritans* believe in Christ.

About the time of *John*'s imprisonment, *Jesus* passed thro' *Samaria*, on his way from *Judæa* to *Galilee*. On his approach to *Sychar* or *Shechem*, he sent his disciples into the city to buy provisions, and sat himself down by the side of a famous well, where having declared his divine mission to a woman of *Sychar*, who came to draw water, he not only converted her, but many *Samaritans* of that town. After two days stay at that place, our Lord proceeded to *Cana*, and was received with great kindness and respect by the *Galileans*, who, at the passover, had seen the miracles which he did at *Jerusalem*. Hither a noble-

The nobleman's son cured.

man came about a day's journey to him, beseeching him that he would go with him and cure his son, who was at the point of death, expressing himself in such zealous terms, as sufficiently testified the sincerity of his faith. *Jesus*, to shew the excellency of his power, that could cure in absence as well as presence, dismissed him with these words, *Go thy way, thy son liveth*. He obeyed; and upon enquiring of his servants upon his return, found that his son had begun to recover from the very

very minute in which the promiſe was come out of *Jeſus*'s mouth; ſo he and his whole family believed on him.

From *Cana Jeſus* went into his old city of *Nazareth*; and being entered one ſabbath-day into their ſynagogue, and having read, as the cuſtom was for laymen at that time, a paſſage in the prophet *Iſaiah* beginning with theſe words, *The ſpirit of the Lord is upon me, becauſe he hath anointed me to preach the goſpel to the poor*, he expounded it of himſelf with ſuch powerful and majeſtic grace, as raiſed the admiration of the whole audience. Some of them, however, derogating from his extraordinary wiſdom, on account of the meanneſs of his birth, he reminded them of ſeveral cities in *Judæa*, which had rendered themſelves unworthy of the divine favours, by the like abſurd partiality. This reproof ſo provoked the whole aſſembly, that they ruſhed upon him with one conſent, and hurried him to the brow of the hill, on which their city was built, with the deſign to have caſt him down headlong; but he miraculouſly withdrew himſelf from them, and went to dwell in *Capernaum*, which, by reaſon of the lake on which it was ſituated, was very convenient for his deſigns. *Jeſus* deſpiſed by the *Nazarites*.

He had not been long in *Capernaum*, before great numbers of people flocked to him; ſo that one day, to avoid the crowds that preſſed upon him, he was forced to get into a boat belonging to *Simon Peter*, and deſiring him to put out a little from the ſhore, he taught the people from thence. As ſoon as he had done ſpeaking, he bid *Simon Peter* caſt his net for a draught; and was anſwered, that tho' they had toiled all night in vain, yet at his word they would try afreſh. They did ſo, and caught ſuch a large draught as was like to have ſunk the boat. *Peter* ſurprized at it, fell at his feet, and beſought him to depart from ſuch a ſinner as he was: but *Jeſus* taking him up, bid him be of good courage, for he would from thenceforth make him a fiſher of men. Having then called his brother *Andrew*, and the two brothers *James* and *John*, who were in another boat, he returned with them to the city. He performs many miracles at *Capernaum*.

While he continued in *Capernaum*, he taught the people in the ſynagogues on the ſabbath-days, and diſcourſed with ſuch force and authority, as aſtoniſhed all his hearers. As he was one day preaching in a ſynagogue, a man poſſeſſed with an unclean ſpirit cried out with a loud voice, and acknowleging him to be the holy one of God, expoſtulated with him not to deſtroy him. *Jeſus* rebuking the unclean ſpirit, ordered him to quit the man, who was immediately cured, to the ſurprize and amazement of all the ſpectators.

From the ſynagogue our Lord retired to *Peter*'s houſe, where, upon touching *Peter*'s wife's mother, who lay ſick of a fever, he reſtored her to perfect health. In the mean time the whole neighbourhood having heard of the ſurprizing cure of the demoniac, brought diſeaſed people of all kinds, and ſet them before *Jeſus*, who, according to his wonted compaſſion, laid his hands on every one of them, and ſent them all home healed.

During

During his abode in *Galilee*, he continued ſtill confirming his doctrine with ſuch numbers of miracles, that his fame reached all the neighbouring provinces of *Syria* and *Phœnice*.

Jeſus having made a progreſs thro' *Galilee*, returned to *Capernaum*; and his houſe was immediately ſurrounded by great crowds, who came to hear his doctrines, and to bring their diſeaſed for cure. A paralytic, who had cauſed himſelf to be brought on a couch, finding it impoſſible to have acceſs to the door of the houſe, cauſed himſelf to be carried to the roof, and to be let down from thence. *Jeſus* beheld their faith with pleaſure, and addreſſing himſelf to the paralytic, bid him be of good cheer, for his ſins were forgiven. This provoked the indignation of the ſcribes and phariſees, who accuſed him in their hearts of blaſphemy, in aſſuming a power peculiar to God. *Jeſus* having firſt reproved their cenſoriouſneſs, then cured the patient before them; plainly demonſtrating, that he was equally impowered to forgive ſins, and to cure any infirmities.

He is envied by the ſcribes and phariſees.

As he frequently went to the ſide of the lake during his abode at *Capernaum*, he one day called unto him a rich publican, named *Levi* or *Matthew*, who was ſitting at the receit of cuſtom, and aſked him to be one of his diſciples. *Matthew* did not heſitate one moment; but left his office and followed him, and became afterwards both an apoſtle and evangeliſt.

Jeſus, ſome time after, departed for *Jeruſalem*, to be preſent at the approaching feaſt of the paſſover. On the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the city there was a famous pool, called *Bethesdah*, adorned with five porticoes, in which lay a great multitude of poor impotent people, with diſtempers of all kinds, waiting for the moving of the water; for at certain ſeaſons it was miraculouſly ſtirred, and then had the virtue of curing the firſt perſon that entered it of whatever diſeaſe he was troubled. *Jeſus* coming hither on the ſabbath-day, and ſeeing a poor paralytic, who had been afflicted 38 years, and had waited ſome time at the pool without receiving any benefit, as others always ſtepped into the water before him, he immediately healed him with a word's ſpeaking, and bid him take up his bed and walk home. While he was doing this, the *Jews* exclaimed againſt him, for bearing a burden on the ſabbath-day, which was directly contrary to their law; and being informed of what *Jeſus* had done, they ſought to ſlay him. *Jeſus* in his defence alleged, that as God did on the ſabbath exerciſe the works of Providence, preſervation and mercy, he, who was his ſon, might employ himſelf alſo in actions of the like nature. The *Jews* on this accuſed him of blaſphemy, for preſuming to call God his father, whereby he made himſelf equal to God.

Jeſus goes to *Jeruſalem*.

Jeſus obſerving how ſtrenuous the blinded *Jews* were againſt his doing works of mercy on the ſabbath, reſolved, if poſſible, to convince them of their error, by chuſing that day to diſplay ſome of the moſt ſignal ones, and exploding their cenſures by ſuch cogent arguments as they could not gainſay. The phari-

ſees,

sees, however, tho' silenced by his arguments, and surprized at his miracles, would not cease their malice; but joined in consultation with the *Herodians*, tho' a sect quite opposite to them in principles, how they might take away his life. *Jesus* having timely notice of their wicked design, withdrew himself towards the sea-coasts, whither he was soon after followed by multitudes from all the maritime parts, to whom he extended his wonted compassion, both by teaching them and healing their sick.

The phasees and *Herodians* resolve to murder him.

One night, having withdrawn himself from them and from his disciples, he went up to a mountain apart, and spent the whole night in prayer. On the morrow, returning to his disciples, he chose twelve from among the rest to be the more immediate witnesses, preachers, and recorders of his life and doctrine. These were *Simon*, surnamed *Peter*; *Andrew* his brother; *James* and *John* the sons of *Zebedee* and *Salome*; *Philip*; *Bartholomew*, supposed the same with *Nathanael*; *Levi* or *Matthew*, the publican and evangelist; *Thomas*, surnamed *Didymus*, which signifies a twin; *James*, distinguished by the name of *the Less*; *Simon*, surnamed *the Canaanite*, from *Cana* the place of his birth; *Judas* or *Jude*, the brother of *James the Less*, surnamed also *Lebbeus* and *Thaddeus*; and *Judas* the traitor, surnamed *Iscariot*. To these he gave the name of apostles or messengers; and, as he perceived the multitude gathering round him, he called the twelve nearer to him than the rest, and began that most excellent discourse commonly known by the name of his sermon upon the mount.

He chuses the twelve apostles.

On his return to *Capernaum*, he cured, at a distance, the favourite servant of a *Roman* centurion, who gave a singular instance of his faith and humility. *Jesus*, on the day after, went to *Naim*, where he restored to life a widow's only son, as the people were carrying him out to his funeral; whereupon the astonished multitude spread forth his fame thro' all that country, and proclaimed him the prophet sent by God to redeem his people.

He returns to *Capernaum*.

Upon the fame of this and several other miracles, which our Saviour daily performed, *John the Baptist*, who was still in prison, sent two of his disciples to enquire of him, whether he himself was the promised Messiah, or if some other person was to appear in that character. As our Lord was at that time working many miracles, and instructing the people that were gathered about him, instead of giving them a direct answer to their question, he bade them go and report what they saw to their master. Having thus dismissed them, he began to discourse to the people concerning *John*, taking occasion to censure the unjust judgment which the unbelieving *Jews* passed upon that more than prophet, and upon himself. He proceeded to upbraid the several cities where most of his miracles had been wrought, assuring them that their fall would be much more dreadful than that of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, whom such miracles would have excited to the deepest repentance. Having then

declared that the myſteries of the goſpel revelation were better adapted to the humble and modeſt than to the proud or worldly-wiſe, he concluded with an invitation to all who laboured under their ſinful burdens to come and experience how eaſy was the yoke, and how light the burden, which he laid on his followers.

He dines with a phariſee.

This diſcourſe moved a phariſee, named *Simon*, to invite him to take a meal at his houſe, where he had not been long, before a certain woman, who had been formerly noted for a lewd liver, came into the houſe, and throwing herſelf at his feet, waſhed them with the tears that flowed from her eyes, and having wiped them with her hair, kiſſed them, and anointed them with very precious ointment. *Simon*, who ſtill retained ſomething of the cenſorious ſpirit of his ſect, began to think within himſelf that *Jeſus* could not poſſibly be a prophet, otherwiſe he would have known the woman to be infamous, and conſequently not ſuffered her to touch him. But *Jeſus* viewed her with a more compaſſionate and unerring eye, and diſmiſſed her with an anſwer as full of comfort as her heart was of the ſincereſt repentance and love. He alſo ſatisfied his cenſorious hoſt, by a fit and pathetic parable, and made him pronounce her a worthy object of mercy.

Makes a progreſs into *Galilee*.

Having made a progreſs, for ſome months, thro' ſeveral cities of *Galilee*, he returned to *Capernaum*, where great crowds of people immediately reſorted to him. A poor demoniac being brought to him both blind and dumb, he immediately reſtored him both to his ſpeech and eye-ſight, inſomuch that all who ſaw it were greatly aſtoniſhed, and with a general voice declared, that the perſon who did ſuch wonderful works could be no other than the Meſſiah. The phariſees, however, and the doctors of the law, aſcribed the miracle to the power of the devil, even to *Beelzebub*, the chief of the devils. *Jeſus* eaſily confuted that ſlander, by ſhewing the folly of ſuppoſing Satan ſo far divided againſt his own intereſt.

The phariſees and ſcribes ſtill demanded of him ſome new ſign or miracle in evidence of his miſſion; but he left them with this remarkable anſwer, that ſince thoſe he had already ſhewn them were not able to convince them, there ſhould be no other or greater ſhewed them than that of *Jonah*; for as that prophet was three days and nights in the fiſh's belly, ſo ſhould the Son of man be as many in the bowels of the earth, and riſe again on the third. He afterwards went to the ſea-ſhore, and being ſtill followed by great multitudes, he entered into a boat, and from thence taught them in parables, an uſual way of inſtruction among the eaſtern nations. When he had finiſhed his diſcourſes, he ordered his diſciples to get him a ſhip to croſs the ſea of *Galilee*. While the ſhip was under ſail, and *Jeſus* aſleep in the ſtern, a furious ſtorm aroſe, which threatned them every moment with ſhipwreck. *Jeſus* being awaked by his frighted diſciples, blamed their puſillanimity and want of faith, and then

with

with his powerful word rebuked the wind and sea, which immediately obeyed. He stills the wind and sea.

The next morning, as our Lord landed on the east side of the lake, in that part of the province of *Trachonitis* which is called the country of the *Gadarenes*, two demoniacs, who had hitherto been fierce and untractable, and had lived amon the tombs, came trembling to his feet, and acknowleged him to be the Son of God. Our Saviour beheld them with his wonted pity, and asked the most furious of them what was his name; and was answered *Legion*, because a multitude of those evil spirits had taken possession of him. These, therefore, besought him, that if he cast them out he would suffer them to enter into a neighbouring herd of swine; which being granted, the whole herd was immediately seen to tumble headlong into the sea, to the number of 2000, whilst the poor objects were restored to their health and senses. The people of the neighbourhood, hearing of the destruction of the swine, came in great crowds to the place; but whether they took amiss the destruction of the swine, or thought themselves unworthy of the Divine Presence, they intreated our Lord to depart out of their country. Cures two demoniacs.

He accordingly returned to *Capernaum*, where he restored to life the daughter of a ruler of the synagogue. As he was proceeding to the ruler's house, a woman, who had been afflicted with an issue of blood for twelve years, pressed forward among the crowd, and touched the hem of his garment, being confident that she should thereby obtain a cure. She no sooner touched the garment, than she felt herself perfectly sound; but *Jesus* enquiring who had touched him, she came trembling, and falling down at his feet, declared to all the company both the cause and miraculous effects of her touching him; which he was so far from blaming, that he commended her faith, and imputed her cure to the wonderful strength of it. He restores a young woman to life.

Jesus performed several other miracles at *Capernaum*, and soon after went to his ungrateful city *Nazareth*. He entered their synagogue as usual, and preached to them with such powerful eloquence, as astonished the whole audience, who were nevertheless scandalized at his person, and began to upbraid him with the meanness of his parentage and employment. Their perverse stubbornness prevented his working any signal miracles among them; so that, after healing a few sick persons, he departed, never to visit them again. The ingratitude of the *Nazarets*.

Jesus began the third year of his ministry with making a thorough progress through all the cities of *Galilee*, where beholding with pity and compassion the multitudes that followed him, and how few the labourers were in comparison of the *plentiful* harvest, he sent his twelve apostles, two and two, to preach also thro' the distant parts of *Judæa*. To qualify them for this high office, he endowed them with his own miraculous gifts, commanding them to dispense them with the same gratuitous liberality that they had received them. He told them the consequences of their ministry, which, instead of intitling them *Jesus* sends his apostles to preach.

to temporal advantages, would expoſe them to ſundry kinds of perſecutions. The apoſtles went with their new commiſſion into all the parts of *Paleſtine* where the *Jews* inhabited, while *Jeſus* tarried in or about *Capernaum*, where he heard, about this time, of the Baptiſt's death. His diſciples ſoon after returned, and with no ſmall joy acquainted him with the ſucceſs of their late miſſion.

Herod ſuſpicious of him.

Meanwhile the fame of the miracles wrought by our Saviour and his apoſtles reaching *Herod*, he began to imagine that *John* had riſen from the dead; and ther fore *Jeſus*, to avoid his ſubtle contrivances, withdrew himſelf, with his diſciples, into a deſert place. Great multitudes, however, following him, after he had inſtructed them for ſome time, he cauſed them all, to the number of 5000 men, beſides women and children, to ſit down on the graſs, and fed them miraculouſly with five barley-loaves and two ſmall fiſhes, twelve baſkets being filled with the fragments that remained.

Jeſus walks on the ſea.

This ſtupenduous miracle made ſuch an impreſſion on the multitude, that they no longer doubted of his being the Meſſiah, and were therefore reſolved to ſet him up for their king by main force; but he knowing the miſchief of ſuch a deſign, cauſed his diſciples to take ſhipping for *Bethſaida*; and having diſmiſſed the multitudes, he continued till after midnight in meditation and prayer, and then walked over the ſea to join his diſciples, who, when they ſaw him, were greatly terrified, imagining they had ſeen an evil ſpirit. *Jeſus* telling them who he was, *Peter*, between doubt and ſurprize, ſaid, *Lord, if it be thou, bid me come to thee on the water:* and being permitted, ventured to walk towards him. His faith failing him, he began to ſink; upon which *Jeſus* ſtretched out his hand, and raiſed him up. After they had entered the boat, there followed a calm, and they ſoon after gained the ſhore, where he was again met by innumerable multitudes, who brought to him their diſeaſed from all parts to be cured. Many of thoſe whom he had lately fed in the wilderneſs alſo joined him; but as he perceived they did ſo from temporal motives, he deſired them to be chiefly earneſt after ſpiritual food; which diſcourſe had ſuch an effect upon them, that the greateſt part of them forſook him from that very hour.

Theſe things happened a little before the third paſſover after his entrance into the miniſtry. Tho' the Evangeliſts do not mention whether our Saviour went to this feſtival, yet it is probable that he did not neglect ſo great an ordinance; but to baffle the plots of the phariſees, he might keep himſelf private during his ſhort ſtay at *Jeruſalem*.

The phariſees and ſcribes endeavour to entrap him.

Upon his return into *Galilee* after the feaſt, a certain number of ſcribes and phariſees came from *Jeruſalem* to be ſpies upon him, to watch his words and actions, and to catch ſome matter of accuſation againſt him. They cenſured him and his diſciples for being ſo impure as to ſit down to meat with unwaſhed hands. He in return declared to them, that the chief impurity

impurity was that of the heart; that they, by their ceremonious and superstitious observances, in many things, violated the Divine laws, and were merely blind leaders of the blind. The pharisees were highly piqued at being treated with such disrespect; and our Saviour, to avoid the effects of their malice, went to the coasts of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, where he cured the daughter of a *Syro-Phœnician*. From the coasts of *Sidon*, *Jesus* made a progress eastward, thro' *Decapolis*, about the head of the *Jordan*, and from thence to the sea of *Galilee*, not only curing every sick person that was brought to him, but miraculously feeding the multitudes that followed him with seven loaves and a few small fishes.

He performs many miracles.

Having then dismissed the people, he embarked with his disciples for the coast of *Dalmanutha*; but he was no sooner arrived there, than the pharisees, joining with their enemies the sadducees, came and demanded a sign of his being the Messiah. He answered them as formerly, that they should have no other but that of the prophet *Jonah*; and so sailed back with his disciples to *Bethsaida*. From thence he went to the borders of *Syria*, near *Cæsarea Philippi*, where, being minded to make some trial of his apostles faith and proficiency, he demanded of them what mankind thought of him. Being answered that he was supposed by some to be *John the Baptist*, by others *Elias*, or some other prophet; he asked them what their own opinion was concerning him. To this *Peter*, for himself and the rest, answered, that he was the Messiah, the Son of God. On this noble confession, Christ surnamed him *Peter*, or *Rock*, and promised him upon that rock to build his church, to give him the keys of his heavenly kingdom, and the power of binding and loosing; but he strictly charged his apostles not to declare to any man that he was the Messiah, till he was risen from the dead. He thenceforward began to prepare their minds for his sufferings, and to talk more openly of his death and resurrection; which they heard at first with great emotion and astonishment.

Peter's noble confession of Christ.

About eight days after this, *Jesus*, to revive the hearts of his disciples, as well as to instruct them more fully in the nature of his kingdom, took *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, up to a high mountain, and was there transfigured before them. This happened whilst he was at prayer, and probably in the nighttime, when they suddenly beheld a lustre darting from his face, outshining even that of the sun. His garments contracted a spendid whiteness exceeding that of snow. *Moses* and *Elias* appeared immediately after, in all the brightness of their glorified state, and conferred with him about his future death and sufferings. Soon after a bright and luminous cloud surrounded the disciples, and a voice from thence proclaimed, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him.* At these words the apostles fell prostrate on the ground, and remained in that posture, struck with wonder and amazement, till their master came and raised them up; when, upon their looking

He is transfigured on the mount.

about, they were ſurpriſed to find him alone, and in his uſual dreſs and appearance. As they deſcended the mount, he ſtrictly commanded them not to tell any man what ſtrange things they had ſeen until he was riſen from the dead.

Foretells his crucifixion and reſurrection.

Jeſus ſoon after diſcourſed again to his twelve apoſtles concerning his approaching death, and to aſſure them that he ſhould be betrayed into wicked hands to be crucified; but that he ſhould riſe again on the third day: however, the hopes of a temporal kingdom had ſo intoxicated their minds, that inſtead of deſiring him to explain further to them the grating myſtery of his croſs, they rather debated how he was likely to diſpoſe of his new dignities, which they had more immediately in view. When they had entered *Capernaum*, *Jeſus*, to give an effectual check to the ambitious thoughts of his diſciples, took a child in his arms, and told them, that the only way of becoming great in his heavenly kingdom, was to be like that little child in innocence and humility. He recommended ſuch children, and in them all humble chriſtians, to the favour of mankind; adding beſides many other noble precepts of morality.

Goes to the feaſt of tabernacles.

The feaſt of tabernacles in the mean time drawing near, ſome of our Lord's relations were very earneſt with him, more out of vanity than good-will, to go up to *Jeruſalem*, to ſhew in that city thoſe great miracles which hitherto, as they ſaid, had been concealed in the obſcure corners of *Galilee*. *Jeſus* for the preſent would not yield to their importunity, tho' ſoon after he proceeded to *Jeruſalem*; but in a very private manner, for fear of awakening the jealouſy of his enemies.

Appoints 70 diſciples.

Before he reached *Jeruſalem*, he was pleaſed to appoint another college of diſciples, to the number of 70, whom he alſo ſent out by two and two, with the ſame inſtructions and miraculous power which he had given to the twelve apoſtles.

The feaſt of tabernacles being come, there was no ſmall enquiry made after our Saviour, nor ſmall ſtrife about him; ſome doubting whether he would venture himſelf there, ſome affirming him to be a prophet, and others that he was an impoſtor. At length, about the middle of the feaſt, he appeared publicly in the temple, and to their great ſurpriſe taught boldly and openly there. As many of the *Jews* believed openly in him, the magiſtrates ſent ſome of their officers to apprehend him; but theſe, inſtead of following their inſtructions, came back filled with admiration, and told thoſe chiefs that they never heard a man ſpeak like him. *Jeſus* ſoon after, in a ſublime diſcourſe, inſtructed the people, and taking occaſion to expoſe the wickedneſs and degeneracy of thoſe who ſought to take away his life, he ſo provoked them with his ſevere reflections, that they attempted ſeveral times to ſtone him; but he as often miraculouſly conveyed himſelf away from them.

Teaches in the temple.

Upon his departure from the city, the 70 diſciples rejoined him, greatly rejoicing becauſe the very devils, by virtue of his name, were ſubjected to them; whereupon our Lord promiſed them ſtill greater ſucceſs; but bid them chiefly rejoice at having

ing their names written in Heaven. Having ſtopped at a ſmall village named *Bethany*, about two miles from *Jeruſalem*, he was there entertained by *Lazarus* and his two ſiſters, one of whom, named *Martha*, was very aſſiduous in preparing an elegant ſupper, whilſt the other, named *Mary*, ſat by *Jeſus* and liſtened to his heavenly diſcourſes. *Martha* at length complaining that her ſiſter left the whole care of the entertainment to her, received this ſevere rebuke from *Jeſus*; that ſhe encumbered herſelf too much about the trifling affairs of a ſupper, whilſt her wiſer ſiſter was minding the one thing neceſſary, the concerns of another and a better life. Upon his return to *Galilee*, his diſciples, when he was one day praying with them in a private place, deſired him to compoſe a form of prayer for their uſe, as the Baptiſt had done for his diſciples; whereupon he gave them the ſame excellent form, called the Lord's Prayer, which he had given them eighteen months before in his ſermon on the mount. While *Jeſus* reſided in *Galilee*, he went about teaching in every ſynagogue, and in other convenient places, inſtructing his followers with many excellent parables, and ſtill confirming all with ſome new miracles.

He is entertained by *Martha* and *Mary*.

Jeſus ſoon after returned to *Jeruſalem*, and was preſent at the feaſt of the dedication of the temple inſtituted by *Judas Maccabæus*. Having, on a ſabbath day, cured a young man that was born blind, the miracle became very public, and the man who had been cured, and his parents, were ſtrictly examined by the ſanhedrim. Great diſſentions aroſe in the court, ſome affirming the action to be a breach of the ſabbath, and that *Jeſus* was an impoſtor; while others replied, that it was impoſſible for a ſinner and ſabbath-breaker to work ſuch an extraordinary miracle. The parents of the youth having been examined, the young man was again called in, and deſired to aſcribe the glory of his cure to God alone; for as to the man who had wrought it, they knew him to be a ſinner and an impoſtor. The young man boldly replied, that ſince the creation of the world no ſuch cure had ever been wrought on a man born blind; and that as it was a certain truth that God heareth not ſinners, if *Jeſus* therefore were not ſent and empowered by God, he could never do ſuch wonderful cures as theſe. This ſenſible reply having greatly exaſperated them, they, in a baſe manner, upbraided him with his former blindneſs, which they uncharitably imputed to his depraved nature, and thruſt him out of the aſſembly. *Jeſus* ſhortly after met him, and received him into his own church.

He cures a man that was born blind.

The Sanhedrim condemn him.

Before the concluſion of the feaſt, as *Jeſus* was walking in *Solomon*'s porch, ſeveral of the *Jews* came and required him to tell them in poſitive terms whether he was the Meſſiah or not. He anſwered, that he had already ſufficiently informed them of that, but to no effect. We ſhall omit a great number of his excellent ſermons, parables, ſtrenuous ſtruggles with the incredulous *Jews*, and frequent perſecutions from the *Phariſees* and *Sadducees*; but eſpecially a much greater number and

variety of miracles which he wrought in the laſt year of his miniſtry, to come to that celebrated one which determined the Sanhedrim at length to put him to death. We mean the raiſing his friend *Lazarus* to life, after he had been four days buried,

He raiſes *Lazarus* from the dead.

Tho' *Jeſus* had received a meſſage from the ſiſters of *Lazarus*, preſſing him to come to the relief of their brother who was then ſick, yet he delayed going to *Bethany* till *Lazarus* was dead. When *Jeſus* came to *Bethany* he was met by *Martha*, who lamented with tears that he had not come ſooner to have ſaved her brother. *Jeſus* comforted her with the promiſe of his riſing again, which ſhe, however, at firſt underſtood of his riſing at the laſt reſurrection. As they approached the ſepulchre, they were joined by *Mary* with a great company of mourners who had come from *Jeruſalem*. *Jeſus* ſympathizing with their ſorrow, could not refrain from weeping; but having ordered the grave-ſtone to be removed, after addreſſing himſelf to his heavenly Father in a pathetic prayer, he called out, *Lazarus come forth*; whereupon he that was dead came out, bound as he was in his grave clothes, from which he was at the deſire of *Jeſus* immediately looſed.

The *Jews* conſult to put him to death.

This great and apparent miracle cauſed the utmoſt ſurpriſe and aſtoniſhment among all the ſpectators, the greateſt part of whom began now to confeſs him in good earneſt to be the Meſſiah. The Sanhedrim being ſoon acquainted with this tranſaction, were in no ſmall concern how to put an effectual ſtop to the encreaſe of his fame and the number of his diſciples. After ſome ſolemn debate it was concluded, that whether the man was a prophet ſent from God or not, for fear of giving umbrage to the *Romans*, it was highly expedient that he ſhould die. From this time they entered into a combination to have him apprehended and put to death; but *Jeſus* knowing that his hour was not yet come, withdrew himſelf into a ſmall city called *Ephraim*, where he continued with his diſciples till the approach of the paſſover.

Jeſus is entertained at *Bethany*, where *Mary* anoints his body.

He left this place ſix days before the feaſt, and in his way to *Jeruſalem* ſtopped at *Bethany*, where he was kindly entertained by *Lazarus* and his ſiſters. During ſupper, *Mary*, to expreſs her extreme regard for *Jeſus*, came and anointed his feet with a precious ointment of ſpikenard, the fragrancy of which filled the whole houſe. As this perfume was very valuable, his diſciples looked upon this as an act of great profuſion; and *Judas Iſcariot* particularly alleged, that it would have been better to have ſold the ointment, and given the money to the poor. *Jeſus* ſeverely rebuked him, and excuſed the generous action of *Mary*, as an anticipation of his burial rite; adding, that the memorial of it ſhould be preſerved to her honour as far as the preaching of the goſpel ſhould reach.

The fame of *Jeſus* ſeems now to have ſpread univerſally; for next day, upon the news of his coming to *Jeruſalem*, great multitudes of *Jews*, who had come to be preſent at the feaſt, went

out

out to meet him, to conduct him into the city in a triumphant manner. At *Bethphage*, within a short mile of *Jerusalem*, *Jesus* directed two of his disciples to a place where two roads met, and bid them bring from thence a she ass with a young colt her that had never been backed. The ass and colt being brought, *Jesus* was mounted on the latter, and proceeded in a kind of triumph to *Jerusalem*, the multitudes who accompanied him strewing the way with their garments and green boughs, crying out, *Hosanna! blessed is the son of David, and blessed is the king of Israel, who cometh in the name of the Lord.* *Jesus* repaired immediately to the temple, and as he had formerly done, expelled all the mercantile brood from that sacred place, convincing them of his authority in so doing, by working several cures there on the sick, lame and blind, the children in the mean time making the temple resound with their acclamations of *Hosanna* to the son of *David*, to the great displeasure of the *Pharisees*.

Jerusalem in a triumphant manner.

He silences the *Pharisees*.

When the evening came, *Jesus* withdrew himself and his disciples for that night to *Bethany*; but next morning he returned to *Jerusalem*, and went and discoursed to the people in the temple. The chief priests, scribes and rulers of the people knowing that he had no commission from the Sanhedrim, came and demanded of him by what authority he proceeded in that manner. Instead of answering their question directly, he put another to them, namely, whether the baptism of *John* was of divine or of human institution? To say that it was of divine institution, would have been to accuse themselves of impiety and incredulity; and to say that it was purely human, would have drawn upon themselves the indignation of the people, who all looked upon *John* as a prophet; they therefore answered, that they did not know. *Jesus* replied, that it was then unnecessary for him to give an account of his commission and authority, since they seemed to grant that a man might lawfully preach and baptise, and entertain disciples as *John* did, without the appointment of the Sanhedrim. He then delivered several parables to upbraid them with their hypocrisy, cruelty, and contempt of religion, denouncing the severe judgments of God against them on these accounts. The *Pharisees* highly irritated by his parables, went away with a firm resolution of finding out some occasion of cutting him off. They accordingly, with the *Sadducees* and *Herodians*, put several ensnaring questions to him, which however turned out to their own confusion.

Jesus having returned in the evening to *Bethany*, resolved to give his disciples a testimony of his love, and to teach them humility and charity, two virtues which of all others were more especially requisite in their ministry of the gospel. He accordingly rose from the table at supper, and having laid aside his upper garment, and girded himself with a napkin in the guise of a waiting servant, came with a bason of water, and began to wash their feet and to wipe them with the towel

Washes his disciples feet.

which

which girded him. Amazed at this condeſcenſion, St. *Peter*, when he came to him, refuſed at firſt to admit of ſuch a ſervile office from his heavenly maſter; but when *Jeſus* urged the neceſſity, and in ſome meaſure intimated to him the ſymbolical intent of it, he then readily complied. *Jeſus* having finiſhed his humble taſk, reſumed his upper garment, and addreſſed himſelf to his apoſtles in words to this effect: 'Ye rightly call 'me lord and maſter, for ſo I am. If then you have ſeen me, 'for your example and encouragement, condeſcend ſo low as 'to waſh your feet, know and remember that thoſe who pre-'tend to be my diſciples, muſt never think themſelves above 'performing the loweſt office of charity to one another.' He concluded ſeveral other heavenly diſcourſes, with which he then inſtructed them, with an elegant and pathetic deſcription of the laſt day, when every man ſhould receive the reward of his deeds done in this life, according as they were good or evil.

Judas bargains with the Sanhedrim to betray him.

Whilſt he was thus inſtructing his diſciples, the Sanhedrim were holding their conſultations how to lay hands upon him at ſome proper ſeaſon, when the multitude were out of the way. *Judas* having reſolved to betray his maſter, came to them as they were aſſembled in the high prieſt's houſe, and for 30 pieces of ſilver, which he then received, agreed to deliver him up into their hands in the moſt private manner.

Jeſus celebrates the paſſover,

The day of the feaſt being come, in which *Jeſus* was to celebrate his laſt and ſolemn paſſover, he directed two of his diſciples, by a ſpecial token, to an houſe in *Jeruſalem*, where they ſhould prepare all things for it; and he followed them thither with the reſt of the twelve towards the evening. While they were eating the paſchal ſupper, he told them, with ſome concern, that one of them, pointing to *Judas*, ſhould betray him: that *Peter* ſhould thrice deny him, and that the reſt ſhould all forſake him on that very night. At the concluſion of the ſupper, *Jeſus* took the bread, and having broken and bleſſed it, diſtributed it among them, ſaying, *Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me.* Then taking and bleſſing the cup of wine alſo, he ſaid, *Drink ye all of this; for this is my blood of the New Teſtament, which is ſhed for you, and for many, for the remiſſion of ſins.* He ended this ſolemn inſtitution with aſſuring them, that the traitor's hand which was ſhortly to betray him, was juſt ready to deliver him up to death.

and inſtitutes the ſacrament of his ſupper.

He enters the doleful garden.

Jeſus, immediately after, paſſed over the brook of *Kidron* with his diſciples, and entered into a garden at *Gethſemane* on the mount of *Olives*. Having bid ſome of his diſciples remain at the entrance of the garden, he advanced farther with *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, that as they had been the witneſſes of his glorious tranſfiguration, they might now be ſo of his preſent ſorrows and dreadful agonies. He deſired them to be watchful, and going a little way from them, his human nature began to feel the moſt violent ſtruggles between fleſh and ſpirit, at the apprehenſion of his future ſufferings, ſo that throwing him-

ſe

ſelf proſtrate on his face, he prayed with the utmoſt fervency, mixed with the moſt ſubmiſſive reſignation to the heavenly will, that if it were poſſible the dreadful cup might paſs from him. He repeated the ſame prayer twice more, but with ſuch fervency and ſuch reſignation, that the vehemency of the ſtruggle between the two paſſions, joined to the proſpect of what he was to undergo from the malice of men and devils, threw him into an agony and bloody ſweat, inſomuch that there was an angel ſent on purpoſe to comfort and ſtrengthen him under it.

Is betrayed and apprehended.

Judas, in the mean time, had ſlipt away from the apoſtles, and now entered the garden at the head of an armed band, together with ſome of the retinue of the chief prieſts, *Phariſees*, and elders of the people. When he came up to *Jeſus*, he ſaluted him with a kiſs, which being the ſignal agreed on with his followers, they immediately laid hold on *Jeſus*. *Peter* ſeeing violence offered to his maſter, drew his ſword and ſtruck off the ear of one of the high-prieſt's ſervants; but was ſeverely rebuked by *Jeſus*, who by a miraculous touch healed the wounded perſon, and then ſuffered himſelf to be bound and led away as a malefactor; which his diſciples no ſooner perceived than they fled.

The Sanhedrim declare him guilty of blaſphemy.

Jeſus was conducted by the ſoldiers to the houſe of *Caiaphas* the high-prieſt, where the Sanhedrim was then ſitting. The council perceiving, that from his own confeſſion they could raiſe no accuſation againſt him, called over the falſe witneſſes whom they had procured; but theſe either diſagreed in their ſtories, or came not ſufficiently up to the point. The high-prieſt at length had recourſe to an expedient, by which he thought to make him turn his own accuſer. He roſe up, and adjured him by the living God to anſwer directly to the ſupreme court, whether he was the Chriſt the ſon of God or not. Upon his readily anſwering in the affirmative, and adding, that they ſhould hereafter be convinced of it when they beheld him ſitting at the right-hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven, he rent his cloaths, which was not lawful for an high-prieſt to do, and pronounced him guilty of blaſphemy. The reſt of the court readily joined with him, and having declared him guilty of death, they left him till next morning to the mercy of the guard, who offered all the acts of inſolence and barbarity that they could invent to his ſacred perſon.

He is denied.

Whilſt this melancholy ſcene was acting, *Peter* and *John*, the latter of whom was known to ſome of the family, had got admittance into the hall, willing to know what was likely to be determined concerning their maſter. Their courage, however, ſoon cooled again when they ſaw what treatment he underwent from an enraged and inſulting rabble; ſo that *Peter* being thrice challenged for one of his diſciples, as often ſtifly denied it, adding to his laſt denial many oaths and execrations. The cock immediately crowing, and our Saviour giving him a pity-

ing

ing look, he was inſtantly ſtung with compunction, and went out and wept bitterly.

Early next morning the Sanhedrim met at their room in the temple, whither they ordered *Jeſus* to be brought, and having again enquired of him whether he was the true Meſſiah and the ſon of God, and again received the ſame anſwer, they condemned him as guilty of blaſphemy, and then propoſed to carry him before the *Roman* governor, to have him alſo condemned by him. *Judas*, in the mean time, finding that his maſter was delivered to the ſecular power, repented of his perfidy, and taking the money that was the reward of his treaſon, threw it down before the council, owning himſelf the vileſt of wretches for having betrayed an innocent perſon to them. But they regardleſs of his ſorrow and deſpair, bid him look to it; upon which he went, and as moſt verſions render it, hanged himſelf. The ſcrupulous prieſts thought it unlawful to put the money, which he had thrown among them, into the treaſury, becauſe it was the price of blood, but purchaſed with it a piece of ground for a burying-place for ſtrangers.

The remorſe of *Judas*, and dreadful end.

The Sanhedrim having ended their proceſs againſt *Jeſus*, hurried him before the *Roman* tribunal, not that they were at this time deprived of the power of life and death, but that they might throw the odium of his death upon the *Romans*, and that they might make our Saviour undergo a more ſevere and ignominous puniſhment than they themſelves could inflict upon him, as crucifixion was a death which their law had not proſcribed. They now accuſed him therefore of a civil crime, and told *Pilate* the *Roman* governor, *that they found Jeſus perverting the nation, and forbidding to pay tribute to Cæſar.* *Pilate* at firſt had refuſed to intermeddle in the affair; but upon this laſt accuſation, he cauſed *Jeſus* to be brought before his tribunal, where he aſked him, Whether he was really a king? *Jeſus* readily anſwered him in the affirmative; but added at the ſame time, that his kingdom was not of this world, for if it had, his ſervants would have fought in his defence, and have ſaved him from falling into the hands of his perſecutors. When he heard that he diſclaimed all right to ſecular kingdoms, he roſe and went out to his accuſers, who had refuſed to enter the judgment-hall for fear of polluting themſelves, and told them, that he could find no fault in their pretended criminal.

Jeſus brought before *Pilate.*

The *Jews*, upon this diſappointment, grew exceedingly fierce and clamorous, and affirmed, that *Jeſus* had filled not only *Jeruſalem* and all *Judæa*, but even his own country of *Galilee*, with his ſeditious doctrine. As ſoon, therefore, as *Pilate* heard that he was of that country, and conſequently of *Herod's* juriſdiction, he ſent him immediately to *Herod*, who was then in *Jeruſalem* on accoun of the feaſt, hoping thereby at once to lay an obligation on that tetrarch, with whom he had been at variance, and to throw the whole burden of this intricate and dangerous trial upon him.

Pronounced innocent by him,

and ſent to *Herod.*

Herod

Herod was glad of having this opportunity to gratify his curiosity; for having heard much of our Saviour's fame, he expected to see some miracle or other performed by him. *Jesus*, however, not vouchsafing to answer any of *Herod*'s questions, he looked upon him as a despicable person, and turned him over to his guards, with orders to carry him back to *Pilate*; who when *Jesus* was brought again to him, declared to the *Jews*, that he could not condemn a person in whom, after the strictest examination, he had not been able to find the least crime. 'I will therefore, added he, inflict some lighter punish-'ment upon him and let him go.' They, however, being only more clamorous to have him crucified, *Pilate* had recourse to another expedient to save him. 'You know, said he, that it 'is a custom for your governors to release to you on these festi-'vals some one criminal whom you shall name. Tell me, 'therefore, shall I deliver to you this man or *Barabbas*, who 'lies in prison for an insurrection and murder.' To his great surprise, the people, instigated by the priests and rulers, demanded *Barabbas* to be released, and *Jesus* to be crucified, in spite of all he could say in his behalf. *Pilate*, in hopes of appeasing the people, ordered *Jesus* to be scourged, which was accordingly done; and the whole cohort then gathering round him, threw a ragged purple robe about his mangled body, set a crown of thorns upon his head, and put a reed in his hand. Whilst some bowed the knee to him in mockery, others buffetted him, spit upon him, and used him with the utmost insolence and inhumanity.

He is brought back to *Pilate*.

He is scourged,

Pilate, in hopes of moving the people's compassion, ordered him to be brought forth in this piteous plight; but so far were they from melting at the sight of so deplorable an object, that they raised their cries louder and louder for his crucifixion. *Pilate* still alleging that he found no fault in him, they began to accuse him of blasphemy. 'We have a law, said they, which 'condemns him to death for calling himself *the son of God*.' At these last words *Pilate*, still more terrified, took him again to his tribunal, and began to enquire into his original and pedigree; but *Jesus* not thinking proper to answer him, he tried to provoke him to it, by reminding him, that it was in his power to condemn or release him. *Jesus* replied, that such power he could not have over him, were it not permitted him from above, and that he should therefore be accountable for his abuse of it, though the greater guilt should fall on those who had delivered him up unto him. This reply made *Pilate* still the more desirous to release him; but the *Jews* exclaiming, that if he did not punish a man who set himself up for a king, he was an enemy to *Cæsar*, the governor, who knew the jealous temper of *Tiberius*, had no longer courage to withstand their importunities. He therefore returned to the hall, and having first washed his hands before them all, and declared himself guiltless of the blood of that innocent person, he delivered him up to be crucified, and released the seditious murderer.

and delivered to be crucified.

derer. The *Jews* thought themſelves ſo happy in having their malice gratified, that they cried out, *May his blood fall upon us and our poſterity.*

He is obliged to bear his croſs.

Jeſus being thus condemned to the croſs, the ſoldiers and officers, after they had acted over again their former inſults and indignities, ſtripped him of his mock royalty, and put on him his own garments. Having laid his croſs on him, they led him with two other criminals out of the city to a place called in *Hebrew Golgotha*, and in *Latin Calvary*, to be crucified. When they came to the gate of the city, *Jeſus* quite ſpent with watching and ſufferings, ſunk under the weight of his croſs; whereupon they compelled a *Cyrenean Jew*, named *Simon*, to bear it the reſt of the way. Among the vaſt throngs that followed to ſee this execution, many could not help melting into tears at the ſight of his miſery; which when our Saviour obſerved, he deſired them not to weep for him, but rather at the diſmal proſpect of their future ruin, when their calamities would make them wiſh that they had no poſterity to inherit the miſeries that would fall upon the nation.

He is crucified between two thieves.

It was now about the ſixth hour of the day, anſwering to our mid-day, when they came to the place, where they offered him ſome wine mixed with myrrh; which when he had taſted, he refuſed to drink (A). They then ſtripped him of his cloaths, and faſtened his body to the croſs with nails driven through his hands and feet, while he was earneſtly praying to his father to forgive them a deed which they committed thro' ignorance. To add to the ignominy of the execution, his croſs was reared betwixt two others on which were crucified two common malefactors; one of whom, however, while many of the ſpectators were deriding him with ſcornful taunts, expreſſed his belief in him as the Meſſiah; for which noble inſtance of faith, *Jeſus* aſſured him that he ſhould be that night with him in Paradiſe. Whilſt *Jeſus* was hanging on the croſs, he beheld his ſorrowful virgin mother ſtanding by, and with her ſtood his beloved diſciple, with *Mary Magdalen* and ſome other women. *Jeſus* recommended her to the care of his favourite diſciple, entreating them to ſhew to each other the endearing duties of mother and ſon; and from that time *John* took her to his own houſe.

(A) This is the account of St. *Mark*; but in St. *Matthew*, the potion is ſaid to have been a mixture of vinegar and gall; on which account interpreters have been at a great loſs how to reconcile the evangeliſts. According to the learned *Lightfoot*, it would ſeem that two cups had been offered to our Lord at the time of his paſſion, one of wine mixed with myrrh, which was a cordial draught preſented to him by his friends before he was nailed to the croſs, and another of vinegar by the ſoldiers, in an inſulting and ſcoffing manner, when he was hanging on the croſs.

Mea

Mean while an horrid darkneſs overſpread the face of the earth. The ſun withdrew his light, and the ſtars appeared; and the darkneſs was the more remarkable as there could be no natural eclipſe, the moon being then at full. This unnatural darkneſs and diſorder, which laſted from the ſixth to the ninth hour, was followed by a greater, when *Jeſus*, quite ſpent with pain and anguiſh, cried out, *Eli, Eli, lama ſabachtani*; that is, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me.* Having then taſted of the vinegar which was extended to him, he ſaid, *It is finiſhed*, and then bowing down his head, recommended his ſoul into his father's hands, and ſo gave up the ghoſt.

A ſtrange darkneſs and other ſigns.

Chriſt expires on the croſs.

Immediately upon his expiring, the frame of nature fell as it were into convulſions. The earth quaked, the rocks were cleft aſunder, the graves opened, the dead aroſe, and the veil which covered the moſt holy place was rent in twain from the top to the bottom, uncovering thereby thoſe holy myſteries of the *Moſaic* diſpenſation which now in his death had their full accompliſhment. The centurion and infidel ſoldiers, who attended the execution, were ſo affected by theſe prodigies, that they confeſſed him to be the ſon of God. The *Jewiſh* prieſts and elders, however, ſtill continued impenitent, and as their grand feſtival was to happen on the morrow, they requeſted *Pilate* to cauſe the legs of the bodies hanging on the croſs to be broken, to haſten their deaths, and their bodies to be taken down; which was accordingly executed on the two thieves: but when the ſoldiers came to Chriſt, and found him already dead, inſtead of breaking his legs, one of them thruſt his ſpear into his ſide, from whence iſſued forth water and blood. By this and many other circumſtances were fulfilled many prophecies concerning him contained in the ſacred writings, which, however, the perverſeneſs of the *Jews* prevented them from conſidering.

He is buried.

Joſeph of *Arimathea*, a town not far from *Joppa*, who was a wealthy and honourable *Jewiſh* ruler, having obtained leave from *Pilate* to bury the body of *Jeſus*, took it down from the croſs, and being aſſiſted by *Nicodemus*, embalmed it with myrrh and aloes, and depoſited it in a new ſepulchre which he had cauſed to be hewn out for himſelf in a rock near the place of execution. The *Jews*, in the mean time, repreſenting to *Pilate*, that as *Jeſus* had formerly boaſted that he would riſe the third day, it was highly neceſſary to have his tomb well guarded till that day was paſt, leſt his diſciples ſhould privately ſteal his body away, and then give out that he was really riſen, which might prove a more dangerous ſeduction to the people than any they had yet fallen into. *Pilate* eaſily agreed to what they aſked, and to prevent any impoſition of that kind, told them, 'Ye have a guard, go ye therefore and make every thing as 'ſure as ye can.' So they went and placed a guard at the door of the ſepulchre, and ſet their ſeal upon the ſtone that was at the mouth of it.

His tomb ſealed and guarded.

But

Chriſt riſes from the dead.

But this care to prevent any private attempt, only ſerved to make the truth of the reſurrection of *Jeſus* appear in the ſtrongeſt light. *Mary Magdalen*, and the other women who on *Friday* evening had prepared ſpices and perfumes, went to the ſepulchre early on the morning after the ſabbath, to embalm again our Saviour's body. They ſeem to have been ignorant of the guard that was placed there, and to have been only ſollicitous how to get the large ſtone that was at the entrance removed. But that obſtacle was already taken off by a miraculous earthquake, which had likewiſe put the guards to flight, ſo that on their arrival they found the ſtone rolled on one ſide, and an angel cloathed in refulgent array ſitting upon it. They were informed by this glorious meſſenger that Chriſt was riſen, and were alſo deſired to carry the apoſtles the news of it. They did ſo accordingly; but thoſe, ſtill backward to believe, looked upon it as the effects of fancy and deluſion.

***Peter* and *John* go to the ſepulchre.**

Out of curioſity, however, *Peter* and *John* ran to the ſepulchre, and found the thing true according to the womens report, the body gone, the burying-cloaths lying on the ground, and the napkin that was about his head carefully folded and laid by itſelf. *Jeſus* ſoon after diſcovered himſelf to *Mary Magdalen*, who came haſtily to the apoſtles, and aſſured them that the Lord had appeared to her in the garden. This further confirmation of his reſurrection, however, could not diſpel either their ſorrow or unbelief, till *Jeſus* at length came and

Chriſt appears to the apoſtles.

ſhewed himſelf unto them, and gave them a gracious All hail.

In the mean time, the guards, in a great fright, fled into the city, and related what had happened to the chief prieſts and rulers. They immediately called a council; but inſtead of yielding to the evidence of thoſe witneſſes, they choſe maliciouſly to ſuppreſs the truth, and bribed the watch with a conſiderable ſum to give out that his diſciples had ſtolen him away while themſelves were aſleep. This report, which was in itſelf moſt abſurd, ſince if the guards were really aſleep they could not have told what was then acted, was greedily ſwallowed by the greateſt part of the *Jews*, and went current among them for many years.

He joins two of his diſciples going to *Emmaus*.

On the evening of the day of Chriſt's reſurrection, as two of his diſciples were walking towards *Emmaus*, a village near *Jeruſalem*, he joined them on the road, and aſked them the ſubject of their diſcourſe, and why they appeared ſo diſconſolate. *Cleophas*, one of the two, in a kind of ſurpriſe that he ſhould ſeem ſo great a ſtranger to the tranſactions of the laſt week, began to give him an account of them, and of thoſe of that day; concluding, that tho' they had hitherto looked upon *Jeſus* as the future deliverer of their unhappy nation, yet in ſpite of the report of his reſurrection, their hopes were now almoſt at an end. Hereupon *Jeſus* took occaſion to reprove their incredulity, and from the teſtimony of the prophets, to convince them that it was highly neceſſary that the Meſſiah ſhould ſuffer death and riſe again, in order to a glorious exal-

tation,

tation. As they drew near to the village, *Jesus* made a shew as if he designed to go farther; but having been comforted by his discourse, they, with some intreaty, prevailed upon him to stay. He did so; and being sat down at table, began with the breaking of bread: upon which they knew him, and he immediately vanished.

As soon as the two disciples had recovered from their surprize, they hastened to *Jerusalem*, and acquainted their fellow-apostles with what had happened to them; and they, in return, informed them, that their Lord had also appeared unto *Peter*. Several among them still remained incredulous; but that evening, when they were sat down to supper, with the gates barred for fear of the *Jews*, *Jesus* came in, and saluted them; and to convince them that he was not a spirit, he commanded them to draw near and consider his pierced hands and feet, handle his body, and satisfy themselves, by all proper means, that he was their real risen Lord and Master. Having then a little upbraided them with their unbelief, he gave them several great and weighty instructions, conferred new powers upon them, and left them with his usual blessing. Thus ended the first day of the week, which, in honour of our blessed Saviour's resurrection, has ever since been kept as the sabbath among Christians.

Appears to the apostles at supper.

On the *Sunday* following, *Jesus* again appeared to the apostles, and, to convince *Thomas*, surnamed *Didymus*, who had been absent at his former appearance, and still remained incredulous, he desired him to feel the wounds in his hands and side. *Thomas* was no sooner convinced, by this means, than he confessed him to be his Lord and his God. Some days after, they all left *Jerusalem*, and went, according to his appointment, into *Galilee*, where he again appeared to them. Having condescended to eat and drink with them, he entered into a conversation with *Peter*; and having thrice demanded of him if he loved him, and thrice received a declaration that he did, he each time enjoined him to take care of the flock which he had committed to him. After this, in a figurative speech, he signified to him by what manner of death he was to glorify God.

He again appears to them.

He eats and drinks with them.

Our Lord, after this, appeared to above 500 of his disciples at once, on a certain mountain in *Galilee*; where he again gave them fresh assurances of his never-failing love, care, and protection, to the end of the world; renewed his commission and miraculous powers to them, together with a promise of a plentiful effusion of the Holy Spirit, to direct them into all truth, and fit them for their glorious work of the conversion of the world. Having finished his discourse, he bid them return to *Jerusalem*, and not to depart from thence till they had received the miraculous effusion of the Holy Ghost. He afterwards led them from *Jerusalem* to the mount of *Olives*, and having given them his solemn benediction, he mounted up into Heaven, whilst they, in an adoring posture, followed him with their longing

His ascension into Heaven.

eyes till a bright cloud received him out of their ſight. They ſtill continued to look up towards Heaven, till two angels appeared to them in bright apparel, and informed them, that their Lord and Maſter, who was then departed into Heaven, ſhould, at the great day of judgment, come again from thence in the ſame viſible manner.

Beſides the hiſtory of Chriſt, written by the Evangeliſts, *Joſephus*, who lived and died a *Jew*, gives the following noble teſtimony concerning him. "At the ſame time there was one "*Jeſus*, a wiſe man, if at leaſt he may be called a man, who "was a great worker of miracles, and a teacher of truth to all "that were deſirous to learn it, and had a great number of diſ-"ciples, both of *Jews* and Gentiles. This was (or, accord-"ing to ſome copies, was believed to be) the Chriſt, whom "*Pilate*, thro' the envy of the heads of our nation, cauſed to "to be crucified; but this did not hinder his diſciples from "cleaving ſtedfaſtly to him. He was ſeen by them three days "after his death, according to the prophecies concerning him. "The Chriſtian ſect ſubſiſts to this day; they call themſelves "by his name, and acknowlege him for their head." *Tacitus*, the *Roman* hiſtorian, alſo mentions Chriſt's being put to death by *Pilate*, in the reign of *Tiberius* *.

His diſciples tarry at *Jeruſalem*.

After Chriſt's aſcenſion, the diſciples, to the number of 120 perſons, excluſive of the women, returned to *Jeruſalem*, where they ſpent their time in acts of religious worſhip, aſſembling daily in a certain upper room, which they had made choice of for that purpoſe. In one of theſe aſſemblies, St. *Peter* reminding them that the number of the apoſtles was originally twelve, thought proper to propoſe filling up of the vacancy which the traitor *Judas* had made in their number. Having appointed *Joſeph*, ſurnamed *Barſabas*, and *Matthias*, who was one of the 70 diſciples, for the two candidates, they ſolemnly implored the Divine direction in what they were going to do; and then drawing their lots, *Matthias* was thereby elected into the apoſtolical miniſtry.

The Holy Ghoſt deſcends on the apoſtles.

The vacancy being thus filled, the apoſtles and other diſciples were all met together, in their accuſtomed place, on the day of Pentecoſt, when on a ſudden a prodigious noiſe, much like the ruſhing of a loud impetuous wind, filled all the room where they were, and there appeared a kind of cloven tongues of fire ſitting upon each of their heads; upon which they were all filled with the Holy Ghoſt, and endowed with all ſupernatural gifts, to qualify them for their glorious taſk. *Jeruſalem* being at this time crowded with *Jews* and proſelytes from all parts of the world, who came to be preſent at the feaſt, the apoſtles preached to them in their different languages. Whilſt ſome of the ſtrangers, ſtruck with amazement at what they ſaw and

* Joſeph. Antiq. l. 18. Tacit. Annal. l. 15. Minut: Felix. Grot. de verit. Le Clerc. Abbadie, &c.

heard,

heard, were queſtioning what the iſſue of ſuch a prodigy would be, others abſurdly attributed it to ſome exceſs of new wine.

Peter exploded that ſuppoſition, by reminding them that it was but the third hour of the day, or nine of the morning, when it was not cuſtomary for the *Jews* to have eaten or drank any thing; and then proved to them from the Scriptures, that nothing had happened in this extraordinary change but what had been plainly foretold by the prophet *Joel* (chap. ii.) He then mentioned thoſe other oracles, which had preſignified the death and reſurrection of Chriſt the true Meſſiah; all which he ſhewed to them with ſuch powerful and convincing eloquence, that 3000 of his audience were immediately converted to his doctrine, and continued ſtrict and zealous profeſſors of it. 3000 converted at once.

Some time after, *Peter* and *John* having healed a poor cripple, who ſat begging at the gate of the temple, they were immediately ſurrounded in *Solomon*'s porch by a great concourſe of people, to whom *Peter* diſcourſed concerning *Jeſus*, in ſuch a pathetic manner, that 5000 more were added to the number of believers; who were ſo perfectly united in their hearts and affections, that they became the admiration of their very enemies. 5000 more converted.

While the apoſtles were thus inſtructing the people, the malice of the rulers and high prieſt was rouzed, and, at their inſtigation, the captain of the temple ſeized *Peter* and *John*; who being queſtioned by the ſanhedrim, by what power they had wrought the miracle on the lame man, *Peter* boldly replied, that their power and authority were both from *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, whom they had crucified; but God had raiſed from the dead, and thereby declared the Saviour of the world. As the miracle was indiſputable, the ſanhedrim, after conſulting ſome time apart, contented themſelves with charging them not to preach any more in the name of *Jeſus*. To this *Peter* replied, that as they had received a contrary command from God, it was certainly their duty to obey God rather than them. The apoſtles are forbid by the ſanhedrim to preach Chriſt.

Peter and *John*, after a ſecond threatening, being then diſmiſſed, acquainted their collegues with what had paſſed; whereupon they all joined in prayer to God for a ſupply of courage and aſſiſtance extraordinary. At the concluſion of their prayer, the houſe where they were was ſhaken with a mighty wind; whereupon they were inſtantly repleniſhed with freſh meaſures of the Holy Ghoſt: ſo that neither threatenings, perſecutions, racks, tortures, or cruel deaths, could daunt their reſolution in publiſhing the goſpel of Chriſt.

As the miracles performed by the apoſtles were very numerous, and univerſally known all over *Jeruſalem*, the ſanhedrim, which conſiſted chiefly of ſadducees, began to think it high time to try ſome ſeverer means to ſtop the progreſs of chriſtianity; and accordingly ſeized the apoſtles, and caſt them into the common priſon. But before the next morning they were ſet at liberty by an angel; and when the court ordered them to be brought be- The apoſtles are impriſoned, and miraculouſly releaſed.

fore them, they were informed, to their great aſtoniſhment, that they were again preaching in the temple. They ſent for them from thence, yet without violence, for fear of the people; and *Caiaphas* having expoſtulated with them how they dared ſtill to preach in the name of *Jeſus*, they boldly anſwered, that they were bound to obey God rather than man; adding, that *Jeſus*, whom they had murdered, was undoubtedly the true Meſſiah. This noble anſwer ſo exaſperated the high prieſt and many others of the council, that they propoſed to put the apoſtles to death: but their reſentment and fury was checked by *Gamaliel*, a learned phariſee, who ſtood up and reminded them, that if this new ſect was merely of human inſtitution, it would ſoon be cruſhed, as others of the like nature had lately been; but if it was from God, it was vain as well as impious in them to oppoſe it. He therefore adviſed to diſmiſs the priſoners, and wait the event, which was accordingly agreed to; and the apoſtles being ſcourged, and ordered not to preach any more in the name of *Jeſus*, were ſet at liberty.

Seven deacons choſen.

As the believers were now very numerous, and had all things in common, the apoſtles, that they might not be embarraſſed with worldly affairs, appointed ſeven deacons to overſee the diſtribution of the charity-money, and to direct other inferior matters. *Stephen*, one of theſe deacons, was a man of extraordinary faith, learning, and zeal, and being full of the Holy Ghoſt, wrought ſuch miracles among the people, that he gave great umbrage to the *Jews*. Having confuted many of the heads of the *Jews* who diſputed with him, they in reſentment accuſed him of blaſphemy before the ſanhedrim, by whom he was condemned to death. Being then hurried out of the city, the witneſſes, who were to throw the firſt ſtones at him, laid their upper garments at the feet of young *Saul*, then a zealous phariſee and enemy to Chriſtianity, but afterwards the great apoſtle of the Gentiles. *Stephen*, as he expired, called on God to forgive his perſecutors, and on *Jeſus* to receive his departing ſoul.

Stephen ſtoned. An. Chr. 34.

The Chriſtians perſecuted.

The death of this glorious firſt martyr was ſoon followed by a grievous perſecution againſt the Chriſtian converts. The young *Saul* ſeeing the diſpoſition of the ſanhedrim, voluntarily became the bloody inſtrument of their cruelty. He broke open houſes, ſeized upon all who looked like the diſciples of *Jeſus*, and, without any reſpect to ſex or age, ſcourged and hauled them away to priſon. Wherever he came, he breathed out nothing but threatening and ſlaughter; inſomuch, that moſt of the believers, except the apoſtles, were forced to leave *Jeruſalem*, and diſperſe themſelves in the regions of *Samaria*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Cyprus*, and elſewhere, preaching the Goſpel; but ſtill to the *Jews* only.

The apoſtles diſperſe

During this perſecution, *Samaria* received the goſpel by the preaching of *Philip*, one of the ſeven deacons: and *Peter* and *John* following him from *Jeruſalem*, imparted the Holy Ghoſt to the new converts, by prayer and impoſition of hands. *Simon Magus*

Magus, who had raiſed himſelf a great reputation at *Samaria* by his ſorceries, was baptized by *Philip*; but obſerving the miraculous effect of the impoſition of the apoſtle's hands, he offered to give them money to enable him to do the like: for which prophane propoſal, *Peter* ſharply rebuked him; and after-ages have branded his memory, by giving that new and unheard-of ſin the name of ſimony. The perſecution at *Jeruſalem* only ſerving to propagate the goſpel in other countries, the young *Saul* obtained letters from the high prieſt to *Damaſcus*, authorizing him to ſeize on all thoſe who profeſſed the Chriſtian faith in that city. As he was on his journey, however, he was miraculouſly converted, and afterwards became a moſt zealous publiſher of the goſpel among the Gentiles.

themſelves.

Paul miraculouſly converted.

L. Vitellius, the proconſul of *Syria*, about the ſame time arriving at *Jeruſalem*, depoſed *Caiaphas* from the pontifical chair, and raiſed *Jonathan* the ſon of *Annas* to that dignity. In the mean time, a certain impoſtor at *Samaria*, ſome think *Simon Magus* lately mentioned, having perſuaded the *Samaritans* that if they would repair to their ſacred mount *Garizim*, he would direct them to the ſacred veſſels which *Moſes* formerly buried there. The credulous people flocked to him in arms; but while they were ſtill waiting for reinforcements, that they might be able to ſeize the mount, they were defeated and diſperſed by ſome troops ſent againſt them by *Pilate*, who afterwards cauſed many *Samaritans* of the beſt rank and quality to be beheaded. The *Samaritans* complaining of his cruelty to *Vitellius*, that governor ſent his friend *Marcellus* to take the government of *Judæa* upon him, and ordered *Pilate* to repair to *Rome*. *Caius* ſucceeding to the empire before he arrived at *Rome*, that emperor, according to an antient tradition, baniſhed *Pilate* to *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*, where his miſery forced him to kill himſelf with his own ſword. Not long after the departure of *Pilate*, *Vitellius* coming to *Jeruſalem* with *Herod Antipas*, removed *Jonathan* from the prieſthood, and gave it to his brother *Theophilus*. All this while the Chriſtian church increaſed to a ſurprizing degree, not only in *Judæa*, but in many other parts of the world, to which the apoſtles diſperſed themſelves, after having left *James the Leſs* biſhop of the church at *Jeruſalem*. The propagation and planting of the Chriſtian church having, from this period, but little connection with the hiſtory of the *Jews*, we refer our readers to thoſe authors who have expreſsly treated of that ſubject, and confine ourſelves to the tranſactions in *Judæa*.

Pilate recalled from *Judæa*, and baniſhed to *Dauphiné*.

As the apoſtles, by the miraculous converſion of *Cornelius* the *Roman* centurion at *Cæſarea*, were at length inſtructed, *That the Gentiles were to be fellow-heirs, and of the ſame body, and partakers of God's promiſe in Chriſt, by the goſpel*, they no longer made any ſcruple to inſtruct and baptize the Gentiles. *The nations being* thus, according to the antient prophecy of *Jacob*, *gathered to the Meſſiah, the ſceptre about the ſame time departed from* Judah, the

Jews being no longer allowed to govern themſelves by their own laws.

Marullus governor of *Judæa.*

Marcellus, whom *Vitellius* had truſted with the government of *Judæa*, was ſucceeded by *Marullus*, ſent from *Rome* by *Caius*, who, at the ſame time, gave to *Agrippa*, the grandſon of *Herod the Great* by his ſon *Ariſtobulus*, the tetrarchy of his late uncle *Philip*, adding to it that of *Abilene* in *Syria*. *Agrippa*, during the reign of *Tiberius*, had experienced a variety of fortunes, both at *Rome*, where he was brought up, and in *Judæa*; and upon the acceſſion of *Caius* to the imperial throne, was confined in priſon at *Rome*, and loaded with chains. Having continued a year with *Caius*, who had conferred on him the title of king, *Agrippa* embarked for *Judæa*, and in his way landed at *Alexandria*, where he was affronted by the *Alexandrians*, *Flaccus* the governor conniving at their inſolence from his hatred to the *Jews*, whom he was then perſecuting in that city.

Agrippa created king of *Judæa.*

The ambition of *Herod Antipas.*

Herod Antipas, who had formerly treated *Agrippa* with great contempt, was now ſtung with envy upon his arrival in *Judæa* with the title of king; and being continually teized by his wife *Herodias*, at length took a journey to *Rome*, to obtain the ſame title from the emperor, *Herodias* accompanying him thither, in hopes of aſſiſting him in his ſuit. *Agrippa*, however, ſending *Fortunatus*, one of his freedmen, and accuſing him of being concerned in a conſpiracy which *Sejanus*, the miniſter of *Tiberius*, had lately formed againſt that emperor, he was ſtripped of his tetrarchy, and ſent into baniſhment to *Lyons* in *France*, whither *Herodias* alſo accompanied him. *Caius* gave both his tetrarchy and all his treaſures to *Agrippa*, after *Herod* had enjoyed the former 43 years.

He is baniſhed to *Lyons.*

Caius orders his ſtatue to be reared in the temple. An. Chr. 39.

Meanwhile *Caius* having taken it into his head to cauſe his ſtatue to be ſet up in the very ſanctuary of the temple, ſent orders to *Petronius*, then governor of *Syria*, to ſee it executed, and to have a number of troops ready, to prevent any obſtruction from the *Jews*. *Petronius* accordingly aſſembled his army in the neighbourhood of *Ptolemais*; which giving an alarm to the *Jews*, he was forced to tell them the orders he had received. They, in the humbleſt manner, aſſured him, that they would ſooner hazard the loſs of all that was dear to them, even their lives, than ſuffer their temple to be thus profaned. The remonſtrances of the governor had no effect upon them to divert them from their fixed reſolution. They begged they might have leave to try to mollify the emperor, by an embaſſy. *Petronius*, however, adviſed them not to let their reluctance be ſo much as ſuſpected at the *Roman* court; but wrote himſelf to the emperor, informing him, that he met with difficulties in the execution of his orders, thro' want of proper hands for the work, and on account of ſome other obſtructions. *Caius* was highly exaſperated by this letter; and *Agrippa*, who was then at *Rome*, coming into his preſence as he was reading it, he ſaid to him, "*Your* "*Jewiſh ſubjects* are ſtrange creatures to refuſe to acknowlege "me for a god, and to provoke my reſentment againſt them. I

"had

" had commanded the ſtatue of *Jupiter* to be ſet up in their " temple, and they have, it ſeems, oppoſed it, and raiſed a kind " of univerſal inſurrection."

Theſe threatening words ſo affected *Agrippa*, that, after trying in vain to keep himſelf up, he fell into a ſwoon, and was carried off into his own palace, where he continued in a weak condition till the third day, when he wrote a long and pathetic letter to the emperor, interceding for his nation. The letter, which *Joſephus* has inſerted at length in his hiſtory, made ſome impreſſion upon the emperor in favour of the *Jews*; and *Agrippa* having entertained him, a few days after, at a ſumptuous feaſt, *Caius*, when he was well heated with wine, promiſed to grant him whatever he ſhould aſk. *Agrippa* then begged that he would lay aſide his reſolution of ſetting up the ſtatue in the temple of *Jeruſalem*. The petition, which ſhewed not only the greateſt diſintereſtedneſs, but alſo the moſt unfeigned love for his country and religion, had ſuch an effect on that emperor, that he wrote immediately to his governor, that if his ſtatue was not already ſet up, he ſhould forbear doing it; adding, that he had altered his deſign, out of friendſhip to *Agrippa*. However, the lightneſs of his temper ſoon made him repent of his complaiſance to him; ſo that he deſigned to have made a ſecond attempt unknown to him; but was cut off, before he could put his deſign in execution.

Agrippa prevails with him to alter his reſolution.

Agrippa having contributed to the ſucceſſion of *Claudius*, that emperor in return confirmed to him all the grants of *Caius*, gave him *Judæa*, *Samaria*, and the ſouthern parts of *Idumæa*, entered into a ſolemn alliance with him, and made ſeveral edicts in favour of the *Jews*. At his requeſt he alſo gave the kingdom of *Chalcis* to his brother *Herod*. *Agrippa* had the honours of the conſulſhip, and *Herod* thoſe of the prætorſhip, conferred upon him. Both were intitled to enter into the ſenate, and to pay their compliments to the emperor in *Greek*, which was uſually done in *Latin*.

The favour of *Claudius* to *Agrippa*.

Agrippa ſoon after returned into his kingdom, where he ſhewed a more extraordinary attachment to the *Jewiſh* religion than any of his predeceſſors. He depoſed *Theophilus* from the high prieſthood, and gave it to *Simon Cantharus*. He diveſted him of it ſoon after, to beſtow it on *Jonathan* the ſon of *Annas*, who had already enjoyed it after *Caiaphas*: but he modeſtly refuſing it, as thinking himſelf ſufficiently honoured in having once enjoyed that dignity, the king conferred it upon his brother *Matthias*. *Agrippa* was not only a zealous obſerver of the *Jewiſh* religion, but was alſo an excellent prince, and delighted in acts of generoſity and clemency. He enlarged and beautified *Jeruſalem*; but was prevented from fortifying it by an order from *Claudius*. As he was very fond of pleaſing the *Jewiſh* nation, he began to perſecute the Chriſtians, who, from the time of St. *Paul*'s converſion, ſeem to have been very quiet at *Jeruſalem*. The firſt who fell a victim to the king's popular zeal, was *James*, ſurnamed *Boanerges*, whom he cauſed

Agrippa beheads *James the Leſs*.

Peter miraculously delivered.

to be beheaded. Having alſo apprehended *Peter*, he cauſed him to be impriſoned, with the deſign to have cut him off immediately after the feaſt of the paſſover, which fell that year on the 15th of *April*, in the 44th year of the Chriſtian æra. *Peter* was guarded by no leſs than ſixteen ſoldiers, and was chained to his dungeon, and to ſome of his guards: but on the very night before his deſigned martyrdom, an angel came and awaked him out of a ſound ſleep, knocked off his fetters, opened the priſon door, and, without the guards once perceiving it, carried him quite out.

Agrippa finding himſelf diſappointed in his wicked deſign, commanded the keepers to be put to death, as ſuppoſing them acceſſary to the apoſtle's eſcape, and ſoon after went to *Cæſarea*. While he was here, the ambaſſadors of *Tyre* and *Sidon* came to ſollicit an accommodation of ſome difference that had lately happened between their ſtates and the king. *Agrippa*, tho' highly diſpleaſed with them, appointed them a day of audience; and being dreſſed in his royal robes, and ſeated on his throne, made ſuch an oration, as the flattering multitude called the ſpeech of a God, and not of a man. The king approving inſtead of checking their impious flattery, was inſtantly ſmote by the angel of the Lord with a dreadful diſeaſe, of which he died in great torments five days after, being eaten of worms, even before his death. He left a ſon of the ſame name, who was then but 17 years old, and had been brought up at *Rome*, and three daughters. He died in the 54th year of his age, and the 7th of his reign.

Agrippa's dreadful death.

Judæa again made a province.

Claudius propoſed to beſtow the kingdom on his ſon; but was diſſuaded from it by his courtiers, on pretence that he was too young to be truſted with the care of ſuch a nation. *Judæa* being, therefore, again made a province, *Cuſpius Fadus* was ſent governor, being ordered to act nothing but in concert with *Marſus* governor of *Syria*, and to puniſh the inhabitants of *Cæſarea* and *Samaria* for the indignities they had offered to the memory of the late king. It was about this time that the famine foretold by *Agabus*, a Chriſtian prophet, began to rage; againſt which the new churches, planted at *Antioch* and other places, ſent the believers a liberal ſupply, by the hands of *Paul* and *Barnabas*.

Fadus ſuppreſſes the banditti.

Fadus, ſoon after his arrival in *Judæa*, ſuppreſſed the banditti, who were by that time grown very numerous and powerful. He alſo quelled an inſurrection which the *Jews* had raiſed againſt the inhabitants of *Philadelphia*, or *Rabbah* of the *Ammonites*. *Caſſius Longinus* ſucceeding *Marſus* in the government of *Syria*, he came to *Jeruſalem*, and inſiſted upon the pontifical veſtments being put into his poſſeſſion, to be kept as formerly in the fortreſs of *Antonia*: but the *Jews* having ſent an embaſſy to *Claudius*, obtained from him, that the ſacred robes ſhould be left in poſſeſſion of the high prieſt, as it had been granted ſix years before. *Herod* king of *Chalcis*, at the ſame time, obtained of the emperor the ſuperintendancy of both the temple and ſacred

cred treasury, together with the authority of naming whom he would to the pontifical dignity. After *Herod*'s death, young *Agrippa* obtained the same grant for himself, and enjoyed it till the time of the *Jewish* war.

During the government of *Fadus*, one *Theudas*, an impostor, drew great numbers of deluded *Jews* after him, bidding them follow him beyond *Jordan*, and promising that he would divide the waters of that river, as *Joshua* had done, by his single word. *Fadus* sent some troops of horse and foot after him, dispersed his followers, and having taken the impostor, caused him to be put to death. *Theudas*, an impostor, beheaded.

Cuspius was soon after succeeded by *Tiberius Alexander*, an apostate *Jew*, one of whose first exploits was the beheading of the two sons of *Judas Galilæus*, the head of the *Gaulonitish* sect. About the same time *Herod* king of *Chalcis* deposed *Joseph* the son of *Cami*, and gave the priesthood to *Ananias* the son of *Zebedeus*. He died soon after, in the 8th year of *Claudius*, who gave his kingdom to young *Agrippa*, in prejudice of *Aristobulus*, the eldest son of the deceased.

Ventidius Cumanus, the successor of *Tiberius Alexander*, gave rise to those troubles which ended in the ruin of the *Jewish* nation. One of his soldiers, who was placed as a guard at the temple during the passover, had the impudence to expose his nudity to open sight; and when the *Jews* complained of the indignity offered, not only to the nation, but to God, *Cumanus*, instead of punishing the offender, drew together all his troops, which so terrified the *Jews*, that they fled in the greatest fright and confusion; insomuch, that upwards of 10,000 were stifled to death by their running over one another in the narrow passages that led to and from the temple. The copies of *Eusebius* and St. *Jerom* say 30,000. Some *Jews* of *Galilee*, soon after, being insulted by the *Samaritans* as they were going to one of the feasts at *Jerusalem*, *Cumanus* refused to do them justice: upon which the matter was carried before *Quadratus* governor of *Syria*, who sent both parties to *Rome*, and *Cumanus* with them. There the *Samaritans* were condemned to die, and *Cumanus* was sent into banishment. The *Jews* insulted by a *Roman* soldier. An. Chr. 48. 10,000 of them killed.

The next governor of *Judæa* was *Claudius Felix*, the brother of *Pallas* the emperor's chief favourite, under whom the affairs of *Judæa* ran into greater confusion. The land swarmed with robbers; and within the city were false prophets and pretended miracle-mongers, who were ever blowing the coals of discontent and sedition; so that a day scarcely passed in which some dreadful execution was not made of some of those miscreants. There were also great numbers of assassins, or zealots, who went into public places with daggers under their cloaks, and committed the most horrid murders and butcheries, under pretence of zeal for their religion and liberties. *Felix* governor of *Judæa*. An. Chr. 54.

One of their pretended Saviours, who came from *Egypt*, drew after him above 30,000 men, who were, however, soon dispersed by the *Roman* troops. One impostor was no sooner False Messiahs.

gone

gone than another ſtarted up; but *Felix*, inſtead of puniſhing the ſeditious only, exerciſed his cruelties on all indiſcriminately, whom his avarice or reſentment marked out for deſtruction. *Jonathan*, the late high prieſt, gently remonſtrating againſt his proceedings, *Felix* cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated; which practice immediately after became very frequent, the *Jewiſh* chiefs, and even the pontifs, making no ſcruple to hire the aſſaſſins, or zealots, to rid themſelves of any perſons that were obnoxious to them. *Felix* perſuaded *Druſilla*, the daughter of the late king *Agrippa*, to forſake her huſband, *Azizus* king of *Emeſa*, and to be married to him, tho' a Pagan, and one of the worſt of that kind. When the apoſtle St. *Paul* was brought before him, and made that noble diſcourſe on juſtice, temperance, and a judgment to come, he himſelf was then made ſenſible of his crimes; for his conſcience ſtung him ſo feelingly, that he could not forbear trembling. He ſent afterwards ſeveral times for St. *Paul*, not to be inſtructed in the truths of Chriſtianity, but in hopes of receiving a bribe from him. After near two years, finding himſelf diſappointed, and ready to be recalled from his government, he left his priſoner in bonds, to ingratiate himſelf with the *Jews*.

Paul preaches before *Felix*. An. Chr. 60.

When *Portius Feſtus*, his ſucceſſor, arrived at *Judæa*, the prieſts had begun a civil war among themſelves, the occaſion of which ſeems to have been the frequent depoſitions of the pontifs, and their pretenſions afterwards to a greater ſhare of the tythes than the inferior prieſts could afford them. Each party uſed to go along accompanied with a troop of the *Sicarii*, who had frequent ſhirmiſhes, and filled both city and country, even the very temple ſometimes, with blood. *Feſtus*, during his ſhort government, was almoſt wholly employed in ſuppreſſing the bloody diſſenſions of the prieſts, the numerous bands of robbers in the country, and the ſeditious *Jews*, who took every opportunity to aſſaſſinate the *Romans*. *Paul* being brought before him at *Cæſarea*, he pronounced him innocent of any capital crime, after a full hearing of both ſides.

Feſtus ſucceeds *Felix*. An. Chr. 62.

Feſtus, however, being willing to oblige the *Jews*, who ſtill inſiſted that his crimes deſerved death, propoſed to *Paul* to go to *Jeruſalem* to be tried; but *Paul*, knowing the malice of his enemies, appealed to *Cæſar*. *Agrippa* and his ſiſter *Berenice* coming to wait on *Feſtus*, *Paul* was again allowed to ſpeak for himſelf before them, and made ſuch a noble defence, that *Feſtus* acquitted him of every fault, except that of having turned his brain with too much learning: but *Agrippa*, conſcious of the truth and force of his reaſoning, owned himſelf almoſt convinced by him. Soon after, *Agrippa* having built a palace at *Jeruſalem* which overlooked the courts of the temple, a difference happened betwixt him and the *Jews*, who, on that account, ſent deputies to *Rome*, where they obtained leave to raiſe a wall, to obſtruct the view of the temple from *Agrippa*'s palace.

Paul defends himſelf before *Feſtus*.

Feſtus dying towards the latter end of this year, *Nero* nominated *Albinus* to ſucceed him. Before the arrival of *Albinus*, ſucceeds *Ananus*, a proud ſadducee, on whom *Agrippa* had conferred the high prieſthood, aſſembled a council, who condemned *James* the apoſtle and biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, with ſome other Chriſtians, to be ſtoned to death; which ſentence was accordingly executed. *Albinus*, on this account, upon his arrival at *Alexandria*, writing a threatening letter to the pontif, *Agrippa* immediately conferred that dignity on *Jeſus* the ſon of *Damneus*. The new governor, upon his arrival in *Judæa*, was at great pains to ſuppreſs the bands of robbers, who were now become very numerous and daring. *Albinus* ſucceeds *Feſtus*.

Whilſt theſe harraſſed the country, *Agrippa* occaſioned new diſturbances in the city, by conferring the high prieſthood on *Jeſus* the ſon of *Gamaliel*, who, having got an eſcort of armed men, had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, not only with his predeceſſor, but with the inferior prieſts, who were often plundered of all they had, and reduced to the loweſt miſery. About this time, the work of the temple being quite finiſhed, and 18,000 hands at once diſcharged, a propoſal was made to *Agrippa* to employ them in taking down the old gallery of the temple, 400 cubits high, and rebuilding it anew. *Agrippa* not conſenting to the propoſal, the greateſt number of the workmen joined themſelves to the banditti, and ſupported themſelves by plundering. Violent factions and commotions among the *Jews*.

Albinus, after governing two years, was ſucceeded by *Geſſius Florus*, the laſt and worſt governor that ever *Judæa* had. He behaved with the greateſt cruelty and rapacity, and made no ſcruple to countenance the banditti, upon receiving part of their plunder. That his oppreſſions and murders might not be enquired into, he wanted to provoke the *Jews* to an open rebellion, in which he ſucceeded to his wiſh, a war being kindled thro' his means which ended with the total ruin of the *Jewiſh* nation. Great numbers of the *Jews*, to avoid the cruel tyranny of *Florus*, abandoned their native country; while thoſe who ſtaid behind made their complaints to *Ceſtius Gallus*, governor of *Syria*, who came to *Jeruſalem* at the paſſover. *Ceſtius* only undertook for *Florus* that he ſhould behave better for the future, and ſet himſelf about computing the number of the *Jews* that were at *Jeruſalem*, by that of the lambs which were offered at that feſtival. By that computation the whole was found to amount to 2,556,000; but *Joſephus* thinks that they rather amounted to 3,000,000. The tyrannical government of *Geſſius Florus*.

Nero, about this time, deciding a controverſy which had been for ſome years in ſuſpence, between the *Syrians* and the *Jews*, about the city of *Cæſarea*, which he now decreed to be a *Greek* city, the *Jews* every-where reſolved to have recourſe to arms. *Agrippa*, endeavouring by a long ſpeech to appeaſe the rioters in *Jeruſalem*, was pelted by them with ſtones, and obliged to leave the city. He ſent 3000 men to the heads of the *Jews*, to help them to quell the ſedition; which they earneſtly endeavoured The cauſe of the *Jewiſh* war. An. Chr. 67.

to

to effect, but without ſucceſs; for *Florus*, who rejoiced at the diſorders, refuſed to aſſiſt them. The mutinous ſpirit ſoon ſpread over the kingdom, where nothing was to be ſeen but robberies, murders, and all manner of cruelties; cities and villages being filled with dead bodies of every age, ſex, and quality. The *Jews*, wherever they got the better of the *Syrians* and *Romans*, retaliated their cruelties; for which, vaſt numbers of their peaceful brethren were maſſacred in their places of abode. The *Cæſareans* fell ſuddenly on thoſe of their city, and maſſacred 20,000 of them; 20,000 were murdered at *Ptolemais*, and 50,000 at *Alexandria*. *Florus* alſo ſlew 3,500 perſons at *Jeruſalem*, and ſeized many others, whom he cauſed to be whipt and crucified, tho' ſome of them had been honoured with the *Roman* knighthood. *Berenice*, the ſiſter of *Agrippa*, interceded in vain for the priſoners, going barefoot to the tribunal of *Florus*: but he did not vouchſafe her the leaſt token of reſpect; ſo that before ſhe could recover her palace, ſhe was in danger of being torn to pieces by his ſoldiers.

Horrid ſlaughter made of the *Jews*.

A great number of aſſaſſins, joining themſelves to the ſeditious, beat the *Romans* out of the fortreſſes of *Maſſada*, *Antonia*, and the towers of *Phaſael*, *Mariamne*, and others; killing all that oppoſed them. They next ſet fire to the palaces of *Agrippa* and *Berenice*, of the high prieſt *Ananias*, and of his brother *Ezechias*. They choſe *Menahem*, one of the ſons of *Judas*, chief of the *Gaulonites*, for their leader, he having come to *Jeruſalem* with a conſiderable number of aſſaſſins, or zealots. He was ſoon murdered, and was ſucceeded by his nephew *Eleazar*, who obliged the *Romans* to ſurrender, on a capitulation of having their lives granted to them; but afterwards murdered them. The *Greeks* of *Scythopolis* retaliated this treachery on the *Jews* of that city, 13,000 of whom they murdered, tho' they had generouſly offered to ſtand by them againſt their brethren, who were then beſieging them.

The *Jews* take arms againſt the *Romans*.

The revolted *Jews*, having carried their conqueſts beyond *Jordan*, took the fortreſſes of *Macheron* and *Cypris*, the laſt of which they razed to the ground, after having put all the *Romans* to the ſword. Their progreſs at length rouzing *Ceſtius Gallus*, governor of *Syria*, he entered *Judæa* with a powerful army, burned all the towns and villages in his way, and maſſacred all the *Jews* whom he met with. About the feaſt of tabernacles he encamped, with about 20,000 foot and 5000 horſe, at *Gibeon*, within ſix miles of *Jeruſalem*; which the *Jews* no ſooner heard, than they armed themſelves, and went and attacked him, and gained ſome advantage over him. *Agrippa* joining him, ſent two of his chief captains to the rebels, offering them a pardon and ſome terms of peace; but one of the officers was killed by them, and the other very narrowly eſcaped. *Ceſtius*, a few days after, attacked them, and drove them almoſt to *Jeruſalem*; and then advancing with his whole army in order of battle, they abandoned all the outer

They are defeated by *Ceſtius Gallus*.

outer quarters of the city, and retired to the inner cincture near the temple.

Ceſtius immediately beſieged them; but *Florus* corrupting ſome of his generals, he was by them perſuaded to march off; when the *Jews* harraſſed his rear, and having ſlain 4000 of his foot and 400 horſe, made themſelves maſters of a great part of his baggage. The *Jews* now ſet themſelves about purſuing the propereſt means of carrying on the war againſt the *Romans*; and chuſing ſome of their braveſt chiefs to command in the ſeveral cantons and fortreſſes of *Judæa*, *Joſephus* the hiſtorian, a brave *Jewiſh* prieſt of conſiderable rank, was appointed governor of the two *Galilees*. The government of *Jeruſalem* was intruſted to *Ananus* and *Joſeph* the ſon of *Gorion*; and *Eleazar* was appointed governor of *Idumæa*. Meanwhile ſuch diſſenſions prevailed among the *Jews*, that great numbers of the better ſort, foreſeeing the ſad effects of the *Roman* reſentment, forſook the city; and the Chriſtians, mindful of their Saviour's warning, retired to *Pella*, a city on the other ſide *Jordan*, whither the war did not reach.

Ceſtius raiſes the ſiege of the temple, and retires with loſs.

Nero hearing of the revolt of the *Jews* while he was in *Achaia*, ordered *Veſpaſian*, who was then with him, and had already ſignalized himſelf in *Germany* and *Britain*, to march with a powerful army into *Judæa*. *Veſpaſian* having ſent his ſon *Titus* to fetch the fifth and tenth legions from *Alexandria* into *Judæa*, aſſembled his forces in *Syria*, where he was joined by *Agrippa*. Great numbers of the *Jews* being now in arms, a body of them made an attempt upon *Aſcalon*; but they were repulſed, with the loſs of 10,000 men. Notwithſtanding this loſs, they made a ſecond attempt, when almoſt the ſame number of them were again cut off.

Veſpaſian ſent into *Judæa*.

Veſpaſian, in the very beginning of the next year, having ſent ſome ſuccours to *Sepphoris* in *Galilee*, which adhered to the *Romans*, advanced with his army to *Ptolemais*, where he was joined by *Titus*, at the head of a body of troops. His army, with this reinforcement, amounting to 60,000 men, all excellently diſciplined, he entered *Galilee*; and having burnt *Gadara*, marched to beſiege *Jotapa*. *Joſephus* governor of *Galilee* went into *Jotapa* before the *Romans* inveſted it, and defended it, with great bravery and vigour, forty-ſeven days, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the beſiegers. The city was at length taken by aſſault, and put to fire and ſword, when all the *Jews* were either ſlain or made priſoners. There were reckoned 40,000 of the former, and only 1200 of the latter, among whom was *Joſephus*. *Veſpaſian* propoſed to ſend him in chains to *Nero*; which when *Joſephus* underſtood, he deſired to have the liberty to ſpeak to the general: and being introduced to him, he addreſſed him in words to this effect: "My meſſage to you, "being from the God of Heaven, is of much greater concern "to you than the diſpoſal of me as your priſoner. The in- "terval between *Nero*'s death and your ſucceeding him is ſo "ſmall,

He takes *Jotapa*.

Joſephus made priſoner.

" ſmall, that I already look upon you as emperor, and your ſon " *Titus* as your happy ſucceſſor. Keep me only as your priſoner; " and if you find that I have abuſed God's name, in promiſing " you from him the empire of the world, then puniſh me with " the ſevereſt death." *Veſpaſian* took him at his word, uſed him with the greateſt reſpect and generoſity; but cauſed him ſtill to be kept a cloſe priſoner. This prediction of the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian to the *Roman* general is confirmed by *Suetonius* and *Dio Caſſius*. A few days before the ſtorming of *Jotapa*, *Trajan* took the city of *Japha*; but gave the honour of the laſt aſſault to *Titus*. Upon their entering the place, the *Japhians* held out an obſtinate ſtreet-fight for ſix hours; but being at length overpowered, all the men were put to the ſword, and the women and children carried away priſoners. The *Romans* reduced ſeveral other cities in *Galilee*, with a rapid progreſs; but *Giſcala* and *Gamala* ſtood a ſiege of ſeveral months.

Two deſperate factions in *Judea*.

The taking of theſe two cities compleating the conqueſt of *Galilee*, *Veſpaſian* and *Titus* gave their troops ſome reſpite before they went to beſiege *Jeruſalem*. Many of the *Jews*, now foreſeeing the ruinous conſequences of the war, propoſed a ſpeedy ſubmiſſion. Another, by far the moſt numerous party, which was compoſed of men of the vileſt character, who pretended to be of the *Gaulonitiſh* ſect, oppoſed all peaceable meaſures with the greateſt obſtinacy. Theſe were proud, cruel, and rapacious, and committed the moſt horrid and unnatural crimes, under pretence of religion; which obliged the contrary party to riſe up likewiſe in arms, to defend themſelves from their profligate countrymen, from whom they ſuffered unſpeakably more than from the exaſperated *Romans*. Theſe wretches, who took the name of Zealots, began to exerciſe their cruelty, in plundering and maſſacring all that oppoſed them in the country round about; after which they entered *Jeruſalem*, with *Zechariah* and *Eleazar* at their head. They ſeized and garriſoned the temple, from whence they ſallied out, and committed the vileſt outrages and butcheries. *Ananus*, who had been high prieſt a few years before, perſuaded the people to take up arms, and attack thoſe factious villains. The engagement was fierce and obſtinate a conſiderable time; but *Ananus* at length forced them out of the outer cincture of the temple, and cloſely beſieged them in the inner. They called in the *Idumæans* to their aſſiſtance; but *Ananus* refuſed to admit thoſe foreigners within the walls.

An army of *Idumæans* enters *Jeruſalem*.

However, on the night of their arrival before *Jeruſalem*, a dreadful ſtorm ariſing, accompanied with thunder and lightning and an earthquake, the Zealots ſawed the bolts and hinges of the temple gates without being heard, and forcing the guards of the beſiegers, let in the *Idumæans*, to the number of 20,000.

The profligate party, being thus ſtrengthened, committed the moſt horrid cruelties on their late oppoſers. They put great numbers of them to death by the moſt exquiſite tortures that could be invented. Twelve thouſand perſons of noble extraction, and in the flower of their age, were thus butchered, and among them the brave *Ananus*, and *Jeſus* the ſon of *Gamaliel*. The zealots now carried their fury and cruelty to ſuch an heighth, that the whole nation trembled at their very name. None dared to be ſeen or heard to weep or cry for the murder of their neareſt relations, nor even to give them burial. The *Idumæans* at length inveighing againſt the maſſacring of ſuch numbers of worthy perſons indiſcriminately, the zealots ſet up a kind of court of judicature in the temple, that they might murder with a ſhew of juſtice. *Zechariah*, the ſon of *Baruch*, was one of the firſt that was brought before this mock court; but he defended himſelf with ſuch intrepidity, that the judges pronounced him innocent; at which the zealots were ſo exaſperated, that they murdered him on the ſpot, and then drove the judges from their ſeats as perſons unfit for their purpoſe. The *Idumæans*, aſhamed to act any longer in concert with ſuch bloody aſſaſſins, retired into their own country, after having ſet at liberty 2000 priſoners. Horrid butcheries committed.

The zealots, from this time, gave themſelves a looſe to the moſt inhuman barbarities, and after butchering all perſons of any diſtinction or character, they began to vent their rage on the common people. It was a capital crime to have once ſeemed to oppoſe them: to be inactive, was to be a ſpy upon them. Not to applaud their vileſt actions, was to be diſaffected; and to be either rich, or ſuſpected to be ſo, or to be diſliked by them, was crime enough to deſerve death. This obliged many of the *Jews* to forſake *Jeruſalem*, and to ſeek ſhelter under the *Romans*, who continued all this while unactive at *Cæſarea*, *Veſpaſian* ſuffering his men to refreſh themſelves, as he ſaw the *Jews* ſo earneſtly bent on inteſtine broils and maſſacres, which would quickly weaken their ſtrength.

Every thing ſucceeded to his wiſh. The zealots, after having maſſacred or driven away the oppoſite party, began to turn their ſwords againſt each other. *John*, of the city of *Giſchala*, a wretch of unparalleled ambition, drew the moſt profligate of the zealots into his party, and the other chiefs having formed an oppoſite faction, the two parties were continually either ſkirmiſhing with each other, or plundering the poor remains of the people. Mean while a new gang of robbers aroſe in the country, who plundered, burned, and maſſacred every where, and carried their plunder into the ſtrong fortreſs of *Maſſada*, which they had ſeized. One *Simon*, the ſon of *Gorias*, was their leader, a bold ambitious young man, a native of *Gelaſa*, who to encreaſe his numbers, promiſed liberty to all the ſlaves, and proportionable encouragements to all the freemen that ſhould join him. By this means he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of a conſiderable army, and great numbers The zealots divided into two factions. A third party compoſed of robbers.

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of *Jews*, even of ſome diſtinction, were glad to put themſelves under his protection.

Idumæa invaded by *Simon* the chief of the robbers.

Simon turned his arms againſt the zealots, whom he defeated and put to flight; but not thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to attempt the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, he invaded *Idumæa* with an army of 20,000 men. The *Idumæans* aſſembled 25,000, and gave him battle; but after both parties had fought from morning to night, neither party could claim the victory. *Simon* ſoon after found means to have that country betrayed to him by a treacherous *Idumæan*, who delivered up their forces to him. By the conqueſt of that province, which he ravaged in a cruel manner, he became more dreadful than ever to the zealots, who contented themſelves with laying ambuſhes for him in all the paſſes, in one of which they took his wife priſoner. *Simon* no ſooner heard the news of his wife's captivity, than he poſted with his army to the very gates of *Jeruſalem*, and ſo terrified the enemy, that they were glad to ſend him his wife again. Having recovered her, he returned to *Idumæa*, where he committed ſo many cruelties, that the inhabitants left the country to his mercy and fled to *Jeruſalem*, his troops however purſuing them to the very walls of that metropolis.

Simon admitted into *Jeruſalem*.

About the ſame time thoſe *Idumæans* who had entered into the ſervice of *John* of *Giſchala*, not being longer able to bear his tyranny, revolted againſt him, killed a great number of his men, plundered his palace, and forced him to retire into the temple. The people imagining that he would ſally out in the night and ſet fire to the city, let in *Simon* and his troops to oppoſe thoſe of *John* and his zealots. *Simon* was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of the city, than he began to exert his authority againſt both parties equally. He made a bold aſſault againſt *John* and his party, but being as ſtoutly repulſed, he contented himſelf for the preſent with keeping them cloſely beſieged in the temple. *Placidus*, in the mean time, with a detachment of the *Roman* army, killed 15,000 of the factious *Jews*, who endeavoured to prevent him from taking poſſeſſion of *Gadara*. He ſoon after reduced all that part of *Judæa* which lies on the eaſt ſide of the *Jordan*, except the caſtle of *Machæron*.

Veſpaſian ravages *Idumæa*.

In the beginning of the following ſpring, *Veſpaſian* ravaged and plundered great part of *Idumæa*, and leaving garriſons in ſome fortreſſes, returned to *Cæſarea*, where his ſon *Titus* joined him. He had been ſent by his father to *Rome*, to compliment *Galba* who ſucceeded *Nero* in the empire; but upon his arrival at *Greece*, hearing that *Galba* was murdered after a reign of ſeven months, and that *Otho* was declared emperor, he ſailed back to *Cæſarea*. About the beginning of *June*, *Veſpaſian* and *Titus* led their army againſt *Jeruſalem*, whilſt *Cerealis*, one of their chief generals, laid waſte the upper *Idumæa* with a conſiderable body of troops. The emperor *Otho* in the mean time being dead, and *Vitellius*, a moſt worthleſs wretch, having ſucceeded him, the armies in the eaſt, in oppoſition to him, declared *Veſpaſian* emperor, and their choice a few months after

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was confirmed by the *Roman* ſenate. *Veſpaſian* now recalling to mind the prophecy of *Joſephus*, not only gave him his liberty, but recompenſed him for his faithfulneſs to him with many ſignal favours. Having committed the management of the war againſt the *Jews* to his ſon *Titus*, he ſet out for *Alexandria*, with the deſign of paſſing from thence to *Italy*.

He is choſen emperor, and commits the conduct of the war to *Titus*.

The *Jewiſh* diſſenſions, in the mean time, encreaſed; one *Eleazar*, a perſon of the ſacerdotal order, formed a new party by drawing over to him a conſiderable number of *John* of *Giſcala*'s men. With this new party he ſeized on the court of the prieſts, and confined *John* to that of the *Iſraelites*. *Eleazar* kept the avenues ſo well guarded, that none were admitted into that part of the temple but thoſe who went thither to offer ſacrifices; and it was by theſe offerings chiefly that he maintained himſelf and his men. Theſe three parties not only murdered and maſſacred one another, but in their rage and madneſs deſtroyed the proviſions which might have ſerved the city for ſeveral years.

A new faction in *Jeruſalem*.

Mean while *Titus* advanced with his army againſt the city, and having received a great many auxiliaries from *Agrippa*, *Soemus*, *Antiochus*, and the *Arabs*, he encamped within three miles of the walls. The city was about four miles in circuit, and was fortified on every ſide with a triple wall, except where it was fenced with deep vallies, having, beſides the caſtle of *Antonia*, the fortreſs of *Acra*, the towers on mount *Sion*, the temple, and ſeveral other fortreſſes almoſt impregnable. It was now the beginning of *April*, and near the feaſt of the paſſover, to which there was a greater reſort of *Jews* this year than had ever been known. *Titus* having narrowly eſcaped in attempting to reconnoitre the city, cauſed his army to approach within ſeven furlongs of the walls, in order to begin the ſiege in form. His own legion encamped on the mount of *Olives*, but was of a ſudden ſo vigorouſly attacked by the *Jews*, that they were in danger of being all cut to pieces if *Titus* had not timely ſuccoured them.

Titus inveſts that city.

The three factions ſeeing themſelves beſieged by ſo powerful an army and ſo brave a general, propoſed to lay aſide all private feuds, and join together in a vigorous defence againſt the common enemy. This union, however, was of no long continuance; for on the feaſt of the paſſover, when *Eleazar* had opened the avenues of his court to the great concourſe that went thither to ſacrifice, *John* of *Giſcala* found means to ſlide in ſome of his men with ſwords hid under their cloaks, who unexpectedly fell on *Eleazar*'s party and the reſt of the people, filled the court of the prieſts with blood, and took poſſeſſion of the place. *Eleazar*'s men, by this impious ſtratagem, being almoſt all cut off, thoſe who remained, together with their chief, ſubmitted to *John*, who had now no enemy but *Simon* within the walls. When they were not employed againſt the *Romans*, they were continually aſſaulting each other, ſeeming not in the leaſt affected with the diſmal ſtate of their affairs.

The three factions aſſiſt each other in defending the place.

The *Jews* reject offers of peace.

Titus having twice made offers of peace to the beſieged, which they rejected with ſcorn, ordered the attacks to be begun with the battering engines. The *Jews* having lately taken ſome machines from *Ceſtius*, now placed them on the walls, but working them very unſkillfully, they did very little execution with them, till they were better inſtructed by ſome *Roman* deſerters. The *Roman* legionaries, however, made dreadful havock, the leaſt ſtones they threw being near 100 weight, which the engines caſt with great force to the diſtance of two furlongs. About a fortnight after the beginning of the ſiege, the *Romans* made a breach in the outer wall, by which they entered, the *Jews* at the ſame time retiring within the ſecond encloſure. *Titus* cauſed one of the towers of the ſecond wall to be battered, and in five days made a breach by which his troops got within the ſecond wall. As he was bent on ſaving the city, he would not ſuffer any greater breach to be made in the wall, or any of the ſtreets to be demoliſhed; ſo that his troops being ſoon after attacked by *Simon*, ſuffered conſiderably on account of the narrowneſs of the breach. The *Romans* having rectified this overſight, renewed the attack with vigour, and four days after again got poſſeſſion of the ſecond wall.

The firſt wall poſſeſſed by the *Romans*.

The ſecond wall alſo taken.

The city being crowded with people, a famine began to prevail, which was followed by a peſtilence. As theſe two dreadful judgments encreaſed, ſo did the rage of the factions, who forced into the peoples houſes, and if they found any victuals in them, butchered the owners for not informing them of their ſtores. If they found nothing but bare walls, which was almoſt every where the caſe, they put the people to the utmoſt tortures, under pretence that they had ſome proviſion concealed. *Titus* being ſtill willing to ſpare the *Jews*, again made them offers of pardon upon their ſubmiſſion; but *Joſephus* the hiſtorian, who carried his meſſage to the beſieged, was treated by them with ſcoffs and reproaches. Upon his return, *Titus* cauſed a wall of circumvallation to be drawn round the city, to prevent any ſuccours from being carried to the beſieged, and to hinder them from eſcaping. Nothing was now to be ſeen in the ſtreets of *Jeruſalem* but heaps of dead bodies rotting above ground, walking ſkeletons, and dying wretches. Thoſe who were taken by the *Romans* in the ſallies, were ſcourged and crucified in the ſight of the town. The zealots gave out that the *Romans* treated thoſe who fled to them for protection in that manner; upon which *Titus* ſent in a priſoner to undeceive the people, and aſſure them, that he ſpared all who voluntarily came over to him. The factions, however, were at great pains to cut off all means of eſcape from the people, tho' at the ſame time they robbed them of their proviſions while they themſelves were not in want, made their miſeries and dying groans the ſubjects of their mirth, and even carried their barbarity to the ſheathing of their ſwords in ſport on thoſe poor wretches, under pretence of trying their ſharpneſs,

The ſecond wall alſo taken. The great miſery of the beſieged.

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Many of thoſe who eſcaped to the *Roman* camp were miſerably butchered by the ſoldiers, who had entertained a notion that they had ſwallowed great quantities of gold. No leſs than 2000 *Jews* were ripped up in one night in ſearch of theſe ſuppoſed treaſures. The mortality raged ſo violently in the city, that from the 14th of *April* to the 1ſt of *July*, 115,080 carcaſes of the poorer ſort were carried out to be buried; 600,000 were caſt out of the gates and over the walls into the deep vallies, beſides great numbers of carcaſes that were piled up in large empty houſes. The famine at length encreaſed to that degree, that the ſoldiers were forced to eat the dung of oxen, girdles, ſhoes, ſticks and hay. Wives took the meat out of their huſband's mouths, children from their parents, and mothers from their infants. Nay, a woman of quality boiled her own child with an intent to eat it; which deteſtable act *Titus* no ſooner heárd of, than he vowed the total extirpation of the city and people. It cauſed alſo an univerſal horror and conſternation among the *Jews*, who now began to think themſelves forſaken by the divine providence.

A dreadful mortality in the city.

The *Romans*, animated by their general, cut down all the groves within a conſiderable diſtance of the city, and having made new mounts, ſoon made themſelves maſters of the fortreſs of *Antonia*, and purſued the *Jews* to the temple. The beſieged ſtill rejecting a new offer of accommodation that was made to them, ſet fire to the galleries that joined *Antonia* to the temple. *Titus* finding the walls of the temple too ſtrong for his battering rams, ſet fire to the gates, after having had a bloody rencounter, in which his men were repulſed with loſs. *Simon*, about the ſame time, put to death *Matthias* the high prieſt, and a great number of his friends, under pretence of their holding a ſecret correſpondence with the *Romans*. *Joſephus* alſo frequently exhorted them to a ſubmiſſion, when one day he received ſuch a wound in his head by a ſtone from the battlements, as laid him for dead on the ground. The *Jews* ſallied out immediately to have ſeized his body, but the *Romans* proved too quick and ſtrong for them, and carried him off.

The *Romans*, carry on the attacks with the utmoſt vigour.

The great obſtinacy of the *Jews*.

John, who commanded in the temple, which was the only place not in the poſſeſſion of the *Romans*, now plundered that ſacred place of all the golden utenſils, and broke in alſo into the repoſitories of the ſacred oil and wine, which laſt he and his party uſed to ſuch exceſs, as to make themſelves drunk with it. The *Jews*, particularly the zealots, became ſo infatuated, as to aſſure themſelves that God would never ſuffer the temple to be taken by heathens, and therefore remained inflexible to all the entreaties of *Joſephus*. At length *Titus* foreſeeing the inevitable ruin of that ſtately edifice, which he was ſtill extremely deſirous to ſave, vouchſafed, even himſelf, to ſpeak to the *Jews*, and to perſuade them to ſurrender. The factions, however, looking upon this condeſcenſion as the effects of his fear rather than generoſity, only grew the more furious upon it, and forced him at laſt to come to thoſe extremities which he had hitherto

The outer court of the temple taken.

endeavoured to avoid. *Titus*, having with great labour leveled a platform for the attack, renewed his aſſaults on the firſt of *Auguſt*, ſet fire to the north gallery which encloſed the outer court of the temple, and forced the beſieged into the court of the prieſts. He tried in vain ſix days to batter down one of the galleries of this court with an helepolis. He alſo applied his rams to it, while others of his troops were buſy in ſapping its foundations; but not ſucceeding by theſe means, he attempted the walls by ſcalade, in which attack he was repulſed with loſs. He then ſet fire to the gates, which being plated with ſilver, burnt all night, and communicated the flames to the porticos and galleries.

Titus ſtill reſolved to ſave the remainder of the temple, and on the 10th of *Auguſt*, ordered the general aſſault, prohibiting any damage to be done to the building. One of the ſoldiers, however, puſhed, as *Joſephus* thinks, by the hand of Providence, took up a blazing fire-brand, and getting on his comrade's ſhoulders, threw it in at a window of one of the apartments that ſurrounded the ſanctuary, and immediately ſet the whole north ſide in a flame, in the 2d year of *Veſpaſian*, the the 21ſt of king *Agrippa*, and on the ſame fatal day and month in which it had been formerly burnt by *Nebuchadnezzar*. All the endeavours of *Titus* to put a ſtop to the fire were fruitleſs. Thoſe ſoldiers who flocked thither from the camp, inſtead of hearkning to his commands, were buſy either in killing the *Jews* or in increaſing the flames.

The temple taken and burnt.

The ſanctuary rifled by *Titus*.

Titus perceiving that all his endeavours had been ineffectual, afterwards entered the ſanctuary and the moſt holy place, in which he found ſtill ſuch rich and ſumptuous utenſils and other wealth, as even exceeded all that had been told him of it. Out of the former he ſaved the golden candleſtick, the table of ſhew bread, the altar of perfumes all of pure gold, and the book or volume of the law wrapped up in a rich gold tiſſue. After he came out of the ſacred place, ſome other ſoldiers ſet fire to it, and then plundered it, tearing off the gold plating of the gates and timber-work, and carrying off every thing of value they could find. An horrid maſſacre followed ſoon after, in which a great many thouſands periſhed, ſome by the flames, others by the fall from the battlements, and a greater number by the enemy's ſword, none of any age, ſex, or quality being ſpared by the enraged ſoldiers, who did not ceaſe burning and butchering till they had deſtroyed all except two of the temple gates, and that part of the court which was deſtined for the women. The *Jews*, in memory of this deſtruction and of that of *Nebuchadnezzar*, keep a ſolemn faſt on the 9th of the month *Ab*, anſwering in part to our *Auguſt*, which laſts full 24 hours; during which time they neither eat, drink, nor uſe the leaſt refreſhment; but the ſtricteſt of them keep themſelves all the time barefoot, in prayers and tears.

The ſeditious, in the mean time, having by a vigorous effort eſcaped from the fury of the *Romans* into the city, found all the

the avenues ſo guarded that they could not eſcape; upon which they fortified themſelves as well as they could on the ſouth ſide of it. They deſired a parly with *Titus*, who offered them their lives if they would ſurrender; but they replied, that they had engaged themſelves by the moſt ſolemn oaths never to ſurrender, and only begged leave to retire into the mountains with their wives and children. *Titus* irritated by their requeſt, ſent an herald to bid them ſtand to their defence, and immediately after he abandoned the city to the fury of the ſoldiers, who murdered and plundered on all ſides, while the factions, who ſtill remained, went and fortified themſelves in the royal palace on mount *Sion*, where they killed 8000 *Jews* who had taken refuge there. *Titus* was employed ſeveral weeks in making preparations for attacking the upper city on mount *Sion*, during which time 40,000 of the meaner ſort ſubmitted to him, and obtained liberty from him to go and ſettle where they pleaſed. The *Romans* had already taken ſo many captives, that they could find no buyers for them; and ſuch ſlaughter had been made of the inhabitants, that their blood ran in ſtreams along the ſtreets. The factions finding their fortifications unable to withſtand the *Roman* batteries, were ſeized with a panic, and inſtead of fleeing into the ſtrong towers of *Hippicos*, *Phaſael*, or *Mariamne*, they went to the wall of circumvallation, and attempted to force their paſſage; but being repulſed from thence, they diſperſed, and endeavoured to eſcape by hiding themſelves in the public ſinks and common ſewers. The *Romans* having then entered the city, ſet it on fire, and maſſacred great numbers of the inhabitants. The youngeſt and moſt beautiful priſoners were reſerved for the triumph of *Titus*; the others, above 17 years, were ſent partly into *Egypt* to be employed in ſome public works there, and partly into ſeveral cities of *Syria* and other provinces, to be expoſed on the public theatres to exhibit fights, or be devoured by wild beaſts. The number of thoſe priſoners amounted to 97,000, beſides about 11,000 more of others, who were either ſtarved thro' neglect, or ſtarved themſelves thro' ſullenneſs and deſpair. The number of perſons deſtroyed by the war is ſuppoſed to have exceeded 1,500,000.

The factions deſire a parley.

The upper city burnt and the *Jews* maſſacred. An. Ch. 73.

Priſoners ſent into *Egypt*.

The *Jews*, according to *Joſephus*, had many warnings given them of their total deſtruction. A country fellow, named *Jeſus*, for ſeveral months before the ſiege, ran up and down the city, crying without ceaſing, *Woe to the city! Woe to the temple! A voice from the four corners, a voice againſt Jeruſalem, a voice againſt the nation.* On ſabbaths and other feſtivals he cried with a louder and more diſmal tone; and tho' he would not ceaſe for the moſt ſevere puniſhments, he never became hoarſe or loſt his voice. He concluded with *a woe to himſelf*, and was that inſtant killed by a ſtone thrown in by the beſiegers. A ſtrange comet alſo hung over *Jeruſalem* for one whole year in the ſhape of a ſword. An extraordinary light was ſeen round

The warnings of this dreadful deſtruction.

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the altar at the ninth hour of the night. A cow, as ſhe was led to the altar to be ſacrificed, was delivered of a lamb. The eaſtern gate of the temple made of ſolid braſs, and ſo heavy that it required twenty ſtout men to open and ſhut it, was flung open in the middle of the night, tho' faſtened with ſtrong bolts and bars. The air before ſun-ſet was filled with chariots and armed men, which paſſed over all that country; and laſtly, a voice, after a kind of rumbling noiſe, was diſtinctly heard by the prieſts in the temple uttering theſe words, *Let us depart, Let us depart.* Tho' the *Jews* nevertheleſs continued hardened, and were not even rouſed by their calamities, yet theſe were ſo remarkable, that *Titus* more than once acknowleged the hand of Providence againſt them; and when he had taken the city, and viewed the incredible ſtrength of it, he cried out, that God muſt certainly have fought for him, ſince no human power or ſtrength was equal to that which the *Romans* had now overcome.

Simon and *John*, the two heads of the ſeditious, being at laſt taken, were carried to *Rome*, and marched with 700 of the handſomeſt *Jewiſh* captives after the triumphal chariot of *Titus*; after which *Simon* having been dragged thro' the ſtreets with a rope about his neck, and ſeverely ſcourged, was put to death with ſome other *Jewiſh* leaders, and *John* was ſent into perpetual impriſonment.

Jeruſalem razed to the ground.

The *Romans*, before they left *Jeruſalem*, laid the city and the temple level with the ground, according to Chriſt's prediction. The buildings were ſo totally demoliſhed, except three towers, which for their ſtrength and beauty were left as monuments of the city's ſtatelineſs to poſterity, that the place looked as if it had never been inhabited. *Titus*, when he ſoon after paſſed thro' it in his way to *Alexandria* to embark for *Rome*, could not refrain from ſhedding plenty of tears at the ſight of ſo dreadful a devaſtation; at the ſame time curſing the wretches who had forced him to be the author of it.

The war concluded by *Flavius Silva.*

After the departure of *Titus*, *Lucilius Baſſus*, who had been appointed lieutenant of *Judæa*, reduced the fortreſſes of *Herodion* and *Machæron*. *Baſſus* being prevented by death from putting an end to the war, his ſucceſſor *Flavius Silva* beſieged *Maſſada*, the only fortreſs now in the hands of the rebels. The place, which was very ſtrong both by art and nature, was well ſtored with proviſions, and defended by a good number of aſſaſſins, at the head of whom was that *Eleazar* who had headed one of the parties at *Jeruſalem*. *Silva*, finding that his engines and battering rams had no effect on the place, ſurrounded it with a wall, and then ordered fire to be ſet to the gates, which driving the beſieged to deſpair, they ſlew all their wives and children, and afterwards diſpatched themſelves, and thus put an end to the dreadful war. *Veſpaſian* ordered the *Jewiſh* lands to be ſold for his own uſe, excepting only the town of *Emmaus*, which he called *Nicopolis*, and beſtowed on 800 of his beſt veterans.

ians. He commanded all the *Jews* within the *Roman* empire to pay to his treaſury the uſual tribute of half a ſhekel, which they were before obliged to pay to that of the ſanctuary.

The *Jews* ſtill infatuated.

The far greater part of the *Jews* that ſurvived the calamities of their nation, ſtill continued in their infatuated ſtate, which has been the caſe ever ſince with their poſterity. After the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, *Veſpaſian*, according to *Joſephus*, cauſed all the ſprouts of the houſe of *Judah* to be cut off, to deprive them at once of all hopes of a deliverer or future Meſſiah. The zealots, however, made ſeveral attempts to regain their power, firſt at *Alexandria*, where 600 of them were put to death, and the *Jewiſh* temple was ſhut up. Afterwards, at *Cyrene*, one of them, named *Jonathan*, ſet up for a prophet, and perſuaded 2000 of his brethren to follow him into the deſart, where he promiſed to ſhew them wonders; but they were routed and diſperſed by *Catullus*. *Agrippa* is ſuppoſed to have died at *Rome* in the 70th year of his age, and the 90th of the Chriſtian Æra. His ſiſter *Berenice* lived ſome time with *Titus*, who was ſo captivated with her beauty, that he propoſed to marry her; but for fear of giving offence to the *Romans*, he was forced, much againſt his own inclination, to diſmiſs her. According to *Joſephus*, the whole *Herodian* line failed within 100 years, tho' in the firſt deſcent from *Herod* the Great they were very numerous.

The extinction of the *Herodian* family.

The END *of the* FIRST VOLUME.